A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Winter 1998
Volume 15, Number 1

American Journalism

The Press under Pressure: How Georgia's Newspapers Responded to Civil War Constraints 13
Cal M. Logue, Eugene F. Miller, and Christopher J. Schroll

Peter Alexander: Confederate Chronicler & Conscience 35
Ford Risley

George T. Ruby: Reconstruction Politician/Journalist 51
Donna L. Dickerson

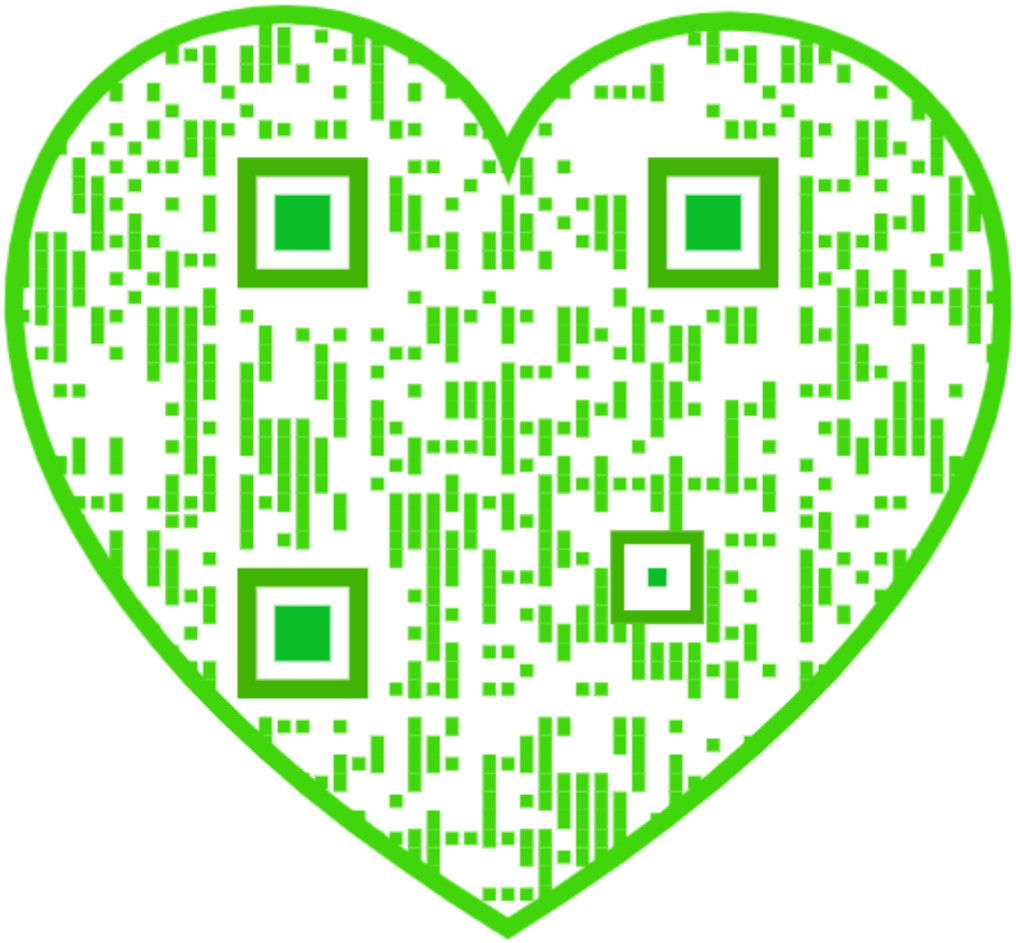
Window on Washington in 1850: Tracking Newspaper Letter-Writers 69
Mark Stegmaier

The Whitechapel Club: Defining Chicago's Newspapermen in the 1890s 83
Alfred Lawrence Lorenz

Great Ideas: Searching For Journalism History in Cyberspace 103
David T. Z. Mindich

1997 Presidential Address 109

Book Reviews 117



A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Winter 1998
Volume 15, Number 1

American Journalism

Editor . . . . . Shirley Biagi
California State University, Sacramento

Book Review Editor . . . . . David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Assistant Editor . . . . . Timi Ross Poeppelman
California State University, Sacramento

Design . . . . . Gwen Amos
California State University, Sacramento

Former Editors . . . . . William David Sloan
University of Alabama

Gary Whitby
East Texas State

John Pauley
Saint Louis University

Wallace B. Eberhard
University of Georgia

1998 American Journalism Historians Association Officers

President	James Startt Valparaiso University
1st Vice President	Eugenia Palmegiano Saint Peter's College
2nd Vice President	William David Sloan University of Alabama
Secretary	Barbara Straus Reed Rutgers University
Treasurer	Dick Scheidenhelm Colorado State University
Historian	Alf Pratte Brigham Young University
Board of Directors	Elizabeth Burt David Copeland John Coward Wallace Eberhard Kathleen Endres John Ferré Tracy Gottlieb Eugenia Palmegiano William David Sloan Jim Startt Rodger Streitmatter Pat Washburn

Definition of History

Fot purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing *but not* necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed NOT in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a unique, significant and time-conditioned human past. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews. The narrative element (with a logical beginning, ending, and thematic unity) should be the core of written, historical submissions offered to create meaning in our lives.

Editorial Purpose

American Journalism publishes articles, book reviews and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history; and new ideas and methods for the teaching of media history.

Copyright

© American Journalism Historians Association 1998. Articles in the journal may be photocopied for use in teaching, research, criticism and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U. S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, including electronic reproduction and/or distribution, users must obtain written permission from the editor.

Submission Guidelines

Authors submitting research manuscripts for publication as articles should send five manuscript copies (including an abstract with each). Manuscripts should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style,* 14th Edition, and should not exceed the recommended maximum length of 20 pages. Research manuscripts are blind refereed.

Great Ideas is designed to showcase new approaches and information about the teaching of media history. Great Ideas are typically three to six manuscript pages. Authors of Great Ideas should first query the editor.

American Journalism is produced on Macintosh computers using Microsoft Word 6.0.1. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication are asked to submit their work on PC or Macintosh disk, formatted in Microsoft Word 5.0 or 6.0.1.

Send Submissions to:	Professor Shirley Biagi *American Journalism* Communication Studies Department 6000 J Street, Mendocino 5014 Sacramento, CA 95819-6070 Telephone: (916) 278-5323 E-mail: ajha@csus.edu
Book Reviews	To review or propose a book review contact: Professor David Spencer Graduate School of Journalism University of Western Ontario London, Ontario Canada N6A 5B7 E-mail: dspencer@julian.uwo.ca
Advertising Rates	Contact the Editor
AJHA Membership & Subscription Rates (yearly)	AJHA Members: $30 AJHA Student Members: $15 AJHA Retired Faculty Members: $15 Libraries (US & Canada): $30 Libraries (All other countries): $40 Single copies: $8.50 each
Send AJHA membership and subscription dues and single copy orders to:	Dick Scheidenhelm AJHA Treasurer 4185 Corriente Place Boulder, Colorado 80301-1626

A Publication of the American
Journalism Historians Association

Winter 1998
Volumn 15, Number 1

American Journalism

In This Issue:

The Press under Pressure:
How Georgia's Newspapers Responded to Civil War Constraints. . 13
Cal M. Logue, Eugene F. Miller and Christopher J. Schroll

The authors identify the wartime constraints faced by the press in Georgia. The authors divide the constraints into three main categories: (1) problems of maintaining profitability; (2) problems of news gathering and reporting that arose because of disrupted communication channels; and (3) problems of censorship.

Peter W. Alexander: Confederate Chronicler & Conscience. 35
Ford Risley

After examining Alexander's war reporting, the author argues that "not only was he [Alexander] one of the most skilled Southern journalists of the era, but that he stands out as a good example of the growing professionalism of American correspondents."

George T. Ruby:
Reconstruction Politician/Journalist. 51
Donna L. Dickerson

The author uses the story of one African American politician/journalist, George T. Ruby, to examine "the alliances that some black politicians created between journalism and politics in order to ascend to and maintain, albeit only for a short period, their leadership positions."

Window on Washington in 1850:
Tracking Newspaper Letter-Writers 69
Mark Stegmaier

The author examines the letters written to newspapers in the 1850s by Washington correspondents. The author asserts that these "letters . . constitute an excellent source of information about the struggle [of 1850] and those involved in trying to solve it or exacerbate it."

The Whitechapel Club:
Defining Chicago's Newspapermen in the 1890s 83
Alfred Lawrence Lorenz

The author explores the Whitechapel Club, "the strangest organization known to man and has never had a duplicate," and offers an analysis of the relationship between the Whitechapel Club and the image of the Chicago newspaperman.

Great Ideas: Searching For Journalism History in Cyberspace . 103
David T. Z. Mindich

The author offers valuable insight and resources to help journalism historians conduct media history research on the Internet.

1997 Presidential Address: History and the Age of Cyberspace . . 109
David Spencer

The American Journalism Historians Association President reflects upon the future of research and teaching of media history in the 21st Century.

David Spencer, Book Review Editor

As Seen On TV: The Visual Culture Of Everyday Life In The 1950s

by Karal Ann Marling
Reviewed by Marvin R. Bensman

Evil Influences: Crusades Against The Mass Media

by Steven Starker
Reviewed by Sherilyn Cox Bennion

The Literary Index To American Magazines, 1850-1900

by Daniel A. Wells
Reviewed by Sam Riley

Mightier Than The Sword: How The News Media Shaped American History

by Rodger Streitmatter
Reviewed by Michael D. Murray

Radio: The Forgotten Medium

by Edward C. Pease and Dennis E. Everette, eds.
Reviewed by Michael H. Adams

Editor's Note

This is the first issue of *American Journalism* published at the journal's new home, California State University, Sacramento. As you may notice, we've redesigned the format and added a new feature, *Great Ideas*, to highlight teaching and learning concepts in media history. Our basic purpose, however, remains the same—to bring you the best scholarship available on the subject of media history, in a format that's interesting and useful.

This issue's scholarship is rooted almost entirely in the 19th century, with a nod to 21st century technology in David Mindich's *Great Ideas* for researching history in cyberspace.

In This Issue

The way Georgia's newspapers handled the challenges of reporting on the Civil War is detailed by Cal M. Logue, Eugene F. Miller and Christopher J. Schroll in "The Press Under Pressure: How Georgia's Newspapers Responded to Civil War Constraints." Ford Risley's profile of Confederate reporter Peter Alexander adds perspective to Georgia's Civil War reporting.

Donna Dickerson focuses on the Reconstruction era with her portrait of African American journalist/politician George T. Ruby. Mark Stegmaier follows 1850s newspaper letter-writers. And Larry Lorenz offers an intriguing picture of 1890s Chicago journalism in his description of the activities of the short-lived, unconventional Whitechapel Club (which featured human skulls with light-bulb eyes as part of the decor).

This edition's book reviews include comments on Rodger Streitmatter's *Mightier Than the Sword: How the News Media Shaped American History* and *As Seen On TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* by Karal Ann Marling. We've also reprinted the President's Message delivered by David Spencer at the October 1997 American Journalism Historians Association meeting in Mobile, Alabama.

Some Important Acknowledgments

Any publication reflects the combined effort of many people, and I'd like to acknowledge the important help of the people who helped launch *American Journalism*'s tenure at CSUS. With generous advice and patient help, Leah Vande Berg encouraged me to apply to become the journal's

editor. The AJHA Publications Committee believed I could handle the responsibility. Department Chair Marlene von Friederichs-Fitzwater welcomed *American Journalism* into the department with gracious enthusiasm. Gwen Amos' elegant design gave the journal its streamlined new look, and my colleagues in the Communication Studies Department continue to give the journal unswerving support.

AJHA's David Sloan and Carol Sue Humphrey offered much valuable counsel about the journal's role in the organization's history. Wally Eberhard, the journal's previous editor, carried the journal deftly and sensitively through the transition to its new location. And AJHA is very lucky that Timi Poeppelman, a gifted graduate assistant who serves as Assistant Editor, gives the journal her total devotion.

I encourage you to respond to the journal, to comment on topics in this issue or suggest new ideas, by writing me at the journal's address. Letters of general interest will be published in future editions.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

American Journalism Reviewers

David Abrahamson
Northwestern University

Helen Aller
University of Florida

Donald Avery
Penn State University

Gerald Baldasty
University of Washington

Maurine Beasley
University of Maryland

Louise Benjamin
University of Georgia

Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

Margaret Blanchard
University of North Carolina

Patricia Bradley
Temple University

Bonnie Brennen
Virginia Commonwealth University

Pam Brown
Rider university

Steve Byers
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

James Carey
Columbia University

Lucy Shelton Caswell
Ohio State University

Jean Chance
University of Florida

Carolyn Cline
University of Southern California

Ann Colbert
Indiana-Purdue University

John Coward
University of Tulsa

David Copeland
Emory & Henry College

David Davies
University of Southern Mississippi

Donna Dickerson
University of South Florida

Fred Fedler
University of Central Florida

Tony Fellow
CSU Fullerton

John Ferré
University of Louisville

Jean Folkerts
George Washington University

Jim Foust
Bowling Green University

Ralph Frasca
Hofstra University

Alan Fried
University of South Carolina

Tracy Gottleib
Seton Hall University

Susan Henry
CSU Northridge

Louise Hermanson
University of South Alabama

Tom Heuterman
Washington State University

Glenn Himebaugh
Middle Tennessee State University

Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist University

Bill Huntzicker
University of Minnesota

Frankie Hutton
Lehigh University

Terry Hynes
University of Florida

Jay Jernigan
Eastern Michigan University

Phil Jeter
Florida A & M University

Tom Johnson
Southern Illinois University

Beverly Keever
University of Hawaii

Richard Lentz
Arizona State University

Lawrence Lichty
Northwestern University

Louis Liebovich
University of Illinois

Larry Lorenz
Loyola University

Charles Marler
Abilene Christian University

John Marrs
Everett Community College

Maclyn McClary
Humboldt State University

Sheila McIntyre
Harvard University

Floyd McKay
Western Washington University

James McPherson
Washington State University

Beverly Merrick
New Mexico State University

David Mindich
Saint Michael's College

Catherine Mitchell
University of North Carolina

James Mooney
East Tennessee State University

Meg Moritz
University of Colorado

Michael Murray
University of Missouri, St. Louis

Doug Newsom
Texas Christian University

David Nord
Indiana University

Peter Parisi
Hunter College

Alf Pratte
Brigham Young University

Chuck Rankin
Montana Historical Society

Barbara Straus Reed
Rutgers University

Ford Risley
Penn State University

Kenneth Rystrom
Virginia Poly Tech Institute & University

Kitt Rushing
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

Michael Schudson
UC San Diego

David Sloan
University of Alabama

Steve Smethers
Oklahoma State University

Ted Smythe
California State University, Fullerton

David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Mark Stegmaier
Cameron University

Rodger Streitmatter
American University

Leonard Teel
Georgia State University

Tom Volek
University of Kansas

Pat Washburn
Ohio University

Mary Weston
Northwestern University

Doug Whitt
University of Colorado

Julie Williams
Samford University

Betty Winfield
University of Missouri

Kyu Ho Youm
Arizona State University

The Press under Pressure: How Georgia's Newspapers Responded to Civil War Constraints

By Cal M. Logue, Eugene F. Miller, and Christopher J. Schroll

In wartime, especially when it finds itself in the path of invasion, the press faces acute challenges to its freedom and viability. During the Civil War, journalists in Georgia were forced to deal with hardships arising initially from the Confederacy's overall war effort and then from the rapid advance of Sherman's army through the state. This study of Georgia newspapers published during 1862-64 examines ways that editors and reporters coped with three primary difficulties: maintaining profitability; gathering and reporting the news in the face of disrupted communication channels; and complying with official censorship.

The press contributed vitally to the South's Civil War effort by mobilizing support for the war and by informing citizens and soldiers about its progress. It performed both tasks diligently, even when facts were hard to obtain and difficult to reconcile with editorial assurances of ultimate victory. Many southern newspapers were driven out of business by the hardships of war, but others were highly resourceful in devising ways to keep their business and newsgathering operations alive. Our essay identifies wartime constraints faced by the press in Georgia and shows how owners, editors, and correspondents dealt with them, sometimes while on the run.

By 1864, Georgia had become the scene of fighting that was crucial to the Civil War's outcome. In that year, General William Tecumseh Sherman marched on General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee in north

---

Cal M. Logue is Professor of Speech Communication, and Eugene F. Miller is Professor of Political Science, both at the University of Georgia, Athens, GA. Christopher J. Schroll is a lecturer at Wayne State University. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Symposium on the Antebellum Press, the Civil War, and Free Expression, November 3, 1995, Chattanooga, Tennessee, sponsored by the George R. West, Jr., Chair of Excellence in Communication and Public Affairs and by the Communication Department of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga.

Georgia, bent on destroying the regional resources needed to sustain the South's war effort and demoralizing his enemy.[1] As Sherman advanced, Georgia's press made every effort to promote civil and military resistance to the northern troops. Outnumbered approximately 107,000 to 71,000, Johnston employed a defensive strategy,[2] delaying Sherman's capture of Atlanta until September and enabling the state's newspapers to mount an attack upon Yankee depredations and to exaggerate Rebels' successes.[3] Even when Sherman took the ridge on Kennesaw mountain, for example, the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* trumpeted the "invincib[ility]" of Rebel troops.[4]

Our findings are based principally on a close inspection of four Georgia newspapers—the *Southern Confederacy* and the *Daily Intelligencer,* both published in Atlanta;[5] and the *Georgia Journal & Messenger* and the *Daily Telegraph* (later the *Daily Telegraph and Confederate*), both published in Macon.[6] We chose the Atlanta papers because of their importance, their vigor in covering the war, and their proximity to the fighting in north Georgia. According to Andrews, "although Atlanta was a smaller city in 1860 than Augusta or Savannah, it was a more active newspaper center than either during the wartime sixties."[7] Also, Atlanta's press came to be recognized for its professionalism as the war progressed.[8] We selected the two Macon newspapers not only because of their importance and their preoccupation with southern resistance, but also because they were able to cover the war in relative safety until April, 1865, when Macon finally surrendered to the Federal army.[9] (We should add that impediments faced by these Atlanta and Macon newspapers in their day-to-day operations have not been studied systematically in writings on the Confederate press.)

In reviewing the content of these four newspapers, we collected every reference we could identify to constraints that the war imposed on publishing and to journalists' initiatives to cope with them. Initially we examined consecutive issues of the four papers available between January 1863 and the end of December 1864. Then to gain a wider perspective, we scrutinized all copies available for 1862, plus selected issues of additional newspapers. All items carried by the newspapers were included in our compilation, whether an article by an editor, news from a civilian, correspondence from a soldier, submission by a professional reporter, reprint of material from other newspapers, speech, rumor, letter, account from a relief committee, or Confederate proclamation.[10] If an item published in one of the four papers had the potential to influence readers, it was fair game.

After gathering references to troublesome problems and indications of journalistic accommodations to them, we distributed those findings into three categories suggested by their content: (1) problems of maintaining profitability; (2) problems of news gathering and reporting that arose because of disrupted communication channels; and (3) problems of censor-

ship. Besides drawing our own inferences relative to these headings, we took account of findings reported in the scholarly literature on the Civil War press in Georgia and elsewhere in the South.[11] Because of its wider coverage, this literature provides a valuable context for understanding the activity of any single newspaper. Even so, one must begin from the rich body of data contained in particular newspapers, such as the four that we have examined, in order confidently to draw inferences about wartime constraints on the press, their relative importance, and the strategies employed to meet them.

Problems of Maintaining Profitability

Bad weather, sickness, and broken machinery could interfere with newspapers' business operations at any time,[12] and southern editors often experienced financial problems before 1861.[13] Nevertheless, the war greatly intensified long-standing difficulties and brought new problems of its own, including dislocations caused by advancing armies,[14] disruptions of communication and transportation facilities, shortages of necessary supplies, and soaring costs.

Disruptions and Dislocation. Deliveries of all kinds were disrupted by the War. The destruction of bridges and railroad tracks interrupted the delivery of mail. When mail did arrive, it accumulated at depots, straining the ability of the post offices to handle it.[15]

As fighting shifted from one setting to another, even the locale of publication, ownership, and personnel of newspapers could change with little public warning. When Sherman threatened Atlanta, editors moved their offices southward to safer ground. By early July, 1864, journalists from several Atlanta papers were "preparing to evacuate" that city.[16] The *Atlanta Intelligencer* set up its operations in a box-car that could be quickly relocated.[17] Finally, only the *Atlanta Appeal* submitted reports on the course of the battle for Atlanta. For a time, it was difficult to know whether northern sympathizers or loyal southerners published the *Macon Daily Telegraph and Confederate*.[18] Editors sometimes tried to capitalize on these hardships in courting new subscribers. For example, Jared Irwin Whitaker, proprietor of the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, told how he, although "driven from Atlanta by the advance of Sherman's hosts," persisted in "contend[ing] for the `Lost Cause' at a pecuniary sacrifice. . . . Send up your subscriptions."[19]

Shortages and Soaring Costs. Although the fighting increased southerners' demand for news, owners had great difficulty publishing newspapers profitably.[20] The war caused severe shortages of materials and personnel required to maintain operations.[21] Even when supplies were

available, they were of poor quality. Editors complained in particular of the poor quality of paper.[22] The *Augusta Chronicle* had to use unreliable printing ink.[23] Owners constantly sought to purchase necessary products, such as ink, type, and cordwood, and struggled to keep worn-out presses and typographical machines running.[24]

Keeping reliable workers at an affordable wage was also a problem; and newspaper owners continually advertised for personnel replacements. Most able bodied men were in the army.[25] Within the first two years of the fighting, eighteen printers from the *Macon Daily Telegraph* "had enlisted" in the military.[26] By 1864, "at least seventy-five percent" of printers working in the South in 1863 "had been or were in the army."[27] One finds help-wanted ads not only for pressmen, printers, and compositors, but also for blacks, who were excluded by law from type-setting, to work as porters and delivery men.[28] Belying what were likely the paper's own racial stereotypes, the editor and proprietor of the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* advertised for "an intelligent, smart, reliable . . . negro" man to work "till next Christmas." To guard against any alien philosophy corrupting the paper's Confederate bias, the ad required that even this temporary employee had to be "Georgia-raised."[29]

As the war progressed, hiring and retaining reliable delivery persons became difficult. To assure anxious subscribers of reliable distribution, publishers advertised their extra efforts to deliver newspapers or to make them available at press offices. The owner of the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* described, for "city subscribers" and military personnel, the improved arrangements for distribution he had negotiated. "Dr. Dozier" and sons would "supply subscribers by carriers." Any buyer from "residence, office, shop or camp" not receiving an "early morning" paper should "call at our office and leave written directions for finding their residences."[30] Within one month, however, the *Southern Confederacy*'s "carrier arrangements" apparently had been transferred from Dr. Dozier to two black residents of Atlanta. Readers were assured that delivery of the newspaper was "now so perfected by 'Uncle Jesse' and 'John Wesley' that every residence, office, and shop in the city can get the *Confederacy* in good time every morning."[31] Nearly two years later, after the loss of Atlanta, the owner continued to report disappointments "in getting a paper carrier."[32]

Although the Confederate government granted special postage rates to newspapers and permitted copies to be mailed to soldiers free of charge,[33] the cost of producing a newspaper increased dramatically during the war years as a result of severe shortages and rapid price inflation. For example, the owner of Macon's *Georgia Journal and Messenger* explained to his readers that while subscription rates had doubled, the price of paper had increased fifteen-fold: "We cannot afford a larger sheet when we have only increased

our rates from two dollars and fifty cents to five, while the quantity of paper for which we paid three fifty, we now pay fifty five dollars."[34] When workmen in the Typographical Association increased their rates by fifty per cent, the owner of the *Georgia Journal & Messenger* "agreed to suspend . . . publication till other arrangements could be made."

Printers and pressmen, however, had a strong incentive to continue working, even at lagging wages, since editors and some newspaper employees, along with ministers and government employees, were exempt from military service, an exemption that no longer applied to striking workmen in the Typographical Association.[35] Reporting that the strikers had been enrolled by the conscript officers, the *Georgia Journal & Messenger* warned that "they will probably find some difference between the [military] pay of eleven dollars per month, and the exorbitant prices they had been receiving, as well as in the comforts and commissariat [food supplies] of their new vocation."[36]

To remain solvent, newspaper owners were required to supplement their incomes, cut publishing costs, and increase the price of subscriptions. In addition to selling advertisements, owners typically offered a variety of printing services and products. Moreover, they used every possible means to reduce the cost of printing their papers, including reductions in length and content.[37] As shortages and rising costs forced them to cut the length of

Newspaper Delivery on the Field. Culpepper, Virginia Vicinity. November 18, 1863. Photo by Alexander Gardner. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

their newspapers, often to a single sheet, editors faced the dilemma of whether to reduce advertising or news coverage. In explaining this choice to his readers, the owner of the *Georgia Journal & Messenger* pledged that he and other owners were willing to sacrifice advertising income rather than reduce their coverage of the war: "We . . . shall . . . endeavor to give the same amount of reading matter as heretofore, by dropping most of our advertisements and using a smaller type."[38]

Despite the tremendous increases in their own costs, newspaper owners were hard-pressed to justify even modest increases in subscription prices, since their readers complained that newspapers were a necessity for obtaining information about loved ones fighting for the Confederacy and about the war effort generally. Thus newspaper owners frequently chided suppliers for raising their prices and pleaded with readers to understand why the cost of subscriptions would also have to rise. To justify the decision by "the weekly papers" of Georgia to "demand $4 per year" after June 1, 1863, the editor of the *Athens Southern Watchman* reprimanded producers generally for "selling their products at such extravagant prices." To defend the increase in subscription costs, this editor gave his readers an elementary lesson in price inflation and relative monetary values, drawing his comparisons from their own work experiences: "When we published our paper at $2, we could buy four bushels of corn for that amount. Our paper was therefore worth four bushels of corn. Four bushels of corn is now worth $12 in this market; and further up the country $20. Our paper is therefore worth $12 by the corn standard." He concluded that "to bring newspapers to a level with everything else," would fix their price at from $12 to $20 per year.[39]

Angered by "many farmers complain[ing] of the high prices of newspapers," and "some" even "discontinu[ing]" their subscriptions, the publisher of Macon's *Georgia Journal & Messenger* insisted that "the press certainly could claim to have acted with greater liberality, in regard to its charges, than any other class of the community."[40] A year later, at the war's end, this same publisher was still trying to justify increased subscription prices.[41] In another editorial, after noting that he too had shared in the sacrifices that the war had imposed upon his readers, the editor voiced exasperation with the "large number" who "have paid us in what is not, just now palatable — promises. It is very easy for them to send us flour, meat, butter, eggs, or any thing eatable . . . . If those who are receiving our paper, and whose time is out, do not, within a few days . . . we shall be compelled to discontinue their papers."[42] The next month, his patience finally exhausted, the publisher berated subscribers for their "indolence": "We shall most positively, on and after next Saturday, stop sending our paper to all those who are, at that time, in arrears with us. . . . Our expenses are, necessarily, cash, and we must exact cash from them."[43]

Disrupted Communication Channels

As fighting throughout the South disrupted established channels of communication, editors struggled to satisfy their readers' insatiable appetite for timely information about results of particular battles and the well-being of their loved ones or neighbors. This section details the obstacles that editors encountered in gathering news and shows what they did to overcome them.

The Scarcity and Unreliability of News. To assuage readers eager for any scrap of news about the fighting, editors routinely explained that they lacked reliable details from the front. "For several days we have had no information of any particular movements, either in advance or otherwise," a Macon editor noted.[44] He admitted that his "information" from north Georgia "is not very definite or reliable, but from what we learn . . . probably . . . Atlanta is now being evacuated by Sherman's army—leaving it the tattered fragments and remains of what Atlanta has been."[45] Upon publishing news of coastal fighting, the Macon editor learned early in the war that information received from persons who appeared to be reliable, and in a position to observe what they reported first-hand, was not always dependable: "The favorable reports which reached us yesterday morning from those who watched the contest between the enemy's batteries and our garrison in Fort Pulaski, had not prepared us for the startling intelligence of the surrender of the Fort, which reached us [by courier] about ten o'clock last night."[46] As the war continued, not only did the cost of telegraphic services become prohibitive, but often the wires were cut.[47]

While reliable news was in short supply, rumor, conjecture, and opinion were plentiful. "Rumors" flew in communities as "fast as minie balls."[48] One could not easily differentiate fact from fiction because, as an editor explained, although "stories" forged in the heat of battle could be "false," their "general notoriety" became "a source of belief."[49] For example, after a unit of Sherman's army tested Macon's fortifications, "a thousand stories" were told of "what they stole and burned" and how they might have been better repelled.[50]

Keenly aware that, for many lay readers, claims were synonymous with truth and legend with reality, a journalist advised readers not to rely upon word of mouth because "a verbal account" could not "cross the street and return in the shape in which it started."[51] "Sedley," a war correspondent, noted one reason for the conflicting accounts sent home from the battlefront. A "greasy private" or an "officer" in battle sees only what happens in his "immediate front" or "along the entire line." For a "fuller" picture, one must read "newspaper reports," but even these are "sometimes inaccurate."[52]

Ways of Dealing with Uncertain Information. Georgia editors sought information from diverse sources, including "private information from the North,"[53] "a friend,"[54] "one of the highest official sources in the Army of Tennessee,"[55] a "private letter" giving "intelligence obtained from a field officer,"[56] "private note,"[57] "An Occasional Correspondent,"[58] a "gentleman who arrived on the train,"[59] and "private telegrams."[60] Associated Press reports of the fighting at Chickamauga were based on interviews with "the wounded who were brought into Atlanta for treatment."[61] Georgia newspapers were part of an extensive information grapevine, on which they depended and to which they contributed. The Confederate government encouraged editors to exchange reports by providing "free postage on newspapers mailed between publishers."[62] Editors avidly read each other's newspapers; and when they could not obtain them by traditional means, they sought copies through "private channels."[63]

Faced with an extraordinary burden of weighing, and deciding whether and how to pass on information given to them by a wide range of sources, editors processed unverifiable information in three ways.

First, they might simply refuse to print the information. One editor, in attempting to decipher what actually had occurred at "Missionary Ridge and Knoxville" from "sensational reports" brought by "train," decided: "We hear so many conflicting reports from Longstreet that we dare not publish any, as we desire to make these '[battle]front' articles as correct as possible."[64]

A second way of dealing with uncertain information was to print what was received without any speculation or disclaimers as to its possible unreliability.[65] Editors were particularly uncritical of reports that were linked, however tenuously, to authoritative witnesses. Readers of the following account likely assumed that General Johnston's Rebels would soon run Sherman's invaders back into Tennessee: "We have before us a letter from one of the highest official sources in the Army of Tennessee, from which we extract the following. . . . 'We are in superb spirits. . . . The Yankees have got to fight for Atlanta, and when they do fight, we are . . . certain to whip them [as] . . . decisively as the sun is certain to rise on that day.'"[66]

Sometimes editors would conjecture confidently about the latest news from the front, even while warning against conjecture: "To speculate editorially . . . is wholly useless, and may tend to deceive our readers. . . . We can, however, say this, most unmistakably—that the enemy are evidently foiled and severely disappointed."[67] An impatient Augusta editor went so far as to defend the publication of news items that might turn out to be false. Even "lies are better than nothing," he suggested. "We at least know, that men are alive when they lie vigorously."[68]

A third and more common way that editors dealt with uncertainty was to print the information at hand, but to warn readers that it might be unreliable or to even try to help them sort out facts from improbable reports and martial hyperbole.[69] In an article headlined, "RAIDS AND RUMORS," an editor endeavored to pin down the facts amid the conflicting claims given to him: "For the last few days we had more rumors . . . than any one man or woman could believe . . . and most of them 'reliable' and 'unquestionable.'" Despite reports of entire towns destroyed and many civilians killed, "the facts with regard to the actual raid of the enemy are probably these: They burnt the depots at Lithonia, Conyers, Covington, and some Government stores."[70]

Another editor reported how refugees from towns overrun by Federals claimed that the enemy lost "2000 killed and wounded," but cautioned readers not to consider that hearsay a "fact."[71] The Macon editor advised readers to be judicious when interpreting daily reports, only, in the end, to ignore his own counsel:

> With regard to the many telegraphic dispatches . . . we cannot vouch for the correctness of all . . . . The reader must have patience and await results before coming to decided conclusions, on the awful struggle now going on. . . . Our hopes have not diminished of a final and over-whelming success, and that we shall be able to chronicle it in the next issue.[72]

It was not uncommon for editors to promise hopeful news in subsequent editions, perhaps to boost subscriptions and promote future sales.

War Correspondents and the Associated Press. Editors pointed with pride to steps that permitted them to receive reports directly from war correspondents in the field.[73] The owner of Atlanta's *Southern Confederacy* boasted that "arrangements have been completed which will enable us to receive the latest and most reliable intelligence from every point of interest."[74] When possible, these reporters traveled with the troops and became familiar with the rigors of military life. Aware of the unreliability of the ordinary mails, some particularly conscientious correspondents forwarded letters by courier or carried their own reports to a major city for distribution.[75] Press Association correspondents were paid "twenty-five to thirty dollars per week."[76]

To add an air of authenticity and intrigue as well as to protect the reporter, the war correspondents' reports were often published under pseudonyms, aliases, or code-names.[77] Thus one editor boasted of how an "Army Correspondence" had been received "By Private Express from the battle-field," providing the "latest telegraphic news from our special corre-

spondent '290' [Samuel Chester Reid, Jr.] from the front, in advance of all other press reports."[78]

According to Andrews, some experienced reporters in the field could "evaluate . . . their news sources" well, and reports by these individuals "had greater news value than that of volunteer correspondents"; however, because of their dependence upon a camaraderie with military officers for information, some submitted reports biased toward Rebel efforts. Also, because of the "rapid turnover" among the "few" veteran correspondents who were available, the quality of reporting was uneven. The novice correspondents had an "imperfect understanding of military operations" and knew little of "what was going on outside the particular regiment to which they were attached."[79]

In some instances, correspondents painted for the reader an astonishingly vivid and detailed word-picture that engages all the senses and evokes a sense of horror at the war's destructiveness. From reports such as the following by "PERSONNE" [Felix Gregory de Fontaine],[80] following the battle of Shiloh, one can see why officials would be concerned about the impact of battlefront reporting on civilian and military morale:

> The wounded still continue to come in, and the houses in Corinth [Tennessee] are rapidly filling up. The hotel has been turned into a hospital, and five hundred men are already here covering the floors. While I write I am sitting on the floor of one of the corridors, with the bodies of the living and the dead ranged on either side and opposite as far as the eye can reach. Groans fill the air, surgeons are busy at work by candle-light, a few women are ministering to the wants of the suffering, the atmosphere is fetid with the stench of wounds, and the rain is pouring down upon thousands who yet lie out upon the bloody ground of Shiloh.[81]

To cope more effectively with wartime difficulties, newspaper owners and editors united professionally.[82] Following a March 1862 meeting in Atlanta to discuss mounting costs, disruption in the flow of telegraphic news, and military restrictions, newspaper representatives from Georgia and elsewhere in the South met the following February in Augusta and formed a new Press Association.[83]

J. S. Thrasher, the association's superintendent, emphasized that "the Press of the Confederate States" had "voluntarily subjected its self to rules and regulations for the common good. It has appointed its own agents and reporters at every scene of general interest, and has placed these under strict supervision and control."[84] As the 1864 convention of the Press Association

approached, some editors increasingly viewed its primary role as one of asserting leadership in shaping policy and in forming public opinion around some plan for peace. This "reunion of talent would be equal to a convocation of Generals," predicted the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy;* "We are of those who believe that the pen has not lost its magic because of the prominence of the sword, and rely upon it as one of the chief influences which will bring us peace."[85] This is not to say that Georgia's newspaper editors would have supported peace terms acceptable to the North. To the war's end, most insisted on "the independence of the Confederate States" as essential to any settlement.[86]

Problems of Censorship

Wartime impediments to the gathering and reporting of news arose not only from economic constraints and the physical disruption of communication channels, but also from official and unofficial threats and practices of censorship.[87] This section first covers censorship threats and practices, as these were perceived by Georgia editors, and then analyzes how editors responded to censorship in its various forms.

Georgia Editors' Perceptions of Censorship. Although now, looking back, some scholars have contended that President Jefferson Davis actually defended the rights of the press to cover the war freely,[88] at the time, some southern editors viewed his intentions in a quite different light.[89] They charged that, early in the War, Davis had asked the Confederate Congress to place all newspapers under the control of the President or the Secretary of War and to draft newspaper printers. To justify this action, the editors alleged, Davis had quoted an anonymous "official," who charged that editors published the "position of our lines" and the effect of Yankee "artillery fire."[90] One editor reported that a Confederate official had walked unannounced into the office of the *Augusta Register* and recorded the military status of the persons working there.[91] Correspondents on whom editors depended for news often found military officers uncooperative or hostile.[92] Because correspondents at the front lines depended upon the army for support, short of banning reporters from following the troops and entering encampments, military officials could stifle the press simply by withholding food, horses, and other supplies.[93]

Elected officials and military officers in the Confederacy pressured editors not to publish details about the war effort that might endanger soldiers. No doubt they would have disapproved of reports such as the one by "Sedley," in the *Macon Daily Telegraph and Confederate,* describing how the "enemy's shells coming over our lines of battle . . . fall far in the rear . . . close . . . to the colored cooking squadrons."[94] Leaders also discouraged

press criticism that could lower military and civilian morale. Examples here might be complaints in the *Augusta Constitutionalist* and the *Savannah Republican* about the "vice of intemperance which now prevails largely in portions of our army"[95] or the *Macon Georgia Journal & Messenger's* criticism of the government's "conscription and impressment" practices.[96]

One anonymous "distinguished army officer" warned editors that disclosure of a "single" piece of sensitive information about the fighting could "imperil our national existence . . . . The Yankees procure our newspapers just as regularly as we do," he cautioned. While this officer recognized that the "sprightliness and attractiveness of newspapers may be increased by such army items," editors should risk publishing a "dull" newspaper if that were the sacrifice required to protect soldiers' lives.[97]

Pressures to limit the publication of news and editorial opinion came not only from military and political officials, but also from editors and the public at large.[98] The editor of the *Richmond Enquirer* accused the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy, Knoxville Register, Atlanta Intelligencer*, and *Chattanooga Rebel* of practicing editorial "indiscretions" that enabled the enemy "to plan and execute a perilous movement with success."[99]

Editors could be maligned, boycotted, and even subjected to physical harm by their readers for publishing items that were perceived to be unpatriotic. One victim of such retribution was J. C. Swayze, editor of the *Bugle Horn of Liberty,* a pictorial monthly published in Griffin. In the autumn of 1863, editor Swayze published a satire which, he later explained, was meant as "a burlesque on slender efforts of other journals to present tasteful illustrations of passing events." Unfortunately for him, Swayze chose as the object of his satire, not a Yankee general, but the heroic Confederate cavalry officer, John Hunt Morgan. Incensed by this satire as well as by an article relating to the impressment of private houses in Griffin for medical uses, a group of about 100 convalescing soldiers, who were mostly from Morgan's home territory of Kentucky and Tennessee, chased Swayze down, mounted him on a sharp-edged rail, and transported him through the streets of Griffin, followed by "a procession of at least a thousand" who were "laughing and expressing their merriment and perfect approbation in various ways." Although rescued from a coat of tar and feathers by military surgeons, Swayze was compelled "to give repeated 'three cheers for John Morgan and the Surgeons in Griffin' waving his hat over his head as he did."[100]

Georgia Editors' Response to Censorship. We found that Georgia editors employed six principal arguments to defend their right to print news of the war as they judged appropriate.

(1) Editors reminded state and Confederate officials that any attempt to suppress free expression would contravene the principles of a free

society and, moreover, would ultimately prove ineffectual. J. S. Thrasher, Superintendent of the Southern Press Association, called for a partnership among "a free people, a free government and a free press."[101] While recognizing that "the relations between the army and the press are of a peculiar and delicate nature,"[102] Thrasher warned the censors that "no power is more difficult to control than that of the press, and it has ever eluded all direct attempts to coerce it."[103]

(2) Editors argued that they had a duty to inform the public how—and how well—leaders managed the war effort.[104] "It is a fixed principle," maintained a Richmond editor cited in *Atlanta's Southern Confederacy,* "that in order to do right, all men must be informed of the wrong."[105] Editor H. L. Flash of the *Macon Daily Telegraph & Confederate* complained that if correspondents were placed under the control of government, and mistakes were made, an editor would be unable to "condemn his master."[106] "Beauregard and Johnston both seem to think that this war is wholly THEIR war," insisted an Augusta editor, "and that the people have little or no interest in it. . . . We are accustomed to regard the two Napoleons as patterns of tyranny, yet the first sent daily couriers to Paris . . . . Even in Lincoln's dominions the people can get some knowledge of what is going on, although much they get is false."[107]

(3) Editors insisted that only a free press could help the South's cause by improving morale and promoting trust in the Confederacy's leaders.[108] A free press was needed, Flash advised, to "encourage the weak," convince the "doubting," "stimulate the soldier," and "educate" the public.[109] Editors were keenly sensitive to whether their war news would allay civilians' anxieties. "We are aware that there are many things which occur, which it is unwise to make public," one conceded, "but there are also thousands of things occurring in an army which can do no possible harm to publish. . . . Many of us have relatives and dear friends in the armies, and even the announcement, 'all is quiet today,' gives solace and quiet."[110]

(4) Avowing their public-spiritedness and devotion to the common good, editors argued that they could be trusted to monitor what they printed so as not to endanger Confederate soldiers.[111] One editor reminded readers that not every journalist was bent on "blabbing . . . the position of our troops."[112] The press representatives who convened in Atlanta in 1862 had acknowledged the "necessity of . . . hold[ing]" reporters "responsible for any breach of confidence or courtesy."[113] Certainly, insisted J. S. Thrasher, editors must "withhold from publication information that may give aid" to the North. Indeed, he continued, the Confederate press had exercised "the greatest caution" when reporting troop movements. "My official relations with every daily journal in the Southern Confederacy," Thrasher assured, "have impressed me with the conviction that there is not

one among them whose editors are not animated by the same desire to shield our holy cause." The people "do not desire the publication of improper news; the press does not wish to see it in its columns." The new Press Association, Thrasher concluded, had "voluntarily subjected its self [sic] to rules and regulations for the common good" and placed its agents and reporters "under strict supervision and control."[114]

(5) **Some editors insisted that they were not to be held accountable for printing items submitted to them by outsiders; others disagreed.** Because editors printed materials from a wide variety of sources not affiliated with their newspapers, they debated among themselves the extent to which an editor was to be held accountable for the content of that material. For example, editor H. L. Flash was criticized for merely printing Governor Joe Brown's attack upon the Confederate administration. In response, Flash maintained that simply printing what persons submitted did not mean he personally supported any charges made against the government. Flash argued that an editor was only accountable when he stated clearly that the arguments published represented his judgment.[115] Replying to criticism by the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* for reprinting an allegedly false report from the *Albany [Georgia] Patriot*, the editor of *Macon's Georgia Journal & Messenger* rebutted: "If the statements in that article are 'absolutely false,' the author of them is the proper party to call on for retraction."[116]

(6) **Editors contended that the only workable arrangement for disseminating reliable information about the war effort was for the press and military leaders to form a cooperative partnership.** The editor of Atlanta's *Southern Confederacy* reprinted a proposal of this nature from the *Richmond Enquirer*, which begins by imploring military officials to understand an editor's plight:

> When a newsman goes about getting up his morning issue, he does not survey the field with the eye of a general. His object is to gather the freshest topics of public interest, and to present them to the public. His work is done in haste; a hundred things crowd upon him at once. He has to compete probably with an energetic rival, and he must make the best use he can out of his material. Among the mass of matter which come before him in confusion, to be arranged and re-cast, may lurk a single paragraph of an indiscreet nature, but whose character no one but an official upon the field could determine at a glance. The editor—unadvised of the real condition of things—in no communication with any headquarters—sitting there at his desk, in busy haste, might never cast one thought upon the possibility of a pin weight of harm growing out of such and such a line, and so, in it goes. The next day it is read 'i[n] the court,' and the devil's to pay sure enough!

The Richmond editor goes on to propose that the Provost Marshal General inform newspapers by telegraph when operations should be kept secret, supplying newspapers in turn with less sensitive information that would interest their readers. This cooperative plan would place "the press where it ought to be, as a leading, patriotic institution, upon a frank, confidential footing with the military authorities, so that the two may work together. The rights of neither are invaded, and much of the credit and ill feeling is saved both parties."[117]

In the same vein, Superintendent Thrasher advised that "voluntary" restraints are "the best, and in truth, the only practical, way to secure reticence in matters that should not be presented to the public eye." Thrasher warned that the Confederacy was "in more danger of failing in the attainment of the common desire, by the adoption of inadequate means, than from the want of a right disposition on the part of the editorial profession." The way to resolve conflicts, according to Thrasher, was through close cooperation between commanders and the agents of the Press. "A moderate degree of official and confidential intercourse between Commanders and the representatives of the Press," he explained, "will do more to secure the universally desired end, than any other measure that can be adopted." Wherever such accord has existed, "the commanders have seldom if ever found reason to complain of the Press." Responding to charges of irresponsible reporting, Thrasher pointed out that the southern press "has voluntarily placed its news reports of army matters under strict supervision by the commanders." Successful reporting of the news would depend, however, upon the commanders themselves coming "to entertain a more just view than is held by some of them, of their relations to the Press."[118]

How the Confederate Press Handled Wartime Constraints

As if tracking a deadly tornado winding through Georgia, journalists followed Sherman's army as it moved relentlessly from the Tennessee border to Atlanta and beyond, leaving devastation in its wake. They reported the "enemy . . . concentrating heavily at Ringgold" and "gradually advancing."[119] There was general "alarm" at Acworth. The "enemy" was now forging "the river near Roswell" and approaching "Marietta."[120] "The ground is caving in."[121] Atlanta residents are "removing their goods."[122] Near Macon, "everything has been swept as with a storm of fire. . . . The whole country around is one wide waste of destruction."[123]

Our research shows that Georgia's newspapers, in reporting on the course of fighting that would eventually overrun them, were confronted by three primary challenges: staying in business, obtaining reliable information, and dealing with censorship in various forms. Each challenge evoked

distinctive coping strategies.

To earn a profit without seeming to be overly callous toward readers anxious for news about loved ones in battle, editors scrounged for affordable paper and substitute inks, repaired faulty presses, diversified their services, and tried to justify modest increases in the price of their papers.

To improve their newspapers' credibility in the face of swirling rumors, inaccurate accounts, and fantasies about what Yankees and Rebels were achieving on the battlefield, editors probed for reliable information, formed a press association, hired correspondents in hopes of receiving more trustworthy firsthand reports, and attempted to establish reliable lines of communication. At times, faced with a deadline and agitated readers, they carried dubious stories without comment or knowingly printed materials whose accuracy could not be corroborated or corrected for several days. More customarily, however, editors printed the most reliable information they could find, accompanied by cautions, qualifications, and admonitions that readers purchase tomorrow's paper for further details. Even behind their reporting of defeats and failures was an unswerving allegiance to the Confederate cause.

To comply with official restrictions and censorship, editors agreed, both individually and through their press association, never to publish descriptions of campaign strategies, movement of soldiers, or the results of skirmishes, where doing so might endanger their countrymen. Often in practice, however, their judgment on what to print diverged from official directives. Consequently, there was a running feud among editors, correspondents in the field, elected officials, and military personnel concerning what could properly be printed. In response to efforts at censorship, editors defended their inalienable right to publish in a free society, insisted they had a duty to inform a citizenry already sacrificing for the cause, reasoned that only a free press could be trusted by the public, promised that they could be relied upon to determine what was appropriate to print, denied that they bore personal responsibility for all items they printed, and argued that some sort of partnership between the press and the military would best serve the Confederacy's interests.

Southern journalists had deep and genuine concerns over efforts at censorship by civil and military authorities, and they responded with a spirited defense of press freedom. Some researchers prefer to isolate these governmental constraints for study, but we found that viewing them alongside constraining forces of an unofficial nature tells a more realistic story of day-to-day challenges faced by newspaper editors during the Civil War.

Endnotes

[1] At the same time, and for the same purposes, Grant ordered General George Gordon Meade to oppose General Robert E. Lee's army; see James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988): 721-722.

[2] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 743-744.

[3] See Cal M. Logue, "The Rhetorical Complicity Indigenous to Winning the North Georgia Campaign," *Communication Studies*, 43 (1992): 124-31; Logue, "Coping with Defeat Rhetorically: Sherman's March Through Georgia," *Southern Communication Journal*, 58 (1992): 55-66.

[4] Qtd. in *Macon Daily Telegraph*, 23 June 1864.

[5] The *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, which in 1851 had become Atlanta's first daily, was "the only Atlanta paper to survive the war." The *Intelligencer* "fled to Macon" when Atlanta was threatened directly, but returned to Atlanta in December, 1864; see Rabun Lee Brantley, *Georgia Journalism of the Civil War Period* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1929): 28-29; The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* was formed in 1861 by a merger of newspapers, including an earlier one by that name. It also fled Atlanta with Sherman's approach, but "died in Columbus in 1864"; Brantley, 46-47.

[6] The *Macon Telegraph* had become a permanent daily in 1860. In September, 1864, it was purchased by Henry L. Flash, owner of the *Daily Confederate*, who named his consolidated paper *The Macon Daily Telegraph and Confederate*. "The *Telegraph and Confederate* was published until April 21, 1865, when the editors and printers vacated the office on the entrance of the Federal cavalry into [Macon]"; Brantley, *Georgia Journalism*, 22. The *Telegraph* reappeared on May 11 under new ownership. *The Georgia Journal and Messenger*, which had become a daily in 1860, "was routed by the Northern army for several weeks, but finally resumed publication. The paper merged with The *Telegraph* in 1869"; Brantley, 31.

[7] J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970; reprinted 1985), 38, 430. As we note later, the city's newspapers played a leading role in the establishment of a southern press association, whose superintendent, J. S. Thrasher, was based in Atlanta.

[8] In 1864, Felix Gregory de Fontaine, whom Andrews identifies as a "leading . . . correspondent," observed that "next to Richmond, Atlanta may boast of the ablest conducted Press in the country." *Savannah Republican*, 15 July 1864, qtd. in Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 38, 430.

[9] Sherman's rapid march south from Atlanta to Savannah in November and December, 1864, followed a path just a few miles east of Macon. Two attempts by Federal raiding parties to capture the city were repulsed by Macon's defenders. After nearby Milledgeville, the state capital, was captured by Sherman's troops, Macon became the temporary seat of government. See Ida Young, Julius Gholson, and Clara Nell Hargrove, *History of Macon, Georgia* (Macon: Lyon, Marshall & Brooks, 1950): 257-91.

[10] An examination of the four Atlanta and Macon newspapers affords broader coverage than one might first assume, since editors commonly exchanged materials with other newspapers and republished each other's reports. Besides what they took from each other, our editors reprinted materials from such newspapers as the *Augusta Constitutionalist, Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel, Richmond Dispatch, Richmond Enquirer, Knoxville Register, Chattanooga Rebel, Memphis Appeal, Atlanta Appeal, Atlanta Register, Augusta Register, Charleston Courier, Richmond Sentinel, Richmond Whig, Richmond Examiner, Nashville Union, Washington Chronicle, Louisville Journal, Nashville Press, Memphis Argus, Montgomery Mail, Petersburg* (Virginia) *Express, Selma Reporter, Sumter Republican, Montgomery Advertiser, Bugle Horn of Liberty, Savannah Republican,* and *Mobile Register.*

[11] The best compendium of information about Georgia's wartime newspapers is Brantley, *Georgia Journalism.* Relevant chapters appear in Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism: 1763-1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951): 66-89; and in surveys such as Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960* (3rd. ed; New York: Macmillan, 1962): 360-68. The best treatment of southern wartime journalism as a whole is Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War,* which gives considerable attention to the coverage of Sherman's movements by Georgia newspapers. Editors of the period are discussed in Carl R. Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesmen of the Nineteenth Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994); Hodding Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets: The Southern Press in War, Reconstruction, and Peace* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969); and D. E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951).

[12] See *Confederacy*, 12 February 1863, 3.

[13] Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets*, 9; Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press*, 10, 13.

[14] The *Columbus Daily-Sun* reported that northern troops made a special effort to destroy daily newspapers because of their greater potential to bolster civilian and military morale; 21 March 1865, 1; 14 April 1865, 1.

[15] On 18 January 1863, A. G. Ware, agent for the Macon & Western Railroad in Atlanta gave this "fair notice": "I am authorized by the . . . Superintendent of this Road . . . to notify Consignees . . . that after the expiration of five days . . . NO FREIGHT of any kind, will be received . . . for SHIPMENT TO ATLANTA, until . . . cars here have been emptied"; *Confederacy*, 20 January 1863, 3; see also Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 72; Brantley, *Georgia Journalism*, 87-92; Cedric Okell Reynolds, "The Postal System of the Southern Confederacy," *West Virginia History*, 12 (1951): 200-279.

[16] "On the very day (July 6) that an [*Atlanta Daily*] *Intelligencer* editorial was beseeching the citizens of Atlanta to `stand firm,' the *Intelligencer*, along with the *Confederacy* and [*Atlanta*] *Register*, was planning a precipitate exit"; Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 454-55.

[17] Brantley, *Georgia Journalism*, 28. The record for changing locations by rail no doubt belonged to the *Memphis Appeal*, whose press and type were removed from the city on a flatcar shortly before Memphis was captured in June, 1862. Its editor and staff evaded capture for almost three years, until April, 1865, by which time "the *Appeal* had been published in ten towns and four states," including more than a year in Atlanta. Its nickname was "the moving *Appeal*"; Mott, *American Journalism*, 364.

[18] When Macon was threatened a second time, early reports indicated that Union officials were now publishing this newspaper under a new title, *The Daily News*. Later, the paper's original personnel insisted that they had not lost control; *Augusta Chronicle*, qtd. in *Macon Daily Evening News*, 4 May 1865, 2.

[19] *Intelligencer*, 23 July 1864, 4.

[20] "Discouraged" by a lack of "supplies and services, editors of many smaller papers" in Georgia "ceased publishing"; Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 67. Brantley calculates that of "111 newspapers and periodicals published in Georgia during the period 1860-65," fifty-nine "were forced to suspend finally during the Civil War"; *Georgia Journalism*, 128.

[21] In short supply were "newsprint, ink, and labor"; Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press*, 41-42, 103-104.

[22] *South Carolinian*, qtd. in *Telegraph & Confederate*, 13 August 1864, 1; 19 October 1864, 1.

[23] Earl L. Bell and Kenneth C. Crabbe, *The Augusta Chronicle: Indomitable Voice of Dixie, 1875-1960* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960): 60.

[24] At the beginning of the war, notes Tucker, "there were fifteen paper mills in the seceding states," which supplied only half the amount of newsprint required to satisfy the South's newspaper consumption. "With the destruction of the largest paper mills in Augusta [Georgia, in 1863] and Bath, South Carolina, Georgia newspapers were forced to depend upon blockade-run paper hauled in wagons over the mountains"; Ruby Florence Tucker, "The Press Association of the Confederate States of America in Georgia" (Masters thesis, University of Georgia, 1950): 58, 82.

[25] The Confederacy approved the "exemption from conscription of one editor of each newspaper now being published, and such employees as the editor or proprietor may certify, upon oath, to be indispensable for conducting the publication'"; Steven A. Smith, "Freedom of Expression in the Confederate States of America," *Free Speech Yearbook* (Falls Church: Speech Communication Association, 1978): 20.

[26] Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 72.

[27] Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 43.

[28] A Georgia law enacted in 1829 had stated that "no slave or free person of colour shall be employed in the setting of types." An editor found guilty "shall forfeit the sum of ten dollars for every slave or free person of colour who may be so employed on any day or part of a day"; State of Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia* (Milledgeville: Camak and Ragland Printers, 1830): 175.

[29] *Confederacy*, 10 January 1863, 3.

[30] Ibid., 9 January 1863, 3.

[31] Ibid., 5 February 1863, 3.

[32] Ibid., 14 December 1864, 1.

[33] Smith, "Freedom of Expression," 20.

[34] *Georgia Journal & Messenger* [Atlanta], 24 February 1864, 2.

[35] When Atlanta printers went on strike in the spring of 1864, publishers "threatened" to have them drafted; however, military authorities "pointed out that if there were no printers, there could be no papers, and the publishers and editors were equally liable for conscription"; Henry T. Malone, "Atlanta Journalism During the Confederacy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 37 (1953): 217-18.

[36] *Journal & Messenger*, 13 April 1864, 2.

[37] Before the war, most daily newspapers "ran to four pages"; in 1862 they "published on half (single) sheets"; Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 25-26, 42.

[58] *Journal & Messenger*, 24 February 1864, 2.

[59] *Athens Southern Watchman*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 17 June 1863, 2.

[60] *Journal & Messenger*, 25 May 1864, 2.

[61] Ibid., 4 April, 1865, 2.

[62] Ibid., 31 May 1865, 2.

[63] Ibid., 30 June 1865, 2.

[64] Ibid., 16 July 1862, 2.

[65] Ibid., 16 November 1864, 2.

[66] Ibid., 16 April 1862, 2. Eliza Frances Andrews writes in her journal of inviting Jim Chiles "to dinner" because he had as "much news to tell . . . as the county paper," and it was "more reliable"; *The War-time Journal of a Georgia Girl* (Macon: Ardivan Press, 1960): 84.

[67] To mollify subscribers anxious for news from the Virginia front, an editor explained that "the telegraph communication with Richmond" was "interrupted" when a "raiding party" at Burkeville "cut the lines"; *Confederacy*, 29 June 1864, 2. When in operation, "telegraphic communication . . . rendered stale" any news received by mail; "B." in *Telegraph*, 1 June 1864, 2. See J. Cutler Andrews, "The Southern Telegraph Company, 1861-1865: A Chapter in the History of Wartime Communication," *Journal of Southern History*, 30 (1964): 319-44.

[68] *Intelligencer*, 27 May 1864, 1, qtd. in *Telegraph*, 30 May 1864, 1.

[69] *Telegraph*., 1 June 1864, 1; see *Daily-Sun*, 15 April 1865, 1.

[70] *Telegraph*, 2 August 1864, 2.

[71] *Telegraph*, 17 May 1864, 2.

[72] Ibid, 10 June 1864, 2; 24 June 1864, 2.

[73] Ibid., 9 June 1864, 2.

[74] Ibid., 2 February 1864, 1.

[75] Ibid., 29 June 1864, 2.

[76] *Augusta Chronicle*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 16 November 1864, 2.

[77] *Confederacy*, 25 November 1863, 1.

[78] Ibid., 23 March 1864, 2. Editors received volunteer accounts of varying quality, including what may have been a satirical letter from "Lige Diddle," stationed with "Oldman's Brigade"; ibid.,19 June 1864, 1.

[79] *Journal & Messenger*, 20 July 1864, 1.

[80] Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 517.

[81] Tucker, "Press Association," 64.

[82] Smith, "Freedom of Expression in the Confederate States of America," 20.

[83] *Telegraph & Confederate*, 13 July 1864, 2; 13 August 1864, 2; 14 December 1864, 1; 20 December 1864, 1; 28 December 1864, 1.

[84] Ibid., 25 November 1863, 2.

[85] Inaccurate accounts were sometimes followed by corrections, as in this case: "In our notice of the shooting of Henry Pagnoncelli . . . by Joseph Ryan . . . several errors occurred. We gave the information then as we received it, supposing it to be correct. We learn from Mr. Ryan himself that he is not absent from his command without leave, as was reported to us. . . . Every body . . . whom we have heard . . . approves of Mr. Ryan's conduct in this case. He has not been arrested . . . as previously reported"; *Confederacy*, 15 January 1863, 3.

[86] Ibid., 29 June 1864, 2.

[87] *Journal & Messenger*, 1 June 1864, 2.

[88] *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 4 June 1862, 2. Editors might assist the military "by printing false information in journals which were permitted to fall into Union hands"; Quintus Charles Wilson, "A Study and Evaluation of the Military Censorship in the Civil War" (Masters Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1945): 261; see Robert Freeman Smith, "John R. Eakin: Confederate Propagandist," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 12 (1953): 16-26.

[89] Brantley notes that Georgia editors, when in doubt about the reliability of stories, often labeled them "'rumor' or used the heading 'Interesting, If True'"; *Georgia Journalism*, 130.

[90] *Journal & Messenger*, 27 July 1864, 2.

[71] *Telegraph*, 28 May 1864, 2.

[72] Ibid., 17 June 1863, 2.

[73] Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 67.

[74] *Confederacy*, 14 December 1864, 2.

[75] *Telegraph*, 31 May 1864, 2; Andrews, *South Reports the Civil* War, 435.

[76] Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 55-56; see Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), ix; and Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 72-75.

[77] Through assiduous research, Andrews established the identity of many "volunteer soldier correspondents, editorial correspondents . . . Richmond correspondents [and] professional war correspondents in the field . . ." who published under pseudonyms, including that of "290" (Samuel Chester Reid, Jr.); Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 548-51. We use Andrews' identifying references in our essay.

[78] "In another column," the editor continued, "we publish a most interesting general description of the great battle of Chickamauga, from the graphic pen of our talented correspondent `290'"; see also Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 550.

[79] Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 514, 517, 525.

[80] Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 50-51, 548-49.

[81] *Charleston Courier*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 23 April 1862, 3.

[82] Representatives from Charleston, Memphis, Knoxville, and New Orleans as well as from the Georgia cities of Savannah, Columbus, Augusta, Macon, and Atlanta convened in Atlanta; *Journal & Messenger*, 19 March 1862, 2. See Tucker, "Press Association," 3-56; E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*; *A History of the South*, 10 vols. published or planned (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1950), vol. 7, 497; Brantley, *Georgia Journalism*, 91-93; Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 72-75; F. N. Boney, "War and Defeat," in Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 196; Quintus C. Wilson, "Confederate Press Association," *Journalism Quarterly*, 26 (June, 1949): 160-66.

[83] *Confederacy*, 10 February 1863, 3; for notices of the meeting see 27 January, 3; and 5 February, 3.

[84] *Intelligencer*, 13 October 1863, 2. The Press Association disseminated to its member papers reports under headlines such as: "TELEGRAPHIC REPORTS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS . . . LATEST FROM VIRGINIA . . . FROM THE NORTH. EUROPEAN"; *Confederacy*, 9 June 1864, 1.

[85] *Confederacy*, 24 March 1864, 2.

[86] Ibid., 14 December, 1864, 2.

[87] In disputing E. Merton Coulter's claim that "no newspaper was ever suppressed by state or Confederate authority throughout the war" (Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 503), Andrews points out that

> William G. Brownlow's *Knoxville Whig* was suppressed six months after the war began and his press and types destroyed. It is also likely other Southern newspapers would have encountered a similar fate had not public pressure induced a change in editorial policy (as in the case of the *New Orleans True Delta*); had not changes in editorial management been brought about (as in the case of the *Richmond Whig*); or if the offenders had not been forced out of business because of lack of public support. The *Wilmington Daily Herald*, a conservative North Carolina paper, and the *Charlottesville Review*, the leading anti-secession paper of Virginia, suspended publication within three months after the war began; Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 540-41.

One should note, however, that some of the examples of repression that Andrews gives to rebut Coulter are largely of an unofficial character.

[88] Censorship of the southern press may have been "relatively effective during the first two years of the war but . . . less so" later; Wilson, "Study and Evaluation of the Military Censorship," 239. For various views on censorship of the southern press, see Smith, "Freedom of Expression in the Confederate States of America," 17-22, 27; Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets*, 28-29; Donna L. Dickerson, "From Suspension to Subvention: The Southern Press during Reconstruction, 1863-1870, *American Journalism*, 8 (Fall, 1991), 230-45; Robert Neil Mathis, "Freedom of the Press in the Confederacy: A Reality," *Historian*, 37 (1975): 634-38; Jean Folkerts, *Voices of a Nation: A History of Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 215-17; Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press*, 110; and Harrison Trexler, "The Davis Administration and the Richmond Press, 1861-1865," *Journal of Southern History*, 16 (1950): 177-95.

[89] Conflicts between the Davis administration and leading political figures in Georgia, including Governor Joseph E. Brown and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, blunted enforcement of the administration's censorship measures in the state while at the same time providing newspaper editors with an opening to attack policies that they deemed onerous or oppressive; Kenneth Coleman, *Georgia History in Outline* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960): 53. When in early-1864 the Confederate Congress "authorized the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus to suppress disloyalty and enforce the draft," Brown, in an address to the legislature written with Stephens' assistance, denounced the law "as a step toward `military despotism'"; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 693. For summaries of coverage by several newspapers of Governor Brown's speech of 10 March 1864, denouncing President Davis's action in suspending the writ of habeas corpus, see *Confederacy*, 23 March 1864, 1.

[90] *Telegraph*, 23 November 1864, 2; *Southern Recorder*, 11 April 1865, 1; *Constitutionalist*, qtd in *Telegraph*, 6 October 1864, 2; *Richmond Dispatch*, qtd in *Journal & Messenger*, 22 January, 1862, 2.

[91] *Augusta Constitutionalist*, qtd. in *Telegraph*, 6 October 1864, 2.

[92] Some military officers placed their encampments off-limits to reporters, refused interviews, and found other ways to discourage newspaper coverage; see Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 81, 60-61, 103, 360-61, 429, 433, 436; Tucker, "Press Association," 64; Smith, "Freedom of Expression in the Confederate States of America," 23; Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets*, 298; and Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 75.

[93] A Richmond editor explained how "the collection of news in a great army is very laborious, for the lines are often ten or fifteen miles long. A horse, therefore, is indispensable. But food for horse and rider is notoriously impossible of attainment near a great army, except from its stores. As the request of the Press Agents is so narrow in its application, and as a public wish otherwise unattainable is thereby to be facilitated and promoted, we sincerely hope Congress will not refuse its consent"; *Richmond Sentinel*, qtd. in *Confederacy*, 16 June 1864, 2.

[94] *Telegraph and Confederate*, 23 November 1864, 2. Other news items that could harm the South's war effort were: "An extensive salt mine has been discovered in Franklin parish, Louisiana, about nine miles from New Iberia, near the Bayou Tecbe. . . . The mine, properly worked, would supply the whole Southern Confederacy"; *Natchez Courier*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 27 August 1862, 4; "We remained in our line until three o'clock in the afternoon. . . . Bomb after bomb came whistling over us"; *Savannah Republican* qtd in *Journal & Messenger*, 27 August 1962, 1; "Our loss is about three hundred . . . . We marched nine miles to attack the enemy . . . and fell back to the . . . fortifications. Then they outflanked us. We retreated to our breastworks . . . [and] lost all our horses, tents, equipage, and eleven guns"; *Journal & Messenger*, 29 January 1862, 2.

[95] Qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 29 January 1862, 2.

[96] *Journal & Messenger*, 15 February 1865, 1.

[97] *Intelligencer*, 10 October 1863, 2.

[98] A grand jury in Georgia "admonished" persons to cease "disparag[ing] . . . the government at Richmond"; Smith, "Freedom of Expression in the Confederate States of America," 27.

[99] "JOURNALISTS AND GENERALS," *Richmond Enquirer*, reprinted in *Confederacy*, 3 December 1863, 2.

[100] *Intelligencer*, 15 October 1863, 2; see William F. Thompson, *The Image of War: Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,1994); Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press*, 108-109.

[101] Letter to *Intelligencer*, 13 October 1863, 2. 99% of Georgia's black inhabitants (some 465,000), comprising about 45% of the state's total population, were slaves; however, Thrasher and other southern journalists saw no discrepancy in claiming to represent a free press in a slave-owning society. We found no case where Georgia's editors criticized the institution of slavery or the assumptions underlying it. In fact, the South had a tradition of restricting communications critical of slavery. See Donna Lee Dickerson, *The Course of Tolerance: Freedom of the Press in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 81-113.

[102] *Intelligencer*, 10 October 1863, 2.

[103] Ibid., 13 October 1863, 2. Legislation supposedly was introduced in the Confederate Congress "for establishing a military censorship of the press," the sort of "pernicious measure" that "arbitrary power" had employed throughout the ages "in its resistance of liberal principles"; *Dispatch*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 22 January 1862, 2. The independent *Richmond Enquirer*, opposing what it viewed as a "covert assault upon the privileges and influence of a public-spirited, honestly disposed free press," likened the conflict with war leaders to a "vexed dispute between the advocates of a close communion and the partisans of an open church"; qtd. in *Confederacy*, 3 December 1863, 2.

[104] Possibly "most Civil War era newspapers, North and South, saw no reason for moderating criticism of the government even when faced with the novelty of total war"; Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press*, 109-110.

[105] *Richmond Enquirer*, reprinted in *Confederacy*, 3 December 1863, 2.

[106] *Telegraph & Confederate*, 1 November 1864, 1; 8 November 1864, 1; 12 November 1864, 1; 18 November 1864, 1; 4 December 1864, 1; see *Daily-Sun*, 21 March 1865, 1.

[107] *Chronicle & Sentinel*, qtd. in *Journal & Messenger*, 4 June 1862, 2.

[108] Church, school room, and newspapers were employed to build morale; James W. Silver, "Propaganda in the Confederacy," *Journal of Southern History*, 11 (1945): 493-97; see J. Cutler Andrews, "The Confederate Press and Public Morale," *Journal of Southern History*, 32 (1966): 446-47; and Reynolds, *Editors Make War*, 217.

[109] *Telegraph & Confederate*, 1 November 1864, 1; 8 November 1864, 1; 12 November 1864, 1; 18 November 1864, 1; 4 December 1864, 1.

[110] *Chronicle & Sentinel*, qtd. in *Journal*, 4 June 1862, 2.

[111] For various judgments on how trustworthy southern editors were in safeguarding sensitive information, see: Quintus Charles Wilson, "Voluntary Press Censorship During the Civil War," *Journalism Quarterly*, 19 (1942): 260; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 501; Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 71, 85; Coleman, *Georgia History in Outline*, 62-63; Andrews, *South Reports the Civil War*, 103-104.

[112] *Confederacy*, 3 December 1863, 2.

[113] *Journal & Messenger*, 19 March 1862, 2.

[114] *Intelligencer*, 13 October 1863, 2. To document their papers' patriotic stance, periodically, editors and owners of newspapers assured readers of their devotion to "the good of the Country"; ibid., 23 July 1864, 4; *Journal & Messenger*, 22 February 1865, 1.

[115] *Telegraph & Confederate*, 19 April 1965, 2.

[116] *Journal & Messenger*, 22 March 1865, 1.

[117] *Confederacy*, 3 December 1863, 2.

[118] *Intelligencer*, 13 October 1863, 2.

[119] *Atlanta Reveille*, 29 April 1964, 1.

[120] *Telegraph*, 23 and 25 May 1864, 1.

[121] Ibid, 29 June 1864, 1.

[122] *Republican*, qtd. in *Telegraph*, 13 July 1864, 1.

[123] *Macon Telegraph and Confederate* (n.d.), from the Columbus *Daily Times*, 30 November 1864, qtd. by T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1953): 169.

Peter W. Alexander: Confederate Chronicler & Conscience

By Ford Risley

Peter W. Alexander of the Savannah (Ga.) Republican was one of the few Southern correspondence to provide consistent and reliable reporting for virtually the entire Civil War. This study argues that not only was he one of the most skilled Southern journalists of the era, but that he stands out as a good example of a growing trend among responsible journalists, both North and South, who insisted on casting a critical eye on the government and the military in wartime, while still maintaining loyalty to their side. In this sense, he helped to define the professional role of American correspondents who would cover the important wars of the 20th century.

In a story for the *Savannah* (Georgia) *Republican*, published as the Civil War was entering its second year, correspondent Peter W. Alexander wrote:

> Let every heroic act, every daring adventure, every touching incident, be gathered up and embalmed in the hearts of the people; but let us not interpolate upon the history of these stern times the exaggerations of thoughtless scribblers, nor the weak inventions of sentimental chroniclers.[1]

With those words, Alexander was describing his own approach to covering the bloodiest war in American history. The Georgian, a college graduate and lawyer by training, used his considerable reporting and writing skills to become one of the best-known and most influential Southern correspondents of the war. Writing under the bylines "P.W.A.," "A," or "Sallust," Alexander corresponded throughout the war for the *Republican* and, at various times, for the *Mobile Advertiser & Register*, the *Atlanta*

Ford Risley is an Assistant Professor in the College of Communications at Pennsylvania State University.

Southern Confederacy, and the *Richmond Dispatch*. He covered many of the major land battles including First Manassas, Shiloh, Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Wilderness, and Petersburg.

Alexander's reports were recognized for their accurate, detailed information. But he was more than just a battlefield reporter. Unlike many Southern correspondents, who glorified virtually all aspects of the tragic conflict, Alexander also wrote about the seamy side of the war—its horror, drudgery, and incompetence. He repeatedly criticized the Confederate government for its inability to provide proper clothing, supplies, and medical treatment for the troops, and, in the process, made himself a friend of the common soldier. He also faulted Confederate correspondents who too often ignored the facts in writing their stories.

The work of Southern correspondents has begun to attract serious attention by scholars.[2] J. Cutler Andrews examined some 90 full and part-time Southern correspondents in his book, *The South Reports the Civil War*. He concluded that Alexander was one of two reporters who "stood head and shoulders above" the rest.[3] Still, no scholarly work has examined Alexander's correspondence exclusively and in depth, even though he was one of only a handful of Southern reporters to provide consistent and reliable correspondence for virtually the entire war. This study, which examined the extant copies of Alexander's war reporting, argues that not only was he one of the most skilled Southern journalists of the era, but that he stands out as a good example of the growing professionalism of American war correspondents.[4]

• • •

The war correspondent still was a new development in American journalism when the Civil War began. The young country's newspapers had been reporting wars since the American Revolution, but such reporting was largely haphazard. Editors asked junior officers to send occasional letters from the battlefield, a generally unsatisfactory arrangement, as most of the men did not understand what constituted news. George W. Kendall, editor of the *New Orleans Picayune*, and his fellow correspondents who covered the Mexican War from 1846-1848 were an improvement over that system, but war reporting still was in its infancy when fighting erupted between the North and South.[5]

The overall quality of the correspondents used by the Southern press has been criticized—and in many cases deservedly so.[6] Because of their limited financial resources, Confederate newspapers made great use of soldier correspondents, most of whom had little writing experience. Most of these "volunteer" correspondents wrote in the inflated, romantic style of the era, had no concept of what constituted news, and were only interested

in glorifying the South or their own regiment. Yet even many of the paid correspondents or "specials," as they were sometimes known, lacked any understanding of the still-developing journalistic concepts of truthfulness and objectivity.[7]

Certainly Southern correspondents had to overcome numerous hurdles in simply reporting the war. Like their counterparts in the North, they were underpaid, overworked, and were in constant physical danger. To gain access to officers and their troops, most specials sought and were given staff appointments. Such an arrangement, along with the obvious loyalty many already felt for the Southern cause, however, led many correspondents to frequently minimize Confederate losses and overlook problems within the army.[8]

Peter W. Alexander got his first taste of newspaper work in the mid 1840s when he began writing editorials for the *Savannah Republican*, the leading Whig publication in the state at the time.[9] Born in 1824, Alexander had gone on to attend the University of Georgia, graduating second in his class. He later studied law and was admitted to the state bar. At the same time, he became active in the Whig Party and began writing on a part-time basis for the *Republican*. He eventually accepted the job of associate editor, and in 1853 he was named the newspaper's editor-in-chief. For unknown reasons, Alexander left the *Republican* in 1857 and resumed his law practice full time.[10] As an active member of Georgia's Whig party, he was elected to the state secession convention as a delegate from his home county, Upson County. Alexander and other members of the Upson Whig delegation voted against secession, but when Georgia decided to leave the Union, he put aside his personal views and supported the Confederacy.[11] When the Civil War began, he accepted an appointment as a battlefield correspondent for the *Republican* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*.[12]

Alexander Covers First Manassas

Although Alexander had previously worked for the *Republican*, nothing in his life to this point had prepared him for life as a war correspondent. And at the war's first major battle, First Manassas,[13] he quickly got a taste for the difficulties he would encounter in reporting the war. After the battle, he was forced to walk the seven miles from the battlefield back to Manassas Junction. Arriving there about one o'clock in the morning, no doubt exhausted, he nonetheless began writing his account of the war's first major battle, a victory for the South. The report, served up with ample amounts of purple prose, began, "Yesterday, the 21st day of July, 1861, a great battle was fought and a great victory won by the Confederate troops. Heaven smiled upon his arms, and the God of Battles crowned our banners

with the laurel of glory." Concluding the report, he patriotically claimed that First Manassas was "the greatest battle ever fought on this continent."[14]

Alexander's account of First Manassas was extremely popular in Savannah, a fact probably due more to the outcome of the battle than the quality of the correspondent's report. The editor of the *Republican* claimed that he had received "hundreds" of requests for issues containing the correspondent's "able and graphic letters on the late battle of Manassas Plains."[15] Alexander's report, however, was far from complete and, to his credit, he recognized its shortcomings. Responding to a letter from a reader, he later admitted that "no full, fair, and satisfactory account" of the battle had yet been written. In an example of the self-reflection toward his craft that he would often practice, Alexander then went on to list more than a dozen items that should have been included in his report, including "the brigade that first encountered the enemy. . . the position of the several batteries . . . [and] where the commanding generals were during the fight."[16]

It did not take long for Alexander to show that he was not going to be a passive observer of the Confederate army and its operation. In a letter published by the *Republican* a month after First Manassas, the correspondent criticized the practice of some soldiers who carried sidearms and knives. He reported that during lulls in the fighting, drunken Southern soldiers regularly got into fights and injured or killed one another with the weapons. In blunt language he expressed his outrage and suggested a cure for the problem:

> A drunken soldier, with a revolver stuck in his belt on one side and bowie knife on the other is about as fit to go at large as an infuriated maniac; and the authorities ought to see to it that no more men be suffered to enter the service unless they leave all such weapons at home, where they may be needed.[17]

Later in the year, Alexander wrote the first of what would prove to be many letters critical of the Confederate government and its running of the army. He noted the resignation of Confederate Secretary of War Leroy Walker and said it was "not regretted in the army."[18] Although describing Walker as a fine individual who had the best interests of the Confederacy at heart, the secretary lacked the proper skills for the job, in Alexander's view. In particular, he wrote that the secretary had squandered opportunities to secure supplies badly needed by the army.[19]

As the year closed, it was apparent that the war was going to last throughout the winter. The need for proper shoes and clothing for Confederate troops was not lost on Alexander. In two reports published in Decem-

ber, he stepped up his criticism of Confederate officials begun earlier. Stressing the need for shoes for soldiers, he wrote: "Men may fight with clubs, with bows, with stones, with their hands; but they cannot fight and march without shoes."[20] Some of his harshest language was directed at the Confederate Medical Department for not getting necessary medicine to the troops.

> The supply of medicines is very meager. And yet it is notorious that there are medicines enough in the towns and villages throughout the Confederacy to supply the Army and the people. Meanwhile, the best and bravest men who ever drew a sword are dying for want of those medicines.[21]

Certainly Alexander was not the only correspondent— North or South—to point out the sufferings of troops or to criticize the war policies of the government, while still maintaining their loyalty. Although relatively few in number, reporters on both sides during the Civil War publicized the plight of soldiers and sought reforms.[22] At various times, several other Southern journalists also questioned the practices of the administration and government agencies in waging war with the North.[23] But no other Confederate correspondent reported with the regularity or for length of time that Alexander did. Moreover, his elegant writing style, as well as his graphic description of medical atrocities and other hardships faced by the troops, gave his work particular impact.[24] In a story about Confederate army hospitals, for example, Alexander reported that many field surgeons performed their work sloppily with seemingly little concern for the health of the soldiers. In blunt language he went on to write:

> The object of many of the field surgeons seems to be get through their work, in some sort of fashion, as soon as possible and turn their subjects over to the hospital surgeons. While engaged at the amputation table, many of them feel it to be their solemn duty, every time they administer brandy to a patient, to take a drink themselves. This part of their work is performed with great unction and conscientiousness.[25]

In a later report for the *Republican*, Alexander described seeing "surgeons so stupefied by liquor that they could not distinguish between a man's arm and the spoke of a wagon wheel, and who would have just have soon sawed off the one as the other."[26]

To be sure, Alexander's criticism of the Confederate administration, like those of other correspondents, was undertaken within the narrowly prescribed limits generally understood by experienced Southern journalists of the era. In this respect it was permissible to criticize individuals, Congress, or government agencies for their policies in waging war with the North. However, criticism of slavery or the independence movement was just as dangerous as it had been during the Antebellum period when Southern authorities prohibited the distribution of abolitionist materials and public sentiment forced several anti-secession journals in the South to close or change their editorial policies. [27]

There is no indication that Alexander's criticism of Confederate leaders or the bureaucracy caused him problems in trying to report the war. As best as can be determined, he was never kicked out of the army for violating any military orders.[28] Likely this could be attributed to the fact that he was always careful not to reveal any military secrets in his reports, at times even telling readers that he had additional information he could have reported, but sound judgment prevented him from doing so. Alexander also carefully worded his criticisms, being careful not to be mean-spirited. There seems little doubt that his criticism was intended to help, not hurt, the Confederacy's war effort. In fact, he was publicly critical of Southern correspondents, some of whom were prone to continual fault-finding. In one story for the *Republican*, he wrote of these critics:

> They no longer speak of the mistakes of government and commanding officers as one friend should speak to another of his errors. They do not mean to be factious, or to cripple or embarrass those in authority; yet such is the natural effect of their course. By returning to its former patriotic policy . . . by abstaining alike from unmerited praise as well as undue censure, by criticizing with candor and justice . . . the Press may accomplish incalculable good.[29]

To be sure, Alexander was not without his own faults. He was guilty of making exaggerated statements that had no basis in fact, as when he described the Confederate victory at Chickamauga as "the most important battle of the war, after that of first Manassas."[30] Alexander also occasionally indulged in the kind of atrocity stories frequently resorted to by lesser Southern correspondents. For example, he refused to acknowledge that Federal troops had fought courageously at Spotsylvania Court House in 1864, insisting that they had been well supplied with liquor before going

into battle.[31] His reports also sometimes lapsed into excessiveness. An example of the purple prose that appeared in his letters can be seen in his report of the battle of Fort Donelson, in February of 1862. In the opening paragraph of the account, Alexander noted what a critical loss the fort was for the Confederacy. But then he turned to invective as he wrote:

> The Federal 'anaconda' begins to tighten his coil. The 'circle of fire' with which the South was to be surrounded, already illumines the horizon. A bitter foe—smarting under former defeat, jeered at by the world, even distrustful of his own courage—now thunders at our gates, a victorious and multitudinous host! . . . Fort Donelson has fallen. It is a great disaster, and has produced much pain and suffering here. The nation bows its head and smites its breast in bitter sorrow, but thank God! not in despair. The darkness is relieved by at least one cheering gleam—our men brought away 'blood on their bayonets.'[32]

In the spring of 1862, Alexander covered his second major battle of the war, Shiloh. Due to travel problems, he did not arrive at the battlefield until noon, some six hours after the first day of fighting had begun. Although unable to estimate the number of troops killed and wounded, he reported that the fighting the first day was "hot and close and raged with great violence and fury." He concluded, "[T]he roar of artillery and rattle of musketry fairly shook the earth."[33] That night Alexander slept in the tent of the quartermaster of the 53rd Ohio Regiment, which had been captured in the day's fighting. He wrote his account of the battle's first day of fighting on paper left behind by the quartermaster. With an eye for detail and description, he noted that the tent had been perforated by 21 musket balls.[34]

The next morning resumed "another day of battle and blood," Alexander reported. The Federal army, which had been reinforced the night before, fought "with great spirit and resolution," he admitted. He also felt compelled to report frankly that the Confederate cause was hurt because many troops had spent the previous night enjoying the spoils left behind by Union soldiers, despite orders not to do so. Some soldiers resumed their search for items the next morning and were separated from their regiments when the battle resumed, he added. Alexander attributed this behavior to the fact that many of the troops were raw and too elated with the outcome of the first day's fighting. Still, he wrote, "there can be no excuse for the disgraceful proceedings. . . . It is hoped that the experience of this day will not be thrown away either by our officers or soldiers."

By this point in the war, Alexander's correspondence had developed a certain consistency. Although he usually sent telegraphic dispatches back to his newspaper after a major battle, most of his published correspondence was in the form of long letters in which he addressed a variety of subjects. In these letters he could discuss additional details of a battle such as Shiloh, complain about the unsanitary conditions of Confederate camps, and praise the women of Tennessee for their attention to the sick and wounded. Like all Civil War correspondents, the circumstances under which Alexander worked often were far from ideal. After a battle, he frequently stayed up most of the night writing his correspondence and at daybreak galloped off to get the letter in the hands of the postal service. In camp, he suffered under many of the same conditions as regular troops. Several times he became ill and had to leave the army to seek medical treatment. Although he usually did not have to march with the troops, travel conditions nonetheless could be brutal.[35]

Travel problems hampered Alexander's effort to cover the Second Battle of Manassas in August of 1862. He missed the first day of fighting, and with no other way to get to the battlefield, he hopped a freight train in the town of Gordonsville at 9 a.m. on August 29 and arrived at the terminus of the railroad at noon. There he found a horse, forded the Rapidian and Rappahannock rivers and got to the town of Warrentown at one o'clock the following day. After resting his horse, he started toward the battlefield, arriving just as the battle was drawing to a close.[36]

Second Manassas was a major victory for the Confederate Army and in correspondence published later, Alexander wrote that the battle had proven the Army of Northern Virginia deserved a place among the great armies of history. Still, he was reminded of the sight of the victorious, but still-suffering Confederate troops, many of whom were hungry and poorly clothed. He reported that,

> the army has not had a mouthful of bread for four days, and no food of any kind except a little green corn picked up in the roadside, for 36 hours. Many of them also are barefooted. I have seen scores of them to-day marching over the flinty turnpike with torn and blistered feet. They bear these hardships without murmuring. . . . As for tents, they have not known what it was to sleep under one since last spring.[37]

Alexander produced similarly detailed reports at the battle of Sharpsburg in Maryland. He was impressed with the performance of the Federal Army and wrote that it was their finest moment of the war since

Shiloh.[38] He wrote his account of the battle from near an army hospital, graphically describing the carnage, with its "amputated arms and legs, feet, fingers, and hands cut off, puddles of human gore and ghastly gaping wounds." Alexander concluded succinctly, "There is a smell of death in the air." In the same report, the correspondent admitted that he had been in favor of the Confederate invasion into Maryland, but said it had probably been a mistake. He based his opinion, in part, on the poor condition of the troops. Describing the army, he wrote:

> A fifth of the troops are barefooted; half of them are in rags; and the whole of them insufficiently supplied with food . . . Since we crossed into Maryland, and even before they frequently had to march all day and far into night for three and four days together, without food of any kind, except such apples and green corn as they could obtain along the way.[39]

Alexander's growing skill as a battlefield reporter was evident in his account of the battle of Fredericksburg in December of 1863. Although he did not reach Fredericksburg until the battle was over, his use of second-hand information and his own observations made for an engaging story. The Union army, he wrote, faced artillery that "poured a devouring fire into the ranks. . . . Assault upon assault was made, each time with fresh columns and increasing numbers. They never succeeded, however. . . ."[40]

The result of such savage fighting was a scene horrifying even for a war-hardened reporter like Alexander. He wrote, "I went over the ground this morning and the remaining dead, after two-thirds of them had been removed, lay twice as thick as upon any other battlefield I have ever seen."[41] The correspondent's eye for visual detail was evident in his description of a wooden fence and stone walls behind which soldiers sought shelter:

> Some of the planks in this fence were literally shot away from the posts to which they were nailed, and one can hardly place his hand upon any part of them without covering a dozen bullet holes. Just at the foot of the stone wall behind which our men were posted, thousands of flattened musket balls may be picked up, whilst the hills behind it have been almost converted into a lead mine.[42]

Best Reporting At Gettysburg

But probably Alexander's most complete reporting work was done at the battle of Gettysburg in July of 1863.[43] Alexander's report of the battle

ran two full columns long on the front page of the *Republican* and jumped to one-half column on page two, making it one of his longest stories of the war. The correspondent began his account succinctly: "The bloodiest and most desperate battle of this bloody and most desperate war has just been fought here on the soil of Pennsylvania."[44]

The story apparently was written under extreme deadline pressure because he noted in the middle of it that the courier who would carry the dispatch had saddled his horse and was ready to leave. Nonetheless, Alexander described in precise detail the various smaller battles that made up Gettysburg, giving readers a picture of the famous scene. As he was often wont to do, he tried to put the best face on the Confederate loss, noting that both Confederate and Federal armies left the battlefield "worn, battle-scarred and severely punished."[45] But Alexander recognized that some Confederate tactics were highly questionable. He raised questions about General Lee's decision to fight at the time and place he did. He also questioned why Lee ordered an attack on the second day without proper reconnaissance.[46]

After Gettysburg, Alexander made his way south to Tennessee, eventually covering the battle of Chickamauga in September. He arrived too late to witness the battle, however, and had to rely on the statements of others. As a result, the account lacked the detail and graphic description of many of his other stories. He also lapsed into excessive language and made exaggerated statements. Perhaps inspired by the Confederate victory at Chickamauga, he described it as "the most important battle of the war, after that of first Manassas."[47]

During the days leading up the battle of Chattanooga, Alexander continued to show his concern for the common Southern soldiers. He

Woodcut Depiction of a Civil War Camp. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

described men who performed guard duty in trenches half-filled with water as a result of heavy rains. Additionally, many of the troops did not have tents and were forced to sleep with only one blanket despite the cold November temperatures. In another story, he aimed his sights on the practice of some officers who had large mounted escorts. Alexander expressed concern about the shortage of horses in the army, attributing the problem in part to the "scandalous exhibition of military vanity" by high-ranking officers who used the escorts. He reported that one officer had an escort of 40 mounted men and another officer had 125.[48] Alexander's letter was reprinted by other Southern newspapers and Confederate General Braxton Bragg eventually issued an order correcting the abuse.[49]

Alexander did not mince words either about the action of Southern forces at Missionary Ridge, the turning point of the battle of Chattanooga. At one point in the fighting, Confederate soldiers on top of Missionary Ridge broke and fled panic-stricken, despite holding the high ground.[50] For the first time in the war, Alexander criticized the fighting spirit of Southern troops. In a remarkably candid account, he wrote, "The Confederates have sustained the most ignominious defeat of the whole war—a defeat for which there is little excuse or pilliation [sic]. For the first time . . . defeat is chargeable to the troops themselves and not the blunders or incompetence of their leaders."[51]

In early 1864, heavy fighting occurred in Alexander's home state for the first time as General William T. Sherman launched his campaign to capture Atlanta. For unknown reasons, however, the correspondent did not travel to Georgia and instead remained in Virginia to cover Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. In early May, the Confederate and Union armies first collided in what would prove to be the beginning of a week of savage fighting. At Spotsylvania Court House, Alexander described fighting so close that at times opposing troops had little more than the length of their muskets between them. In the literary style that had come to characterize much of his work, he went on to write, "The battle was fully joined and for nine hours it roared and hissed and dashed over the bloody angle and along the bristling entrenchments like an angry sea beating and chafing along a rock bound coast."[52]

Alexander remained in Virginia the entire summer to cover the siege of Petersburg by the Union Army. Within two weeks after the siege had begun, the correspondent reported:

> Everybody has left, or is preparing to leave, who is able to get away. The houses, and even the woods and fields, for miles around Petersburg, are filled with women and children and old men who had fled from their homes. Some have

provided themselves with tents; others have erected bush arbors, and others are bivouacking under the trees. This is a sad fate for a town so distinguished for hospitality, refinement, and cultivated men and women.[53]

In a later correspondence, Alexander described the effect the hot and dry summer was having on the town of Petersburg and the surrounding area. With his eye for description—and using some hyperbole—he wrote: "Everything partakes of the color of dust—the woods, the fields, the corn, the grass, the men, the horses, and the wagons. We breathe it, we sleep in it, we even move in it. It is thicker than the darkness that overspread Egypt in the days of the Pharaoh."[54]

Alexander was still in Virginia when Savannah fell to Sherman's troops in December of 1864. As Union troops entered the city, the editor of the *Republican* fled the city with the Confederate Army. One of Sherman's first acts was to take over the *Republican's* offices and appoint a Northern newspaperman as editor.[55] With his newspaper in the hands of an unfriendly editor, Alexander decided it was time to return to Georgia. In December, he left on a month-long trip home, reporting along the way for the *Richmond Dispatch* and *Mobile Advertiser & Register*.

Alexander traveled along the North Carolina coast during his trip home and reported on the fighting at Fort Fisher near Wilmington. In several reports from the coast, he displayed the exaggerated statements but also the detail that his writing so often contained. In one account, he wrote, "The bombardment of Fisher was the heaviest and fiercest to which any fort or town was ever subjected. The front forces of the fort are honeycombed from bottom to top, and the ground and rear is covered with shells and torn into great pits and gullies."[56] Fort Fisher would prove to be the last campaign he covered. After spending more than three years covering the deadliest conflict in American history, the Civil War had ended for Alexander.[57]

• • •

Peter W. Alexander never again did any serious, sustained reporting. He was encouraged to collect his battlefield letters and publish them but he never did. He also declined requests from several publishers to write his reminiscences of the war. Instead, he resumed his law practice, this time with a friend, James M. Smith. However, he apparently missed the newspaper business because in January 1870, the *Thomaston* (Georgia) *Herald* opened with Alexander as co-editor. He held the position for a little more than a year. When Smith was elected governor of Georgia in 1872, Alexander accepted a position as private secretary to Smith. Unable to get

journalism out of his blood, he purchased an interest in the *Macon Telegraph* in 1884 and served as editor of the newspaper. He eventually sold his interest in the *Telegraph* and moved to Marietta, Georgia. He lived there quietly until his death in 1886.[58]

During the nearly four years he covered the American Civil War, Alexander clearly grew into a skilled war correspondent, one who possessed many of the traits expected of modern-day reporters. From his initial, stumbling efforts at covering First Manassas, his reporting and writing evolved to the point where he was regularly producing battle reports that captured the reality, drama, and significance of what was taking place as Americans killed and wounded one another on a scale unprecedented in the country's history. His stories contained many other modern journalistic qualities, from their anecdotes and literary devices to their detail and descriptive qualities.

Alexander Is Chronicler And Conscience

Alexander's accounts of the Civil War reflected the good and the bad of the army he covered. With a reporter's eye and writer's touch, he could praise Southern troops and their commanding officers for their courage, but also point out times when they did not measure up to the task. And while his loyalty to the Confederacy was never in doubt, he was not afraid to criticize the government when he felt it was warranted. He proved to be not only a chronicler of the Confederacy, but an outspoken conscience as well. Alexander clearly understood the prescribed limits for criticism in the slaveholding South.

Reports such as those outlining problems within the Medical Department no doubt rankled many in the Confederate government, but nonetheless Alexander seemed to enjoy warm relations with military officials. In large part this was due to his ability to assimilate with the army he covered. He could dine with officers, but he was not above more difficult tasks, such as helping with burying parties after a battle. He also had proven himself to be a true friend of the common soldier. Officers, no doubt, recognized that he was helping the army with his pleas for more support from civilians at home. Equally important was that Alexander did not anger Confederate officials by reporting sensitive military information. He was always careful not to publish information about the size and location of the Southern army.

Certainly, Alexander enjoyed some advantages over other Southern correspondents in reporting the war. He was college educated and had several years of newspaper experience before the war began. But perhaps even more than his writing and reporting skills, what made Alexander stand

out among Confederate correspondents was his honesty. He refused to be an idle observer when problems within the Confederate army, administration, and press became apparent. In the fashion of modern war reporters, he wrote about the problems. Alexander was a good example of an emerging trend among responsible journalists, both South and North, who insisted on casting a critical eye on the actions of the government and the military in war time, while still maintaining loyalty to their cause. In this sense, he helped to define the professional role of American correspondents who would cover the important wars of the 20th century.

Endnotes

[1] *Savannah Republican*, 26 May, 1862, 2.

[2] Among the major journalism histories prior to this time that paid scant or no attention to Southern correspondents are: Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690-1940* (New York: MacMillan, 1941); James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917); and Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1969).

[3] J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), 50. The conclusions of Andrews regarding Alexander's work are cited in two current media history texts: Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media* 8th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), 139-140; and Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, Jr., *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States* 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1994), 196.

[4] The best survey of war correspondents remains Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty, From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975), 20-33. Other studies include Joseph J. Mathews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965) and Frederick L. Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents* (Boston: Little Brown, 1914).

[5] For a detailed study, see Thomas W. Reilly, "American Reporters and the Mexican War, 1846-1848," (Ph.D. diss, University of Minnesota, 1975).

[6] The most pointed criticism of Confederate correspondents is in Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 20-33. For a more even-handed evaluation, see Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War*, 506-542. Northern correspondents suffered from many of the same problems their Southern counterparts. J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955).

[7] Historians generally have credited the Penny Press editors with developing the concept of objectivity. See Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); and Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978). For a discussion of some of the problems inherent in this view, see Andie Tucher, *Froth & Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). For an overview of press conduct, functions, and standards during this period, see Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989)

[8] Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War*, 48.

[9] Rabun Lee Brantley, *Georgia Journalism of the Civil War Period* (Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College, 1929), 100. See also, Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism, 1763-1850* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1951), 43-65.

[10] *Atlanta Constitution*, 24 September 1886, 2.

[11] *Upson Pilot*, 8 December 1860, 2.

[12] The circumstances surrounding Alexander's employment with various newspapers is unknown, but it was not unusual for full-time reporters to work for more than one paper during the war to supplement their incomes.

[13] In several instances, the North and South gave different names to Civil War battles. In most cases, the Confederates named their battle after the town that served as their base, while the Federals chose the landmark nearest to the fighting, usually a river or stream. Because this study examines a Confederate correspondent, the Southern name is used when referring to a battle. Thus the war's first major battle is called "Manassas," instead of the Union name, "Bull Run." Likewise, "Second Manassas" is used instead of "Second Bull Run." The pivotal battle fought in Maryland in September 1862 is referred to as "Sharpsburg," instead of the Union name, "Antietam."

[14] *Savannah Republican*, 23 July 1861, 1.

[15] *Savannah Republican*, 20 August 1861, 1.

[16] *Savannah Republican*, 27 August 1861, 1.

[17] *Savannah Republican*, 26 August 1861, 1.

[18] *Savannah Republican*, 25 September 1861, 1.

[19] Ibid. Historians generally have agreed with the criticism of Walker's performance as secretary of war. See Burton J. Hendrick, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause, Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet* (New York: Literary Guild, 1939), 178.

[20] *Savannah Republican*, 20 December 1861, 1. For more on problems with the Quartermaster Corps, see Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 34-39.

[21] *Savannah Republican*, 20 December 1861, 1. Shortages of drugs and medicines in the Confederacy are discussed in Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1952).

[22] For examples, see generally, J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955).

[23] For example, Louis J. Dupre of the *Knoxville Register* made public information gathered by a congressional committee investigating alleged fraud in the Commissary and Quartermaster's departments. Dupre reported that the Confederate army in Mississippi had been deprived of food after supplies were diverted to enrich private individuals who had a relationship with the supply corps. *Knoxville Daily Register*, 1 March 1865 and 14 April 1865, 2. And Felix G. de Fontaine of the *Charleston Courier* reported on the plight of Confederate troops who wintered in the rugged mountains of Tennessee in 1863 without proper shoes or clothing. De Fontaine reported that more than three thousand of the troops were barefoot. "The surface of the ground is as hard as a rock, and at every step the frozen edges of earth cut into naked feet, until the path of the army may be almost said to have been tracked in blood," he wrote. *Charleston Daily Courier*, 24 December 1863, 2.

[24] An example of the impact his writing had occurred in 1863 after the Battle of Sharpsburg (or Antietam as its often known). After the battle Alexander wrote a moving picture of shoeless and poorly clothed Confederate troops, describing the hardships they had been enduring, and appealing to citizens to come to their aid. Alexander's plea for help was reprinted by many other Southern newspapers and earned him widespread praise. The *Richmond Dispatch* remarked, "This is true eloquence, coming from the heart of a man who not only sees what he describes, but is himself a participant." By the following month, Alexander was able to report that thousands of pairs of shoes and dollars in cash had been donated to the army.

[25] *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, 24 October 1862, 1. Although not identifying Alexander by name, quotes from the correspondent's reports are used by Horace Herndon Cunnigham in *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 259.

[26] *Savannah Republican*, 4 December 1864, 1.

[27] For background, see Russell B. Nye, "Freedom of the Press and the Antislavery Controversy," *Journalism Quarterly*, 22 (March 1945), 1-11.

[28] In May 1862, Alexander was among a group of correspondents reporting from Corinth, Mississippi, who were ordered to leave the army after a reporter for the *Memphis Appeal* allegedly disobeyed an order. For Alexander's report on the incident, see *Savannah Republican*, 6 June 1862, 1.

[29] *Savannah Republican*, 14 September 1864, 1.

[30] *Mobile Advertiser & Register*, 29 September 1863, 1.

[31] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 18 May 1864, 2.

[32] *Savannah Republican*, 24 February 1862, 1.

[33] *Savannah Republican*, 14 April 1862, 2.

[34] Ibid.

[35] In March, Alexander was trying to get to Mississippi and needed to take a train. The train was full, however, so Alexander made the acquaintance of the engineer and fireman who agreed to let him ride in the tender if he would help keep the fire stoked. After being soaked in a rainstorm, he spent the night in the home of a one-legged man. The other guests, Alexander wrote, included "one idiot, two pigs, a man with a freshly broken arm, and a number of sick, weary soldiers." *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, 12 March 1862, 2.

[36] *Savannah Republican*, 10 September 1862, 1.

[37] *Mobile Advertiser & Register* 10 September 1862, 1.

[38] Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (New Haven, Conn.: Ticknor & Fields, 1983), 298-315.

[39] *Savannah Republican*, 10 September 1862, 1.

[40] *Mobile Advertiser & Register*, 25 December 1862.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

43 Although the most famous battle of the war produced several fine stories by correspondents, according to Andrews, "the most widely reprinted and probably best account of the battle" was the story Alexander furnished to the *Republican and Advertiser & Register*. Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War*, 316.

[44] *Mobile Daily Advertiser & Register*, 25 December 1862, 1.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid. For one of the best military studies of Gettysburg, which raises some of the same questions as Alexander, see Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1968).

[47] *Mobile Advertiser & Register*, 29 September 1863, 1.

[48] *Savannah Republican*, 16 November 1863, 1.

[49] Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War*, 369.

[50] Fairfax Downey, *Storming the Gateway: Chattanooga, 1863*, (New York: David McKay, 1960), 156-195.

[51] *Savannah Republican*, 1 December 1863, 2. Alexander's report on the conduct of Southern troops contrasts with that of Samuel G. Reid of the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*. Reid made excuses for the Confederate Army at Missionary Ridge and tried to argue that the defeat was a "blessing in disguise." *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, 2 December 1863, 2. Historians generally have agreed that the conduct of Confederate troops at Missionary was poor although they also cite poor planning by officers as a reason for the disaster. See for example, James Lee McDonough, *Chattanooga: A Death Grip on the Confederacy* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 205.

[52] *Savannah Republican*, 25 May 1864, 2.

[53] *Mobile Advertiser & Register*, 14 July 1864, 2.

[54] *Savannah Republican*, 14 July 1864, 2.

[55] John E. Talmadge, "Savannah's Yankee Newspapers," *Georgia Review*, 7 (Spring 1958): 66.

[56] *Mobile Advertiser & Register*, 12 January 1865, 1.

[57] Alexander apparently did not return to Savannah, but instead traveled to Macon where he discussed continuing as a correspondent with the editor of the *Macon Telegraph and Confederate*. On April 3, the newspaper announced that Alexander had been employed as a correspondent and that he had left to cover the fighting in Virginia. However, no correspondence from Alexander ever appeared in the paper. Nonetheless, Alexander had outlasted all of the other notable full-time Confederate war correspondents, except Felix Gregory de Fontaine.

[58] *Atlanta Constitution*, 24 September 1886, 2.

George T. Ruby: Reconstruction Politician/Journalist

By Donna L. Dickerson

Through the story of George T. Ruby, this article examines politicians, patronage and the press during Southern Reconstruction. Ruby, a Black politician/journalist who resided on the periphery of mainstream journalism, represented a complex inter-relationship among politics, religion, education and journalism that was the key to creating identity and building consensus within the Black community. Generally, politician/journalists were affiliated with short-lived newspapers, many of which were campaign newspapers published to boost theirs or someone else's candidacy. They depended heavily on political patronage from the white Republican party that courted them for their ability to get out the Black vote. Ruby is probably the most successful of these politician/journalists. Those who have studied his career have called him the most important Black leader in Texas during Reconstruction. But like most of these men, when Ruby's commitment to Black equality and progress came into direct conflict with the party that supported their advancement, he chose the latter. His rapid rise in state politics was followed by an even more rapid fall, as the need for the Black vote and Black participation in politics came to an end.

When the elected senators and representatives from the former Confederate states presented themselves to Congress in 1866 as proof that the South was ready to rejoin the Union, Northern Republicans refused to roll out the red carpet and, instead, sent them home. Congress refused to seat representatives from states that denied blacks the right to vote, resurrected old slave codes to keep blacks in their place and allowed too many rebels to hold office.

While many in Congress were genuinely troubled that the South had destroyed the basic liberties of blacks and Union sympathizers, most were

Donna L. Dickerson is Special Assistant to the Provost and Professor of Mass Communications at the University of South Florida.

more concerned with the immediate political reality of keeping Republicans in control of the White House and Congress. To ensure that vital business interests such as tariff protection, the national banking system, railroad subsidies and strong money policies would not be jeopardized by a Democratic ascendency, Republicans needed to strengthen and enlarge their voting block. The only place to find those votes was in the South, where 4.5 million potential new Republican voters were waiting to be educated to vote for the Party of Lincoln.[1]

Congress, declaring there would be no more compromises with the South, passed the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. This new plan not only placed the South under total military control but also mandated ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, suffrage to all eligible black and white males and the convening of constitutional conventions where new constitutions would recognize black suffrage.[2]

This dramatic change in reconstruction policy introduced the Republican party into the middle of the South's black communities where it became, according to Eric Foner, "an institution as central to the black community as the church and school."[3] The tools for educating freedmen in the party's ways were political organizations like the Union League, the Freedmen's Bureau, churches and newspapers. Among those teaching the party's ways were black politicians of varying abilities who rose to great political heights in a short time by creating alignments within this political network to help the newly freed slave population find its place in a new South.

Through the story of one black politician/journalist, George T. Ruby, this article examines the alliances that some black politicians created between journalism and politics to ascend to and maintain, only for a short time, their leadership positions.

According to the U.S. census, there were 98 daily newspapers and more than 700 weeklies published in the South in 1870.[4] Based on this author's study of federal patronage to Southern Republican newspapers, approximately 12 percent of the Southern dailies and 9 percent of the South's weeklies were Republican newspapers; the rest were conservative Democratic sheets.[5] Among the Republican papers were a handful edited for and circulated among the South's black population. Only a few of these black newspapers ever existed at one time in the South, and in the period of the greatest black political participation, 1865-1872, only nine black newspapers existed in the South.

The high rate of illiteracy (80 percent in 1870) among freedmen contributed to the scarcity of black newspapers. Nevertheless, newspapers were still important to black communities, and it was common throughout the South for newspapers to be read to gatherings of freedmen at church or

at political meetings. For example, Holland Thompson, a young black Republican who worked as a promotional agent for the Mobile *Nationalist*, a black newspaper, traveled throughout the state calling meetings in churches and schools, reading the newspapers and urging listeners to subscribe to the newspaper as well as to the Republican cause.[6] In the offices of the black-owned St. Landry (La.) *Progress*, several hundred freedmen would gather each Sunday to hear the news read aloud. [7] If no one in the community could read, an individual might be sent to a neighboring town to hear the newspaper read, memorize what he heard and return to "read" back the contents.[8] Or, a community would employ someone to read the newspaper at church and political gatherings.[9]

Southern Newspapers Depended on Party Support

Southern newspapers--whether black or white, Republican or Democrat--depended heavily on party support for their survival. Unlike the Northern press, which was slowly divesting itself of the party press image,[10] the Southern press clung to its traditional role as party piper. During this critical period, newspapers depended largely upon the generosity of state and local officials who controlled public printing contracts and the placement of legal advertising. Whichever party controlled a state's public offices also controlled the state's newspapers. Despite aggressive measures taken by Republican governors or federal district commanders to remove former Confederates and conservatives from these offices, Democrats held the majority of state and local positions.[11]

Consequently, Republican newspapers had little access to patronage. Not only was most of it going to the Democratic sheets, but the traditional federal patronage that Republicans might have depended on disappeared when Congress established the Government Printing Office in 1860.[12] For a short period in 1867-1868, Congress reassigned some of its printing to two Republican newspapers in each Southern state. The measure was taken solely to ensure the survival of the struggling newspapers.[13]

The only continuing source of patronage came from the few Republican civil officers and the federal military district commanders.[14] But even then, many Republican newspapers would not benefit if the editors were considered too moderate or had some "Democratic Tendency" in their background.[15] Historian Lawrence N. Powell describes the Republicans' rush for patronage: "It was as though the entire Southern Republican party was composed of so many newspaper editors who had to get up little quarrels with their competitors in order to obtain the public printing contracts that often meant the difference between survival and insolvency."[16]

Black Republican newspapers fared even worse, for they received little

if any patronage support and depended entirely upon meagre donations from the Union League or the Freedman's Bureau. Consequently, few Southern black newspapers survived more than a year, making it almost impossible to make a living publishing or working for a black newspaper. That is probably why Richard L. Hume found that, of the 258 blacks elected to state constitutional conventions in the South between 1867 and 1869, only three stated that their primary occupation was journalism.[17]

Powell notes that no Republican politician was more needy than the black officeholder. Most black politicians were clergymen, farmers and small tradesmen. "Once a Negro acquired the reputation of being a politician, for better or for worse, he became dependent upon political jobs for a livelihood."[18] Aside from holding various elected and appointed positions, black politicians worked for the Union League, Freedmen's Bureau or other political organizations. Also, a number formally or informally associated themselves with newspapers during the Reconstruction years. For example, three agents for the Mobile *Nationalist* were elected to the Alabama legislature, and one, Ben Turner, was elected to Congress.[19]

Among the South's most notable black politician/journalists were Rep. Josiah Walls of Florida; Sen. Blanche Bruce of Mississippi; Sen. James T. Rapier, state Reps. James Show and Holland Thompson of Alabama; Rep. S.N. Hill, Sens. Alonzo J. Ransier and Richard H. Cain of South Carolina; Sen. Hiram Revels of North Carolina; state Sen. P.B.S. Pinchback of Louisiana; and state Sen. George T. Ruby of Texas. For these politician/journalists, politics was their vocation and journalism their avocation.

These black politician/journalists were different in several ways from other black journalists who chose not to run for elected office. First, the politicians' newspapers were short-lived and often purposefully so. They often affiliated themselves either with campaign newspapers published solely for the purpose of boosting their own or another's candidacy,[20] or with session newspapers that were published only during the conventions or legislative sessions.[21] Some black leaders raised money for publishing enterprises, but hired white editors to actually run the papers.[22]

Another similarity among the black politician/journalists is that little has been written about them. One reason for this neglect is the traditional focus on "the man and his newspaper"--a reductionist approach that defines historical contribution in terms of the size of the newspaper's circulation, longevity and centrality to the national political agenda or the individual's contribution to professionalization. While "the man and his newspaper" certainly forms the core of journalism historiography, it is not the entire story. There are other groups, among them the black politician/journalists, whose stories reside on the periphery and who used the interrelationship among politics, religion, education and journalism to create identity and

build consensus within their community. Standing alone, their journalistic contributions are of limited significance; however, that they used newspapers as part of their toolbag for political success is important in understanding how these black political leaders functioned as political realists during a period of dashed promises.

In his afterword to *Southern Black Leaders*, August Meier asks historians to pay explicit attention to "the complex mix of motives and tactical considerations that characterized all of these men [black politicians] in the varying contexts in which they operated."[23] Such studies should, when the evidence is available, provide basic biographical information about individual leaders, present the stands they took on major issues and examine how blacks gained, maintained and finally lost power.[24] This "functionalist" approach--how black leaders functioned in Reconstruction politics-- is used to look at the political life of George T. Ruby, who wrote for a session newspaper, edited and published three campaign newspapers and edited one general black weekly during his 15-year political career in Louisiana and Texas. Like other Reconstruction-era black politician/journalists, Ruby's journalistic activities were secondary to his politics.[25]

• • •

George T. Ruby was born in New York City in 1841. At the age of 10, he moved with his family to Portland, Maine, where he received a well-rounded education--probably through the first two years of college.[26] Little is known about Ruby's early years except that he showed an interest in journalism. He worked for the *New York Tribune* and was "an occasional correspondent for the *New York Times* and the *Toledo Blade* of Ohio."[27] Seeking the adventure of far-away places, Ruby signed on with James Redpath's *Pine and Palm*, a public relations newspaper published in Boston that encouraged the emigration of blacks to Haiti.[28] In 1861, Ruby sailed to Haiti, but he probably spent most of his time teaching school because Redpath's newspaper failed soon after his arrival.[29]

After the Civil War, Ruby moved to New Orleans with the intention of teaching as well as being a correspondent for William Lloyd Garrison's *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.[30] Slight and compact with a light olive complexion, Ruby had no difficulty finding jobs when he arrived in New Orleans. He began teaching in 1864,[31] and after the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau in March 1865, his credentials qualified him as one of three special school agents for Louisiana. Ruby was responsible for establishing primary schools for black children.[32]

Ruby encountered white opposition when he tried to open a school in East Feliciana Parish in March 1866. When the school opened, a party of

whites "came into my house," reported Ruby years later, "seized me, carried me out and threw me in Thompson's Creek after they had belabored me with the muzzles of their revolvers." The school closed a few weeks later.[33]

By July 1866, funds were so low that many teachers were holding classes on a volunteer basis, and the staff of the Bureau was cut considerably.[34] In September 1866, Ruby used his connections with the Bureau to find a teaching position in Galveston, Texas, the state's commercial and political center. Since the Superintendent of Schools for the Bureau in Galveston was also secretary of the state Republican party, Ruby quickly ingratiated himself with the local party machine and soon gained his first political job as customs inspector in Galveston.[35] *Flake's Bulletin*, commenting on the appointment, called Ruby "a colored man of education, character, and ability."[36]

Ruby made a "fair living" while in the South.[37] From the beginning, Ruby supported himself and his family with federal patronage jobs, which paid higher salaries than state patronage jobs. Federal patronage also gave politicians "an uncommonly strong position to mount serious challenges to the state machine." These men could raise more campaign money from other federal employees and they had a broad communication network.[38] For blacks openly supporting the national Republican administration there was one important political machine--the Union League, an organization whose primary objective was the education of blacks to vote the Radical Republican ticket in major elections.[39] As an active member of the League, Ruby traveled throughout Texas organizing local councils.

While Ruby understood the importance of the League in his political career, the League was not inclined toward creating a new caste of black political leaders. Instead, its goal was to create a cohesive and compliant mass of Republican voters. White Republicans believed in white supremacy almost as deeply as Southern white Democrats, and aggressive black leaders like Ruby created a quandary. On the one hand, Republicans did not want to create a "Black Man's Party," but on the other hand, they desperately needed strong leaders like Ruby to bring in the black vote.[40]

Ruby refused to have his political activities circumscribed by white party leaders. When he decided to run for a seat at the state constitutional convention, the party initially opposed him because they saw black office holders as a liability.[41] However, with black voters outnumbering white voters 3 to 2, Ruby had an excellent chance of winning a seat. Eventually, moderate Republicans found his popularity hard to deny and Ruby not only received the Republican party's support but also became president of the Texas branch of the Union League.[42]

Due to a white boycott of the election, Ruby won his seat at the Texas Constitutional Convention by almost a 4-1 margin. The Dallas *Daily*

Herald published a list of the delegates, explaining there were "7 conservatives...white Radicals 83...and 9 colored...."[43] Ruby fit the typical profile of blacks whose political careers began with their election to state constitutional conventions. Although this was a diverse group of men, studies have determined that, like Ruby, the majority were freeborn (50 percent) and literate (85 percent).[44]

When the Constitutional Convention met in Austin on June 1, 1868, it was doomed from the start by Republican in-fighting. Even these bitter splits did not prevent Ruby and others from addressing important issues. Ruby pushed through a bill that would punish whites who used violence to prevent blacks from voting. As chairman of the Committee on Education, he promoted establishment of a statewide school system and Board of Education and supported economic opportunities for the freedmen by promoting the homesteading of public lands.[45]

Ruby Associates With *The Freeman's Press*

While in Austin, Ruby undertook his first Texas newspaper venture by associating himself with *The Freeman's Press*, a session newspaper edited by Melvin C. Keith, a white physician. The first issue was on the streets July 18, 1868.[46] *The Freeman's Press* was underwritten by the Union League and a group of white radical federal patronage holders who saw it as a valuable vehicle for the Republican cause. The paper, later named *The Free Man's Press* was "simply out and out Republican--Radical if you wish" and aimed at the blacks of Texas.[47] Subscribers were warned to send subscription money care of Dr. Keith, rather than *The Free Man's Press* for fear that letters might be confiscated by unsympathetic postmasters.[48] Keith hired a white printer to set the type, but when the printer found that he was to be assisted by several black "printer's devils" he quit, leaving the typesetting and printing to the young black apprentices.[49]

As president of the Texas Union League, Ruby contributed articles as did other League officials. The newspaper was written in a simple, straightforward style. One article, probably written by Ruby, explained how important it was for blacks to save their money and buy a home.[50] Property ownership was the cornerstone of economic stability in any ordered system; with property, a black man could be his own master, owing to no one.[51] A similar article instructed blacks to learn a trade.

Although the paper covered the Republican national convention and supported radical Thaddeus Stevens, for president, it did not dwell on political matters as much as it did on the basics of a simple life--family, home, work and church. Running through the articles were two subtle messages from its white sponsors: if blacks work hard and stay out of

trouble, the Republican party will ensure them a better life; and blacks should vote the Republican ticket, but they should not become too involved in politics.

Unable to draw up a constitution and fast running into bankruptcy, the convention was forced to adjourn Aug. 31, 1868, with instructions to meet again in December. Before adjournment, a delegate offered a resolution defining which newspapers in Texas should publish the constitution in the form of EXTRA's. Listed in the resolution were the San Antonio *Express* (Republican), Austin *Daily Republican* and the Galveston *Republican.*[52] After the resolution was read, Dr. Robert K. Smith, Ruby's fellow delegate from Galveston, told the assembly that the Galveston *Republican* no longer existed. Ruby corrected Dr. Smith, stating that the Galveston paper was indeed alive. Embarrassed at being corrected by a black man, Dr. Smith attacked Ruby in a speech of personal privilege:

> There are some sources of contamination when to touch would defile a man. The source from whence this insult emanated is so foul and unclean, that to touch such filth I should be befouled, especially sir, when the insulter bears upon his brow the evidence of a violation of God's law. The offspring of a Jew, begotten of the body of a Negress....[53]

The insulting words led to a fight between Smith and Ruby that was broken up by the Sergeant-at-Arms.[54] However, Smith was correct-- the Galveston *Republican* was not being published.

The convention recessed Aug. 31. *The Free Man's Press* published its last Austin issue on Sept.19.[55] Dr. Keith then packed up and moved his shop to Galveston, the state's Republican stronghold, where he published the final issue on Oct. 24. The last issue carried a front-page advertisement for the notary public services of "The Hon. G. T. Ruby."[56]

Despite the existing factionalism, a new constitution was drawn up in February 1869. In the spring of 1869, Republicans and Democrats of all shade and stripe were preparing to run for state office.

In May, Ruby announced his intention to run for a seat in the Texas senate and inaugurated his campaign by taking "a short electioneering tour through the country as far as Huntsville."[57] His oratory was simple, but dynamic, and, according to the Dallas *Herald*, he won much respect from both blacks and whites.[58]

Ruby also took the opportunity during his campaign to solicit funds for a new Republican newspaper. After returning from one trip, he wrote J. Pearson Newcomb, editor of the Austin *Daily Republican* and Union League officer, "While not productive of any material aid at present to our pro-

jected newspaper enterprise, here, (the trip) has been the means of placing before the public and the country the real conviction of affairs with us...."[59]

With the demise of *The Free Man's Press*, the coastal area was left without an official radical organ.[60] As president of the Union League, Ruby undoubtedly knew of the successful newspapers being supported by the League in other states, including the Mobile *Nationalist*, the Atlanta *New Era* and the Savannah *Tribune*, as they were among the regular exchange newspapers copied by both Democratic and Republican organs. A League newspaper might be equally successful in Texas in organizing the black vote, particularly considering the cacophony of Republican viewpoints. However, Ruby's "projected newspaper" never became a reality.

As the election neared, radical Republicans appeared to be moderating and creating alliances with conservative Republicans. Now, more than ever, the realities of being a black Republican politician in Texas could be seen in Ruby's escalating acquiescence to demands that the party not become dominated by blacks.

For example, Ruby attempted to block the nomination of a black man who intended to run for a house seat from the Galveston District. Ruby reasoned that the nomination would give credence to the story that the Republican party in Texas was a "Black Man's Party."[61] Another black office seeker complained to Gov. E. J. Davis that Ruby "was not a favorite of the colored people in Galveston"[62] because he favored whites over his own. A year later, Ruby refused to acknowledge the nomination of a black judge for U.S. Congress. Instead, he asked police to keep delegates favoring the nominee from entering the convention hall until the white Republican nominee was voted on.[63]

According to Foner, this was not an unusual stance for black politicians who believed that one goal of Reconstruction was to obliterate racial distinctions and to create a truly bi-racial Republican leadership, unhampered by racial self-consciousness. The result, however, was that black politicians too quickly compromised black ideals for party unity.[64] Ruby himself, concerned that the Union League was losing white support, agreed to step aside as president in order for a white man to lead the organization.

Ruby was elected to the Texas Senate, but he found it difficult to be a spokesman for black voters while maintaining ties with the white Republican leadership. Meier reminds us that "American politics is a politics of compromise," and black leaders knew that "a base in the black community, however it was achieved, was not sufficient for a black political leader. . . . [A] cooperative attitude toward whites in general or alliances with particular white leaders or factions were essential."[65] Ruby tried to make clear the importance of this cooperationist attitude by speaking publicly about the need for mutual economic interdependence, arguing that the strengthening

of white businesses such as banks, insurance and railroads would, in turn, improve the economic well-being of blacks. His black constituents saw such measures siphoning money away from education and economic improvements for the black community. Ruby pushed hard for better education, equal access to transportation and protection for the political rights of blacks. He also organized the longshoreman's union in Galveston, an organization that protected the rights of black dock workers.[66]

The *Weekly State Journal* praised Ruby for his faithful and assiduous discharge of duties in the Senate: "As a speaker he has been marked by force and precision of logical utterance, and has not committed the mistake of continually occupying the floor and talking when he had nothing to say."[67] *Flake's Bulletin* complemented Ruby as "one of the most gentlemanly Senators on the floor."[68]

Ruby won a second term to the Texas Senate in 1872, but it was a tough fight. Not only had his political compromises reduced support from blacks, but voter intimidation, a shrinking black voter turnout and a growing Democratic presence were also taking a toll on his political aspirations. To win a third term in 1873 he would need to strengthen his ties with the moderate Republican party. One way to do so was to put all of his efforts into the 1872 presidential campaign. To that end he established a newspaper in Galveston to support President Ulysses S. Grant's candidacy.

Ruby Launches the *Standard*

In a letter to Newcomb, March 12, 1872, Ruby indicated that if the materials arrived in Galveston in time, the first edition of his paper would be out by March 22. It would be a semi-weekly paper to be titled the *Standard* and devoted to the support of the Republican administration. The *Standard* appeared near the end of March. On March 27, the prospectus appeared in local papers and stated the political beliefs under which it would be published:

> In National politics, it will ever uphold and advocate those broad and sound principles upon which the Republican party is founded. In state politics a straight forward Republican course will be maintained and the state authorities upheld in carrying out the best measure for the welfare of the whole people.[69]

The Galveston *Daily News* bade the newcomer "welcome" and remarked that "rumors put Senator Ruby in Chief Command."[70] The Dallas *Herald* also welcomed the *Standard* into the folds of Texas journalism by announcing that "Senator G. F. (sic) Ruby 'the colored gentleman' is

about to issue and edit a new radical paper at Galveston called the *Standard.*"[71]

Upon receipt of the first issues of the *Standard*, the Galveston *Daily News* told its readers:

> It will hardly be necessary to tell the people of Texas that it is a regular, out and out, doubled and twisted and dyed in the wool, Simon Pure and original Jacob Townsend Radical--that it will forever support both the national and state administrations. The Standard is far from being an unwelcome addition to the journalism literature of Texas.[72]

After returning from the national Republican Convention in Philadelphia, Ruby ran two full pages outlining the recently adopted National and Texas Republican platforms. In the same issue, he published a satirical account of the National Democratic Convention.[73] The existing three issues indicate that Ruby once again used the newspaper to educate blacks about their responsibilities as hard working and economically independent citizens.

The *Standard*, published Mondays and Fridays, usually ran four pages. Subscriptions were $5 per year and the circulation probably reached close to 900 at its peak. George Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory of 1873* stated that the *Standard* had a circulation of "825 and increasing, extending to all parts of the state from the Red River to the Rio Grande." The Directory's copy, written by the editors whose newspapers were included, noted the *Standard* was an "excellent advertising medium among classes of people who are buyers and purchasers."[74] In fact, the newspaper had little advertising--either commercial or legal. It is unclear just how Ruby funded the weekly paper; it is highly likely that he sponsored the newspaper out of his own pocket.

Ruby's newspaper venture lasted through the fall election.[75] Grant did not carry the state, and, as Republican influence declined, so did that of blacks. Ruby must have seen the writing on the wall; he did not run for a third senate term, thus beginning his demise in Texas politics.

By mid-1874 Ruby had moved his family to New Orleans, where he held federal jobs in the Internal Revenue Department and the Port of New Orleans.[76] On August 15, 1874, Henry A. Corbin, publisher of the *Louisianian*, a black Republican organ in New Orleans, announced that "after this issue, the editorial management of the *Louisianian* will be in the hands of Hon. Geo. T. Ruby, formerly of the Galveston *Standard.*" Corbin described Ruby as an "educated, thorough gentleman with a large experience not only in public life, but in politics and journalism." Corbin added that, while the

paper would continue as an outspoken Republican journal and a "faithful and fearless advocate of the rights of our people," its content would be more varied under the new editor.[77]

The *Louisianian*, begun in December 1870 by Pinckney B. S. Pinchback, a wealthy mulatto businessman and politician, was for several years one of the South's most economically successful black newspapers. However, when Pinchback sold the paper to Corbin in 1874, its circulation had dwindled and it had gone from a twice-weekly sheet to a weekly.

Ruby Edits the *Louisianian*

No sooner had Ruby taken over as editor than he had his first major story--the Battle of Liberty Place, in which the White League won a skirmish with the integrated New Orleans Metropolitan Police, leaving 30 dead and 100 wounded. Violence was so commonplace in Louisiana that the story only made it to page two, with no editorial comment.[78]

Little of the *Louisianian's* content was as interesting as the Liberty Place story. The major portion of the locally written material was devoted to speeches by civil rights leaders, reports of political conventions, stabs at the white Democratic organ--the New Orleans *Picayune*--and some fourth-rate poetry. The paper's prospectus detailed its purpose:

> to furnish Our People the information--guidance--encouragement and counsel which they so much need in the transition from their former unfortunate conditions into the new and better estate of American citizenship. We shall honestly labor to make it an efficient agent in furthering the interests of the colored people of the nation....[79]

Despite Corbin's promise that under Ruby the paper would "be found more attractive and varied in content," there were no visible changes. The paper had regular correspondents in Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Mobile and Cincinnati, yet two-thirds of the content was reprinted from other newspapers.[80]

Ruby was the perfect choice for editor, as the *Louisianian* comfortably fit his notions of compromise and the avoidance of creating anything "black." Ruby told readers he wanted to use the *Louisianian* to inform both "Colored and white people" and make the paper "the best weekly newspaper in the South."[81] From its inception, the *Louisianian* had been touted as a general newspaper of interest to the whole community and had eschewed the label as a black newspaper.[82]

Although involved in politics as corresponding secretary for the state Republican party, Ruby was more interested in journalism as this stage of his career. Indicative of this was his role in organizing the National Press Convention of Colored Journalists in Cincinnati in 1875. As a member of the convention's credentials committee, he escalated a debate with Peter H. Clark of the Galveston *Spectator*. Clark was nominated as president of the convention, but Ruby challenged his credentials, charging that the *Spectator* did not exist: "How could Mr. Clark represent that paper, if it was [not] a paper?" After Clark presented a letter from Richard T. Nelson, editor of the *Spectator*, Ruby's challenge died. Clark was elected president of the convention; Ruby, secretary.[83]

Ruby continued editing the *Louisianian* until several suspensions forced it to close temporarily in 1877.[84] There are no records to indicate why Ruby left the newspaper or what he did during the next year. During fall and winter of 1877, a yellow fever epidemic hit New Orleans, forcing many residents to close their businesses and leave the city. Ruby probably packed up his wife and their two young children and left town.

Ruby Joins the *Observer*

In May 1878, Ruby reappeared on the New Orleans scene as editor of the *Observer*, a campaign paper for the presidential candidacy of radical Republican John Sherman. As Secretary of State, Sherman had spent a great deal of time denouncing southern Democrats for using "midnight murder and masquerade" to maintain control over blacks. Since Louisiana was the most racially violent state in the South, Sherman was the only logical candidate for blacks to support.

The Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camellia, the White League and numerous white supremacist organizations were active in the state, and newspapers carried daily reports of murders, lynchings, burning and whippings. Rather than resign himself to the inevitable violence, or try to rally blacks to take up arms against these paramilitary groups, Ruby not only supported Sherman, but also assumed leadership in what became known as the Exoduster Movement, the migration of blacks from Louisiana to Kansas.

An article in the *Observer* portrayed the major problem blacks were having in Louisiana at this time. The article related how a white physician had been fired upon by six black men. The doctor escaped uninjured to the nearby town where he gathered a posse. The six men were quickly captured and tried by a Judge Lynch court which found them guilty. They were hanged the same day.[85]

This story, according to Ruby, was not uncommon. Testifying in

March 1880, before the U. S. Senate select committee on the migration of blacks, Ruby recited several such stories. His testimony detailed hangings, white mob violence, "bulldozing" and burnings--all by white Democrats trying to keep blacks from casting their Republican votes.[86] Added to these harassments was the yellow fever epidemic that lingered in Louisiana during 1877-78, taking a particularly heavy toll among blacks living on plantations near mosquito-ridden rivers and swamps.

When testifying before the Senate select committee, Ruby spent two and one-half days explaining the fear that existed. He blamed the mass exodus on the absence of a Republican government that would protect blacks. "Crime and lawlessness. . . and the misgovernment. . . have created. . . distrust and alarm among our people throughout the state. The only remedy left to the colored citizens in many parishes of our State today is to emigrate."[87] In the end, the Exoduster Movement failed to raise the needed funds to support migration.

Sherman's candidacy collapsed early and James Garfield won the Republican nomination. The *Observer* ceased publication shortly after the election. Ruby then began the *Republic*, another short-lived campaign newspaper sponsored by a local black judge.[88] Ruby died in New Orleans on Oct. 31, 1882, at the age of 41 from complications of malaria.[89]

Ruby Married Journalism and Politics

He had fought hard for the Republican party, believing that it was the only savior for the South and particularly for its black citizens. While he demonstrates that vital link between party and constituency that the Republican party fostered, he was no selfless black man come to do missionary work among his brothers. Instead, Ruby was the consummate party man. He knew how the party machinery worked and took advantage of his own talents to marry journalism and politics for the benefit of the party and for his black and white constituencies. In all his work--political, journalistic and educational--he had fought against the idea of a "Black Man's Party" or a black man's state.[90] As Merline Pitre notes, "While he spoke out for civil rights of blacks, it seems that when his ideological commitment came in conflict with his Republicanism, he tended to choose the latter."[91] Only after moving to Louisiana and becoming involved in the Exoduster Movement did Ruby realize the futility of blacks trying to live peacefully among whites.

Those who have studied Ruby's political career have called him the most important black leader in Texas during Reconstruction.[92] But, as a journalist, he is rarely given notice. An essay by James Smallwood on the black press in Texas never mentions Ruby, and mistakenly states that the

first black-edited newspaper in Texas was Nelson's Galveston *Spectator*, which began a year after Ruby's Galveston *Standard*.[93]

Indeed, Ruby was a lesser light in the constellation of American journalism and he had no significant impact on the development of journalism in his era. Nevertheless, he is one of thousands of politician/journalists who have operated within cultural, ethnic or religious communities at various periods to bring the forces of education, politics, religion and journalism together for the betterment of the community. We need to search out those other Rubys. By understanding their failures and successes we enhance the picture of how our media consciousness was built.

Our picture of American journalism during Reconstruction would be incomplete without an understanding of how Ruby and other politician/journalists operated in that crucial period that witnessed the rapid rise and fall of black American freedom. What we learn through Ruby's story is that the effectiveness of the politician/journalist during Reconstruction was constrained by compromise, by a white political machine that had no intention of allowing black leaders to be influential even in their own communities and by factionalism within the black leadership. Nevertheless they persevered, using every tool at their disposal, including newspapers, to try to make life better for their communities.

Endnotes

[1] House Report 30, 39th Cong., 1st. sess., pts. 1-4.

[2] See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988) and Robert Cruden, *The Negro in Reconstruction* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

[3] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 291

[4] *Compendium of the Ninth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p 510-11.

[5] Donna L. Dickerson, "The Elixir of Life: Federal Patronage and Republican Newspapers, 1867-68," unpublished manuscript.

[6] Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Holland Thompson and Black Political Participation in Reconstruction," in Howard N. Rabinowitz, ed., *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p 251-53.

[7] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 282.

[8] Michael W. Fitzgerald, *The Union League Movement in the Deep South* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1989) 61.

[9] Elizabeth S. Nathan, *Losing the Peace: Georgia Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865-1871* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1968) 23.

[10] See, Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of the News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press 1986); Culver Smith, *The Press, Politics and Patronage* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977)

[11] For example, although Gen. Philip Sheridan of the 5th District filled 108 new civil positions in Texas with Republicans and replaced 536 Democrats with Republicans, there remained more than 2,000 Democratic civil officers at the state and local level in control of large amounts of patronage dollars. Moneyhon, Carl, *Republicans in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980) 68-70. Gen. John Pope, commander of the Third District, which included Florida, Alabama and Georgia, succeeded in replacing only 157 Democrats in all three states, leaving more than 4,500 conservative state

and local officers. House Executive Doc. no. 1, Report of the Secretary of War, 1866-67, 40th Cong., 2nd sess., vol. 2, 351.

[12] Robert E. Kling, *The Government Printing Office* (New York: Praeger, 1970) 15-16.

[13] Between March and December 1867, Edward M. McPherson, Clerk of the House of Representatives, received dozens of letters from Republican editors seeking Congress' printing contract. Edward McPherson Papers, Library of Congress.

[14] In Georgia, Gen. Pope not only gave the printing contract for his own office to the Atlanta *New Era*, a radical Republican newspaper, but also issued a general order prohibiting any civil officer from letting printing contracts to "disloyal" newspapers.Report of the Secretary of War, 325-26.

[15] Many of the letters sent to Edward McPherson, Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, by editors desperate for the federal printing contract questioned their competitors' improprieties such as drinking or bankruptcy or even falsely reported that the "other Republican newspaper" was no longer published. Edward McPherson Papers, Library of Congress.

[16] Lawrence N. Powell, "The Politics of Livelihood: Carpetbaggers in the Deep South," in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, 333.

[17] Richard L. Hume, "Negro Delegates to the State Constitutional Conventions of 1867-69," in Rabinowitz, ed., *Southern Black Leaders*, 40 n.29.

[18] Powell, "The Politics of Livelihood," 332.

[19] Fitzgerald, 35

[20] For example Alabama congressman James Rapier started the Montgomery *Republican Sentinel* in August 1872, before his campaign for Congress. Rapier published 1,000 copies of the free weekly to boost his own candidacy. He estimated that it cost him $50 a week to publish, $20 of which came from the Republican National Committee. Loren Schweniger, *James T. Rapier and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 107.

[21] Conventions and legislatures produced a tremendous volume of documents that needed to be printed daily during sessions, thus providing a politically savvy and entrepreneurial editor the funds, albeit temporary, to start up a newspaper.

[22] Josiah Walls, a black Congressman, hired two white editors to edit the Gainesville (Fl.) *New Era*. Walls began the paper to push his candidacy for Congress; Henry L. Suggs, ed., *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983) 91-92. The St. Landry (La.) *Progress* was directed by a black board, but edited by a white teacher; Carolyn E. DeLatte, "The St. Landry Riot: A Forgotten Incident of Reconstruction Violence," *Louisiana History* 17 (Winter 1976): 41. The Augusta *Loyal Georgian*, was edited by a white man for blacks and sponsored by the Union League.

[23] August Meier, "Afterword: New Perspectives on the Nature of Black Political Leadership during Reconstruction," in Rabinowitz, ed., *Southern Black Leaders*, 403.

[24] Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Introduction: The Changing Image of Black Reconstructionists," Ibid., xviii. The study of black leadership in the Reconstruction South is a relatively new endeavor, particularly the emphasis on individuals. The same is true of Southern journalism history where there are state histories of black journalism, but to date there has been no single comprehensive biography of a Southern black journalist.

[25] For excellent reviews of Ruby's legislative and business accomplishments, See, Merline Pitre, *Through Many Dangers, Toils and Snares: The Black Leadership of Texas, 1868-1900* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1985) p 166-73; Randall Wood, "George T. Ruby: A Black Militant in the White Business Community," *Red River Valley Historical Review* 1 (Autumn 1974): 169; and Carl L. Moneyhon, "George T. Ruby" in Rabinowitz, ed., *Southern Black Leaders*, 363-92.

[26] Walter Webb. ed., *The Handbook of Texas* 3 vols. (Austin, Texas: Texas State Historical Assoc., 1952), II: 513.

[27] Report and Testimony of the Select Committee of the U.S. Senate to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes from the Southern States to the Northern States, Senate Report No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Sess., pt 2, 55. (Hereinafter referred to as the Senate Committee Report)

[28] Willis B. Boyd, "James Redpath and American Negro Colonization in Haiti, 1860-1862," *Americas* 12 (December 1955): 169.

[29] Carter R. Bryan, "Negro Journalism In America Before Emancipation," *Journalism Monographs, 12* (September 1969): 33.

[30] Senate Committee Report, 55.

[31] Senate Committee Report, 39.

[32] Senate Committee Report, 51.

[33] Senate Committee Report, 53-55.

[34] Senate Committee Report, 55.

[35] Senate Committee Report, 55.

[36] 14 May 1867.

[37] Senate Committee Report, 59.

[38] Powell, "The Politics of Livelihood," 334-35.

[39] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 284; See also, Fitzgerald, *The Union League Movement.*

[40] See Cruden, *The Negro in Reconstruction,* passim.

[41] *Flake's Bulletin,* 4 May 1867.

[42] Ibid., 25 Dec. 1867; W. C. Nunn, *Texas Under the Carpetbaggers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962) 15.

[43] Dallas *Daily Herald,* 3 Feb. 1868.

[44] Hume, "Negro Delegates," p 129-47.

[45] Journal of Reconstruction Convention of Texas (Austin, 1870), 510-11; 891-99.

[46] *The Freeman's Press,* 18 July 1868.

[47] *The Free Man's Press,* 1 Aug. 1868.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Although the articles were not signed, a comparison of the prose style and content with Ruby's correspondence and later newspaper efforts indicates that there is a high probability that he wrote numerous articles for the paper.

[51] *The Free Man's Press,* 1 Aug. 1868.

[52] Austin *Daily Republican,* 29 Aug. 1868.

[53] Austin *Daily Republican,* 29 Aug. 1868. It is highly unlikely that Ruby was Jewish. The Austin *Tri-Weekly Gazette,* 1 Sept. 1868, noted that on several occasions Ruby attended the Presbyterian church along with other members of the convention. Ruby's race has always been unclear. *Flake's Bulletin,* 1 June 1868, quoting a Chicago newspaper, noted that at the National Republican Convention "some contend he is Mexican, others that he is Creole, while a few think he is a Negro. All conclude, however, that he is dark." Ruby contended that he was the son of a white father, but the 1860 census of Maine lists both of his parents as Negro. However, in the 1880 census of New Orleans, he is listed as mulatto. Moneyhon, "George T. Ruby," 363n2.

[54] Smith's speech was an unsuccessful attempt by the conservative wing of the party to break Ruby's power. Two weeks later, Smith tried again when he accused Ruby of taking a $600 bribe. A fight broke out between the two men, and the police were called to prevent a riot. *Flake's Bulletin,* 24 Sept. 1868.

[55] *The Free Man's Press,* 19 Sept. 1868.

[56] Ibid., 24 Oct. 1868.

[57] Ruby to Newcomb, 27 May 1869, James Newcomb Letters, University of Texas Archives.

[58] Dallas *Herald,* 16 April 1869.

[59] Ruby to Newcomb, 6 May 1869, James Newcomb Letters, University of Texas Archives.

[60] *Flake's Bulletin,* the other Galveston Republican paper, was moderate bordering on conservative.

[61] Merline Pitre, *Through Many Dangers, Toils and Snares: The Black Leadership of Texas, 1868-1900* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1985.) 91.

[62] Blonover to E. J. Davis, 18 Jan. 1870, E. J. Davis Papers, Texas Archives.

[63] *Flake's Bulletin,* 5 Aug. 1871.

[64] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 286-88.

[65] in Rabinowitz, ed., *Southern Black Leaders,* 396-400.

[66] Moneyhon, "George T. Ruby," 379-82.

[67] *Weekly State Journal,* 18 Aug. 1870.

[68] *Flake's Bulletin,* 8 May 1870.

[69] Galveston *Daily News,* 27 March 1872.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] Dallas *Herald,* 30 March 1872.

[72] Galveston *Daily News,* 3 April 1872.

[73] Galveston *Standard,* 13 April 1872.

[74] G. Rowell, ed., *American Newspaper Directory of 1873* (New York: G. Rowell CO., 1873), 207.

[75] Only three issues of the *Standard* remain, 13 April 1872; 3 June 1872 and 14 Oct. 1872.

[76] Senate Committee Report, 89.

[77] *Louisianian,* 15 Aug. 1874.

[78] Ibid., 19 Sept. 1874

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., 3 April 1875.

[82] Ibid., 29 May 1875.

[83] Ibid., 14 Aug. 1875.

[84] *Louisianian,* 29 Sept. 1877. The newspaper survived several suspensions during the next several years, but always managed to be resuscitated by a new publisher. It continued to be published until mid-1882.

[85] Article reprinted in Senate Committee Report, 40-41.

[86] Ibid., 40-100.

[87] Ibid., 59; the Enforcement Acts of 1870, 1871 and 1875 to crack down on white violence were never enforced and eventually were declared unconstitutional. The failure to take seriously the plight of Southern blacks was a sign of the general apathy spreading in Congress as well as throughout the North concerning blacks and intervention in the South; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 536-37.

[88] Other than the name of the paper and its sponsor, Judge Beattie, nothing is known about the *Republic*; no copies exist today.

[89] *New Orleans Daily Picayune* (afternoon ed.), 31 Oct. 1882.

[90] James Newcomb Letters, University of Texas Archives, Ruby to Newcomb, 12 Sept. 1869.

[91] Pitre, *Through Many Dangers,* 168.

[92] Ibid., 166; Moneyhon, "George T. Ruby," 363.

[93] James Smallwood, "Texas," in Suggs, ed., *The Black Press,* 358.

Window on Washington in 1850: Tracking Newspaper Letter-Writers

by Mark Stegmaier

In this article, the author reveals the breadth and identities of many writers of Washington correspondence during 1850, a year of sectional crisis and compromise. The newspaper columns written by Washington correspondents are an invaluable source of information largely ignored by previous scholars. A surprising number of newspapers in 1850 regularly printed long and detailed Washington letters, often by congressmen and editors in Washington, but mostly by professional journalists. This article identifies many of these correspondents, despite their use of pseudonyms or no signature at all on their letters. A compiled list of newspapers, correspondents and their pseudonyms is included as an appendix to the article.

American newspapers of the mid-19th century were far different in content from modern newspapers in a variety of ways. One of the most striking differences in content was the space devoted to matters of Congressional legislation and debate in the 19th century press. Where today accounts of Congressional speeches or proceedings on particular bills are rarely found in the daily press, this material was a standard feature of the dailies, semi-weeklies, and weeklies of the mid-19th century. Possibly this reflected a greater public interest in that time in how Congress would shape laws affecting the well-being of the nation and its citizens, but popular attention in that century also was not so distracted and diluted by the huge multiplicity and variety of features—such as sports—in modern newspapers.

Congress was the major national arena of competition among politicians and national interests in the 19th century, and citizens assiduously followed the fortunes, pronouncements, and actions of their political heroes and villains in the newspapers. Information about Congress came in various forms in the press. The most common form was a telegraphic

Mark Stegmaier is Professor of History at Cameron University in Lawton, Oklahoma.

dispatch from Washington summarizing procedures, actions, and debates. These were uniformly dispassionate and colorless. Occasionally newspapers would print whole or large parts of Congressional speeches by nationally prominent party leaders or by the local congressman or senators.

One means existed, however, by which newspaper readers could view the Congressional proceedings and personalities with more picturesque description, some literary flair, and usually some degree of partisan bias. These were the letters written to various newspapers, and often then reprinted by others, from some of the most prolific journalists of their day, the Washington correspondents.

The Importance of Letter-Writers

These "letter-writers," by their journalism, presented readers with a much broader perspective on events in Congress and the nation's capital than could be perceived from the telegraphic summaries, printed speeches, or even that great compendium of debates, the *Congressional Globe.* Reporters, professional or otherwise, could take note of a lot that was going on in Congress that was not recorded in the debates and proceedings, and then use their vivid writing skills to relate their observations to the public through their correspondence. Readers of the correspondents' letters could simply get a more complete feel for the spirit of what was happening through journalists' descriptions of the physical appearance and demeanor of congressmen, consultations and lobbying by members with each other, factional caucuses and plans developed in these meetings, and the setting in both chambers as the fresh and exuberant faces of spring transformed into the exhausted and sweating countenances of summer.

Two histories of the Washington press corps name several of the pioneering journalists from the 1820s to the 1850s who wrote letters from Washington to newspapers elsewhere.[1] These reporters kept the nation's readers informed, often in very lively and partisan fashion, about the political and social scene at the capital. But the authors of the two aforementioned books, F. B. Marbut and Donald A. Ritchie, give no indication of how many papers printed correspondence from Washington at any given time. Were there only a few such papers, in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, with regular Washington correspondence, or was such correspondence considerably more diffused than that? And if there were a lot more Washington letters than journalism historians have realized, what can we learn about the identities of the writers behind the pseudonyms they ordinarily used to sign their correspondence? What follows here is an examination of Washington correspondence in a particular year, 1850, a year of North-South sectional crisis in Washington which culminated in the

passage of a multi-faceted compromise. This analysis will indicate the extent of Washington correspondence during 1850 and, by implication, other years of that era.

It is especially important for historians of national politics and the sectional crisis to learn what papers printed regular Washington letters. For example, an in-depth study of correspondents' reports has added a great amount of new information about the crisis and compromise of 1850.[2] Most historians though have either underutilized or ignored the daily, semi-weekly, or weekly letters by Washington correspondents in regard to actions by national political leaders. Mining information from collections of personal correspondence, debates and proceedings in Congress, and newspaper editorials is valuable, but correspondents' reports also merit attention as sources of information, insight, and public opinion.

First of all, there were a large number of such reports and they were often quite lengthy. For every day of the long session of 1850, detailed reports would appear in a surprisingly large number of newspapers. Most of the letters were written by correspondents paid by various editors to report Congressional action as they observed it from the vantage point of the Senate and House galleries. Some of these correspondents also held government jobs as clerks.[3] Other letters were written by members of Congress themselves.

In 1850 there were roughly 250 daily papers in the U.S. and many more weeklies and semi-weeklies than that.[4] This researcher has examined a sample of some 250 papers of all types for that year. These included all of the daily newspapers in large cities for which copies still exist, plus many papers from smaller cities and towns. Newspapers from every state existing at that time were part of the sample. This sample contained 70 papers which had at least one correspondent whose letters appeared on a fairly regular basis. A number of presses in the major cities maintained two or more letter-writers. Many other papers printed only an occasional letter from Washington. The sheer volume of this material renders these reports a major source of information on national politics.[5]

Taken together, the "letters" assembled by Washington correspondents during the 1850 crisis constitute an excellent source of information about the struggle and those involved in trying to solve it or exacerbate it. Some obviously were meatier in content and more worthwhile for the modern researcher than were others. The *Congressional Globe* recorded the debates very well and the *Journals* of the Senate and House accurately recounted the procedures and votes. But there were many added details, sometimes important and sometimes less so, that cannot be gleaned from these sources nor from the personal correspondence of members of Congress and other political leaders but which can be discovered in the recorded observations of

Washington correspondents in the newspapers. These correspondents also expressed opinions and provided information about Presidents Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore and their cabinet members, administration policies and the public mood toward them, happenings in Washington society, and their fellow correspondents.

Some Letter-Writers Can Be Identified

Who were the observers of the 1850 crisis? While a very few were well-known and can be identified despite their signing pseudonyms to their letters or leaving them unsigned, historians actually know very little about the identities of most of the antebellum Washington correspondents. Modern scholarship by Robert Durden, F. B. Marbut, and Donald Ritchie[6] has opened the door to this neglected aspect of newspaper journalism, but much yet remains to be done.

Some newspaper correspondents can be identified as congressmen themselves. Free Soiler Joshua Giddings wrote letters for the weekly *Ashtabula Sentinel*, which he co-owned, in his home district near Cleveland, Ohio, and also wrote almost daily to the *Cleveland True Democrat,* a Free Soil paper, sometimes under the pseudonym "Cato", but more often signing no name.[7] Another Free Soil leader, George W. Julian, wrote regular letters, using no name or initials, to the *Centreville Indiana True Democrat* in his home district.[8]

Free Soil Democrat "Long" John Wentworth wrote letters, using no name or initials, for his own newspaper, the *Chicago Democrat.*[9] Whig James Brooks of New York was almost certainly one of the several correspondents for the *New York Express*, which he and his brother Erastus Brooks (correspondent "E.B.") owned, although it is unclear which of the correspondents James Brooks was.[10] Congressman-elect Edward Gilbert wrote letters as "E.G." for his newspaper, the *San Francisco Alta California*, detailing the struggle for California's admission as a state in 1850.[11] Which other congressmen may have hidden their identities behind pseudonyms or left their letters unsigned remains to be discovered.

Among the professional journalists seated in the press galleries, none was more prolific in 1850 than Francis Grund, an avid promoter of compromise and an impassioned essayist for mostly Democratic presses. Most well-known as "X" in the *Baltimore Sun* and "Observer" in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Grund's identity was also divulged by an enemy editor as "W" in the *New York Sun*, "Osceola" in the *Boston Post* (and its weekly *Boston Statesman*), "Franklin" in the *Boston Times*, and "Union" in the *Concord New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette.*[12] Grund also wrote some letters as

"Pozzi di Borgo" in the *New York Herald*[13]. He also probably wrote the letters which bear his style and are signed "Franklin" in the *Richmond Republican,* even though it was a Whig paper.[14]

Grund, like other very opinionated commentators, often dipped his pen in acid when writing about politicians whose views he disagreed with. One of Grund's favorite targets in 1850 was the pompous anti-compromise senator from Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton. After absorbing Francis Grund's barbs for a long time, Benton encountered Grund one day in the Senate antechamber. Grund bowed politely to the senator, saying "Ah!, Good morning, Col. Benton, how is your health this morning, sir?" Benton responded by asking him if he was Grund and if he wrote as "X" in the *Baltimore Sun*, to which Grund answered affirmatively. "Well, sir," said Benton, "I have only to say that while I can stand your abuse, I can dispense with your bows. Good morning, sir." And the interchange ended.[15]

The most energetic letter-writer for Whig papers was James Harvey. Known primarily for his correspondence as "Independent" in the *Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette*, Harvey also toiled as "Veritas" in the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, "Viator" in the *Boston Journal,* "Argus" in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and as an unsigned correspondent in the *St. Louis Intelligencer* and its companion the *New Era.* Strongly Whig in his partisan sympathies, Harvey was a close associate of President Taylor's secretary of state, John M. Clayton of Delaware.

While ordinarily a reliable observer of Washington politics, James Harvey also became taken in by a hoax in August 1850. He thus presents to the modern researcher an example of how correspondents' assertions must be used, like any other source, with caution.

In August, at the height of political paranoia over the fate of the Union, Harvey was suckered by some fraudulent documents into believing that the pro-Southern Rose Greenhow and her husband Robert were in Mexico to foment an alliance between that country and a confederacy of seceding Southern slave states. Harvey wrote alarming letters about this in several papers and two other writers for Philadelphia papers authored similar dispatches, but most Washington correspondents correctly labeled the scheme a hoax. Harvey's conspiracy claims proved groundless. The scholarly Robert Greenhow was in Mexico on a diplomatic mission for the State Department relating to land claims in California. While he and his wife had been close friends of John Calhoun, there is no evidence that they were engaged in a pro-Southern plot in Mexico. Harvey soon became ill for a few weeks and the Washington correspondents all gave up writing about the scheme.[16]

One radical pro-Southern correspondent was Joseph A. Scoville, John Calhoun's private secretary until the South Carolina senator's death on

March 31, 1850. Scoville claimed an association with several papers such as the *New York Herald*, the *Charleston Mercury*, the *Columbia (SC) Telegraph*, and the *Macon Georgia Telegraph*. A few letters signed "J.A.S." were certainly his, but it is uncertain which other letters were by Scoville.[17] Another correspondent, Eliab Kingman, was one of the best known and most veteran of the Washington letter-writers. Kingman used the pen name "Ion" in the *Baltimore Sun* and reportedly wrote letters for other Southern presses, but it is not certain which ones those were.[18]

The biggest difficulty, of course, in discovering the identities of correspondents is that nearly all of them employed *noms de plume* or left their letters unsigned, as shown by the list accompanying this paper. Some editors who acted as correspondents—Horace Greeley ("H.G.") of the *New York Tribune*, William Schouler ("W.S.") of the *Boston Atlas*, Samuel Kettell ("S.K.") of the *Boston Courier*, Charles de Morse ("C. de M.") of *Clarksville (TX) Northern Standard*, Erastus Brooks ("E.B.") of the *New York Express*, and William C. Carrington ("W.C.C.") of the *Richmond Times*—are easily identifiable from their initials. The same applies to reporters James S. Pike ("J.S.P.") of the *Portland Advertiser*, the *Boston Courier* and subsequently the *New York Tribune*, and to Stephen P. Andrews ("S.P.A.") of the *New York Tribune*.[19] Some who used pseudonyms, such as Grund and Harvey, were so prominently known that little mystery enshrouded their authorship of letters for some papers. But even in their cases, the discovery of which other papers they were writing for depends on revelations in other newspapers or comparison of letters in the various papers.

Pseudonyms Make Identification Difficult

Most correspondents' identities in 1850 remain uncertain or unknown; some others' identities are certain or at least probable. Among the ones positively identified were Edward Harriman, "Potomac" in the *Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette*, whom Horace Greeley considered, along with Kingman and Harvey, a reporter able to learn secrets.[20] Another correspondent was James Lawrenson, who, as "Mercury" in the Baltimore Sun, complemented the political observations of Grund and Kingman by keeping readers informed about non-political matters in Washington and elsewhere in the District.[21]

Among correspondents for New York newspapers, George B. Wallis, sometimes signing himself "The Doctor" and usually leaving his columns unsigned, labored as the *New York Herald's* most regular letter-writer.[22] A former Texas newspaperman, William D. Wallach, corresponded from Washington for the staunchly Democratic *New York Daily Globe* in 1850, reportedly under the name "John Taylor of Caroline".[23]

The New York Express maintained several correspondents in Washington, but its principal one was N.W. Adams, who signed himself "Juvenal". His correspondence came to an abrupt halt in early August, after he collapsed in the House of Representatives with symptoms of cholera. Adams was also the correspondent for the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* up to that time.[24] One of the columnists whose writing style was quite humorous, and bitingly so at times, was "Il Segretario" of the *Louisville Journal.* A few other papers identified him as the former secretary of the Mexican claims commission, which explains the writer's choice of pseudonym, and a former member of the *Washington National Intelligencer* staff. His name was Edward W. Johnson.[25] The weekly issues of the *Victoria Texian Advocate* regularly carried long and informative letters from "Lone Star" in 1850. The author of that correspondence was John D. Logan, a former editor of the *Advocate* who sojourned in Washington between 1849 and 1851.[26]

Two other letter-writers in 1850 can be positively identified, although they were not regular correspondents but simply personages who wrote series of informative letters for Philadelphia papers during their visits to Washington. Both of these series focused primarily on providing readers with colorful physical descriptions of Senate and House members. One set of letters, titled "Glances at Congress", appeared in the *Philadelphia Pennsylvanian* from April to June and was written by that paper's co-editor John W. Forney while he was in Washington seeking unsuccessfully to become clerk of the House of Representatives. Forney did not sign his name nor use a pseudonym.[27] From June to August, the *Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post* printed the letters from Washington by "Grace Greenwood", *nom de plume* of Sara Jane Clarke (Lippincott after her marriage in 1853).[28]

The identification of two other correspondents should be classified as highly probable. The Washington correspondent for *Cummings' Telegraphic Evening Bulletin* in Philadelphia signed his letters "Henrico." Material in Rep. Alexander Stephens' papers indicates that this correspondent was probably John E. Tuel, an experienced newspaperman. One of Henrico's columns during the 1850 crisis achieved particular notoriety for charging Reps. Alexander Stephens and Robert Toombs of Georgia with having personally badgered President Zachary Taylor on the day after he became deathly ill in early July. Though the charge was probably well-founded, Henrico partially retracted it by changing the date of the meeting to the day before Taylor became ill.[29]

Another probable identification is that of Alexander C. Bullitt as "Le Diable Boiteux" in the *New Orleans Picayune.* Bullitt, a former co-editor of the *Picayune,* had come to Washington with the Taylor administration to edit the Whig administration organ, the *Washington (DC) Republic.* But in May 1850, after attempting to strike a middle ground between the anti-

compromise Taylor and the pro-compromise Sen. Henry Clay of Kentucky, the administration replaced Bullitt with Allen Hall as editor. That coincided with the beginning of regular *Picayune* correspondence from Washington, some of it unsigned but most letters signed "Le Diable Boiteux," literally in French, "the devil on two sticks," a phrase used in reference to a cripple. Bullitt may have adopted the *nom de plume* to indicate that he had been crippled by being fired as the *Republic's* editor. Bullitt rejoined the *Picayune* staff in January 1851.[30]

The identifications of two other Washington correspondents are worth some educated guesses. The *Philadelphia Pennsylvanian's* regular correspondent "Examiner" was one letter-writer who supported, in even more detailed fashion, Henrico's charge about the Stephens-Toombs "deathbed visit" to Taylor, although no one seems to have taken notice of Examiner's report at the time. Examiner may have been William Curran, listed in a Washington directory for 1850 as a printer. John Forney, in one of his "Glances at Congress," referred to leaving the gallery and letting "Mr. Curran and the other reporters" have their seats back. Forney had had no qualms about identifying reporters for other newspapers in an earlier column of the same series, but he chose to identify "Mr. Curran" only as one among several reporters. This reference may mean that Forney had been temporarily occupying the seat normally taken by the correspondent for Forney's own *Pennsylvanian*, which would mean that "Examiner" was a "Mr. Curran."[31] Another guess involved the correspondent for both the *New York Evening Post* and the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. Francis Grund wrote that both papers in 1850 were using the same correspondent. The *Post's* letters were signed "X," while the *Commercial Advertiser's* were signed "M." The writer in both cases may have been Charles March, who had used "M" when he had worked for Greeley's *Tribune* in 1848 and who had also worked for the *Post*.[32]

D. C. Records List 22 Reporters

The census records for the District of Columbia in 1850 list 22 men whose occupation is described as "reporter," including Kingman, Grund, Wallach, Wallis, and Harriman. Also listed as reporters were Henry M. Parkhurst, John C. McElhane, James and Charles D. Simington, William Lord, William H. Burr, W. B. Send, G. W. Brega, Lawrence A. Gobright, Francis Murphy, Edward Hart, Robert Sutton, William Hunt, W. J. Niles, J. G. Moore, S. M. Shaw, and John Agg. The last-named reporter, Agg, provided summaries of Congressional proceedings for Washington newspapers. Lawrence Gobright enjoyed a long, distinguished career telegraphing Congressional proceedings to the New York newspapers. He wrote a book about it, but he neglected to reveal whether he also served as a Washington

letter-writer for any papers. Some of the others listed as reporters in the census were undoubtedly correspondents for out-of-town newspapers, but it is not evident which ones they were. Some correspondents were not listed in the census for the District at all, while some were listed, but not as reporters. Stephen P. Andrews appears as an "author/publisher," James Lawrenson as a "clerk," and Edward W. Johnson as "Secretary to Mexican Commission."[33]

How reliable a source were the reports generated by Washington correspondents in 1850? Some editors wrote disparaging remarks about Washington "scribblers" recounting as facts the mere rumors they had overheard in barrooms, but those jealous editors did not have a correspondent in Washington for their papers.[34] Certainly, reporters' letters must be used with caution just like any other source. Given all of the inaccuracies, misstatements, occasional hoaxes, and bitter partisanship one might encounter in these letters, discerning historians can still find them a tool of inestimable value in elucidating aspects of the sectional crisis and in demonstrating the early development of the Washington correspondents' craft itself. Most importantly, these observers' letters often contained information available from no other source for historians to research. Historians are always looking "through a glass darkly" anyway, so it only makes sense to look through as many windows as we can find. These observers of crisis and compromise in 1850, identifiable and unidentifiable, have provided us with many windows to look through.

Endnotes

[1] F. B. Marbut, *News from the Capital: The Story of Washington Reporting* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 42-100; and Donald A. Ritchie, *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 20-53.

[2] Mark J. Stegmaier, *Texas, New Mexico, and the Compromise of 1850: Boundary Dispute and Sectional Crisis* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1996).

[3] Cleveland *Daily True Democrat*, 2 September 1850; and Washington(DC) *Daily Union*, 14 October 1849.

[4] Nashville *Daily Centre-State American*, 8 September 1850.

[5] In order to find as much of this newspaper correspondence as possible, the researcher can conveniently borrow many papers on microfilm while others must be examined in hard copy at the Library of Congress and other repositories. The papers are sometimes difficult to locate—only a few scattered issues of some which had a regular Washington correspondent, such as the *New York Daily Globe*, still exist—and locating correspondents' reports requires many tedious hours of research. But this researcher at least has found the rewards well worth the effort.

[6] Robert F. Durden, *James Shepherd Pike: Republicanism and the American Negro, 1850-1882* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1957); Marbut, *News from the Capital*; and Ritchie, *Press Gallery*.

[7] Compare for example accounts of House proceedings in correspondents' letters to both the *Sentinel* and *True Democrat*, both printed in *Ashtabula (OH) Sentinel*, 16 February 1850. See also *Louisville Morning Courier*, 19 August 1850.

[8] Patrick W. Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian: Radical Republican* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1966), 57.

[9] Even though Wentworth did not sign his letters to the *Chicago Democrat*, other papers which reprinted them labeled them as Wentworth's. *Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer*, 12 June 1850; Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, 21 June 1850; and Milwaukee *Daily Wisconsin*, 16 September 1850.

[10] On James Brooks, see biographical sketch by Allan Nevins in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (10 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957-1958), 2:77-79; and on Erastus Brooks, see biographical sketch by Harold Howland in *Ibid.*, 2:76-77.

[11] San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, 21 June 1850.

[12] Concord *New Hampshire Statesman*, 21 June 1850.

[13] Holman Hamilton and James L. Crouthamel, "A Man for Both Parties: Francis J. Grund as Political Chameleon," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 97 (October 1973): 470.

[14] Not only does the style of these letters appear to be Grund's and the pseudonym duplicate his nom de plume in the *Boston Times*, but the *Republican* itself indicated that their correspondent, despite the paper's praise for his ability, did not necessarily reflect the *Republican's* Whig viewpoint. The paper was pro-compromise, and Grund, at that time a Democrat, was vehemently so. Grund's attitude on compromise in 1850, rather than partisanship, probably accounts for the *Republican's* contracting with him to act as their Washington correspondent. *Richmond Republican*, 20 August 1850.

[15] *New York Herald*, 25 April 1850. The incident was recounted by the *Herald's* regular Washington correspondent George B. Wallis, in this instance using his pseudonym "The Doctor".

[16] *Ibid.*, 3 May 1850; Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, 13 May 1850; Ritchie, *Press Gallery*, 28, 40. 49, 53; and Mark J. Stegmaier, "Treachery or Hoax? The Rumored Southern Conspiracy to Confederate With Mexico," *Civil War History*, 35 (March 1989): 28-38.

[17] *New York Herald*, 3 May 1850. A biographical sketch of Scoville by Nelson F. Adkins is in Johnson and Malone, eds., *DAB*, 8:513.

[18] Marbut, *News from the Capital*, 30, 36, 42, 99; Ritchie, *Press Gallery*, 20; Harold A. Williams, *The Baltimore Sun, 1837-1897* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 269; and John W. Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1873, 1881), 1:279 and 2:245.

[19] Durden, *Pike*, 13; Ritchie, *Press Gallery*, 46-47; James S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War* (New York: American News Co., 1879), 1-83; and Madeleine B. Stern, *The Pantarch: A Biography of Stephen Pearl Andrews* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 70.

[20] Washington (DC) *Daily Union*, 14 October 1849; and Pike, *First Blows*, 49.

[21] Washington (DC) *Union*, 14 October 1849.

[22] *New York Herald*, 6 April 1850; Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, 13 May 1850; and Marbut, *News from the Capital*, 85.

[23] *New York Herald*, 6 April 1850; Milledgeville (GA) *Southern Recorder*, 10 September 1850; and Samuel W. Geiser, "William Douglas Wallach", *Southwest Review*, 29 (Winter, 1944): 291-297. Unfortunately almost no issues of the *New York Globe* for 1850 still exist.

[24] N. W. Adams was identified by another Washington correspondent in the Philadelphia *Cummings' Telegraphic Evening Bulletin*, 19 July 1850. The only person in the 1850 census who fit those initials and last name in the District was Nathan W. Adams, a 26-year-old from New York, but the census listed no profession for this person. Microfilm M-432, roll 56, p. 242, "Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States," Record Group 29, National Archives. The correspondent for the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* until early August usually left his name unsigned but sometimes wrote letters as "A", "Juvenal", or "N.W.A." for that paper. Another correspondent, signing himself "C.F.P.", took over the correspondence for the *Advertiser* in early August, at the same time that "Juvenal" of the *Express* became ill. Undoubtedly this earlier correspondent for the *Advertiser* in 1850 was the same N. W. Adams who wrote for the *Express*. *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, 5 July and 10 August 1850; and Utica *Oneida Morning Herald*, 19 July 1850.

[25] "Il Segretario" was identified as "E.W. Johnston" in *Buffalo Morning Express*, 17 September 1850; and *St. Louis Intelligencer*, 2 July 1850; and as "G. W. Johnston" in the Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, 18 July 1850. His name as given in the census is the one I have given. M-432, roll 57, p. 268, RG-29, NA.

[26] Victoria *Texian Advocate*, 25 January and 8 February 1850 and 23 August and 1 November 1851; and Geraldine F. Talley, "John Davis Logan", in Ron Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas* (6 vols.; Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 4: 262. The author wishes to thank Dr. Talley for sharing her research on Logan and the *Advocate*.

[27] Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, 30 April; 2, 6, 13, 18, 22, 24, 31 May and 17 June 1850.

[28] Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post*, 22, 29 June; 6, 13, 27 July and 3 August 1850. A biographical sketch of Clarke (Lippincott) by Barbara Welter is in Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women,*

1607-1950 (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 2:407-409. Clarke of course did not observe from the press galleries. Earlier in 1850, Jane Grey Swisshelm had become the first woman admitted to the Senate's press gallery as a correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. However, after repeating a vicious rumor about Sen. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts in her first report, Swisshelm found herself no longer working for the *Tribune*. Ritchie, *Press Gallery*, 42-46. Some other correspondents' columns describing Senate and House members are in: Boston *Yankee Blade*, 2, 9, 23 March; 8 June and 17 and 24 August 1850; Clarksville (TX) *Northern Standard*, 10 August 1850; Concord *Independent Democrat*, 11 July 1850; *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, 9 September 1850; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 30 July 1850; Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, 16 July 1850; and *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, 5 and 26 June 1850.

[29] On Tuel and the "deathbed visit" controversy, see Mark J. Stegmaier, "Zachary Taylor Versus the South," *Civil War History*, 33 (September 1987): 230-241.

[30] Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1964), 97; and Fayette Copeland, *Kendall of the Picayune* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), 123. In 1850 the *Mobile Register* asserted that Bullitt was "Le Diable Boiteux", but some New Orleans papers expressed the belief that it was Grund or someone else. The style of "Le Diable Boiteux"'s letters was certainly not Grund's. See: *New Orleans Bee*, 3 July 1850; and New Orleans *Daily Delta*, 31 July 1850.

[31] Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*, 22 May 1850; and Edward Waite, comp., *The Washington Directory and Congressional and Executive Register for 1850* (Washington: Columbus Alexander, 1850), 22.

[32] Ritchie, *Press Gallery*, 41-43; and *Boston Daily Times*, 6 May, 1850.

[33] M-432, roll 56, pp. 66, 80, 98-99, 141, 150, 152, 217-218, 221, 232, 238, 262, 269, and roll 57, pp. 4, 11, 254, 268; Marbut, *News from the Capital*, 30; and Lawrence A. Gobright, *Recollections of Men and Things at Washington During the Third of a Century* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1869).

[34] Veteran editor Mordecai M. Noah of the *New York Sunday Times and Noah's Weekly Messenger* expressed this view in 1850. Cited in Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post*, 4 May 1850.

NEWSPAPERS WITH WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS IN 1850

(Some papers not listed had isolated Washington letters during the 1850 crisis)

NEWSPAPER	PSEUDONYM (if any)	REAL NAME OF CORRESPONDENT
Albany State Register	"F"	
	—	
Ashtabula Sentinel	—	Joshua R. Giddings
Baltimore Clipper	"Lucius"	
	"Aristides"	
Baltimore Patriot...	"Potomac"	Edward Harriman
	"Pinkney"	
Baltimore *Republican...*	"Eustis"	
Baltimore *Sun*	"X"	Francis Grund
	"Mercury"	James Lawrenson
	"Ion"	Eliab Kingman
Boston Atlas	"W.S."	William Schouler
Boston Courier	"J.S.P."	James S. Pike
	"S.K."	Samuel Kettell
Boston *Emancipator...*	"Bay State"	
Boston Journal	"Viator"	James Harvey
Boston *Olive Branch*	"Algernon"	
Boston Pilot	"Alpha"	
Boston Post	"Osceola"	Francis Grund
Boston *Puritan Recorder*	"D"	
Boston Times	"Franklin"	Francis Grund
Boston *Yankee Blade*	"Gamboge"	
Buffalo Commercial Advertiser	—/"Juvenal"/"A"/"N.W.A."	N.W. Adams
	"C.F.P."	
Centreville *IN True Democrat*	—	George W. Julian
Charleston Courier	—	
Charleston Mercury	"Davis"	
	"H"	
	—	
Chicago Democrat	—	John Wentworth
Chicago *Western Citizen*	"Southron"	
Cincinnati Gazette	"Argus	James Harvey
	"Scioto"	
Clarksville (TX) *Northern Standard*	"CdeM"	Charles de Morse

Cleveland *True Democrat*	"Cato"/—	Joshua R. Giddings
Columbia (SC) *Telegraph*	"Palmetto"	
Concord *NH Patriot...*	"Union"	Francis Grund
Dayton Journal	"Cassi"	
Detroit Advertiser	—	
Indianapolis *IN State Sentinel*	"Xavier"	
Jackson *Mississippian*	"Ides of November"	
Louisville Courier	"H"	
Louisville Journal	"Il Segretario"	Edward W. Johnson
Macon *GA Telegraph*	"Sylvias"	
	"Metropolis"	
	"George Mason"	
Madison *WI Democrat*	"Republic"	
Milledgeville (GA) *Federal Union*	—	
Natchez *MS Free Trader*	"WXY"	
New Orleans *Picayune*	"Le Diable Boiteux"	Alexander C. Bullitt *
New York Commercial Advertiser	"M"	Charles March **
New York Courier and Enquirer	"Veritas"	James Harvey
	"Volunteer"	
New York Evangelist		
and Presbyterian	—	
New York Express	"Juvenal"	N.W. Adams
	"A Looker On and Laugher"	
	—	
	"E.B."	Erastus Brooks
	"Spectator"	
	"Lacon"	
	"F.V."	
New York Globe	"John Taylor of Caroline"	William D. Wallach
New York Herald	"The Doctor"/—	George B. Wallis
	"J.A.S."	Joseph A. Scoville
	"Pozzi di Borgo"	Francis Grund
	"Patrick Henry"	
	"Reis Effendi"	
	"Jacob"	
	"Alexander"	
	"Rabelais"	
New York Journal of Commerce	—	

New York *Post*	"X"	Charles March **
New York *Sun*	"W"	Francis Grund
New York Tribune	"J.S.P."	James S. Pike
	"S.P.A."	Stephen P. Andrews
	"S"	
	"Sigma"	
	"A New Yorker"	
	"H.G."	Horace Greeley
	"Clio"	
Newark Advertiser	—	
Norfolk *American Beacon...*	—	
Oshkosh Democrat	"Northman"	
Philadelphia *Cummings' Telegraphic Bulletin*	"Henrico"	John E. Tuel *
Philadelphia *North American...*	"Independent"	James Harvey
Philadelphia *PA Inquirer...*	"Scrutator"	
Philadelphia Pennsylvanian	—	John W. Forney
	"Examiner"	William Curran **
	"Z"	
Philadelphia *Post*	"Grace Greenwood"	Sara Jane Clarke (Lippincott)
Philadelphia *Public Ledger*	"Observer"	Francis Grund
Pittsburgh Gazette	"Junius"	
Portland Advertiser	"J.S.P."	James S. Pike
Raleigh Register...	"Marion"	
Richmond Enquirer	"W.F.R."	William F. Ritchie
Richmond Republican	"Franklin"	Francis Grund *
	—	
Richmond Times	"W.C.C."	William C. Carrington
Rochester Advertiser	"V"	
Rochester American	"L"	
St. Louis Intelligencer / New Era	—	James Harvey
San Francisco *Alta California*	"E.G."	Edward Gilbert
Savannah Georgian	"Oglethorpe"	
Victoria *Texian Advocate*	"Lone Star"	John D. Logan
Wilmington (NC) *Commercial*	"Roanoke"	

*** Probable Identification**

**** Possible Identification**

The Whitechapel Club: Defining Chicago's Newspapermen in the 1890s

By Alfred Lawrence Lorenz

Chicago's 1890s Whitechapel Club, though short lived, was one of the most interesting of all the press clubs that emerged in the late 19th century and had an enduring effect on its members and on generations of journalists who followed them. Like other press clubs, of the period, the Whitechapel served its members by providing them with a setting for social activities among like minded individuals. It was set apart from the others by the macabre decor of its club rooms and by its bizarre rituals and boisterous entertainments which strengthened the bonds of fellowship among them. More important, the club provided an arena in which they defined themselves as journalists; that is, they created an image of the heavy-drinking, wise-cracking, cynical reporter that lasted well into the 20th century.

In the summer of 1889, in the rear room of Henry Koster's Chicago newspaper-district saloon, a small group of literary-minded newspapermen founded a press club that they called the Whitechapel Club—a name they borrowed from the London slum where Jack the Ripper was stalking young women to murder and mutilate. The Whitechapel Club would live only five years, but in its short life it would become one of the most peculiar of all press clubs, as strange in its practices as it was in its name, and it would help to shape the image of the Chicago newspaperman that persisted well into the 20th century.

The era in which the Whitechapel Club was born and flourished, the 1880s and 1890s, was a period of growing professionalism in American journalism, as in the rest of American life. As Michael Schudson has pointed out, that was a time when journalists were increasingly self-conscious about

Larry Lorenz is a Professor in the Department of Communications, Loyola University, New Orleans

their work, "as eager to mythologize [it]...as the public was to read of their adventures." Larzer Ziff noted that the mythology arose from "men who insisted on talking to one another about the hypocrisy of the social system even while they were being paid to explain it away, whose faith in the big scoop was not entirely alien to a faith in the power of prose, and who read everything they could lay their hands on and fanned each other's literary aspirations." By such means, and through their common knowledge and shared work, they developed what Burton Bledstein termed a "culture of professionalism." All of that took place wherever newspapermen gathered, whether in city rooms or taverns, but increasingly during the late 19th century, Schudson tells us, it occurred in formally organized press clubs that "provided a forum for mutual criticism and collegiality."[1]

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the practices of the Whitechapel Club to catch a glimpse of Chicago newspapermen at leisure and to gain some insight into the role the club may have played in the mythologizing and professionalizing of those men.[2] Unfortunately, little manuscript material related to the club has survived; only its charter and rare bits of memorabilia kept by a few members and filed away with their papers in the Newberry Library in Chicago. But some of the members—and persons who wished they had been—wrote of the club in their memoirs and some drew on their Whitechapel experiences to create occasional works of fiction. From time to time the Whitechapelers recounted their activities in their own newspapers, and their stories were often carried to newspapers across the country by the Associated Press. All of those materials serve as the basis for this study.

Useful in verifying information and helping to fill gaps was "Whitechapel Nights," by the veteran Chicago newspaperman Charles A. Dennis, who was city editor of the *Morning News* when the club began. While not a member himself, he was the boss of a number of the members and had a store of recollections of the club and its members which he published as a 36-part series in the *Chicago Daily News* in 1936.[3] Although much of the material is secondary, taken as a whole it provides a rare glimpse of the personality and character of young journalists of the time.

Press Clubs' Influence Grows

The Whitechapel Club was one of many social organizations business and professional men founded in cities across the country in the years following the Civil War. Chicago had a number of them, including the posh Chicago Club, Union League Club, and University Club, where the city's elite enjoyed each other's company. Though a rung or two down the social ladder, big-city journalists organized similar clubs which afforded them a

more refined social setting than the seedy taverns where they ordinarily got together after a day's work, provided them with the benefits of a benevolent society, and served as arenas in which they could define themselves as journalists by agreeing on what journalists were, how they should approach their work and on a set of professional values—in short, what it meant to be a journalist.

In 1872, New York newspapermen established a press club that served as a model for similar organizations around the country. It was described as "an organization for mutual help, sympathy and culture." Eight years later, Chicago newspapermen, "recognizing the advantages of closer personal relations to raise the standards of the profession," established the Press Club of Chicago, and settled themselves in what were described at the time as "comfortable and handsome quarters. People distinguished in literature, in music, and on the stage are there received in a manner befitting the brilliant band of journalists who, by their talents and enterprise, have created the unrivaled Chicago newspapers."[4]

The Whitechapel boys set themselves up in the back room of Kosters', a saloon at the corner of LaSalle Street and Calhoun Place, or Newsboys' Alley, as Calhoun Place was then known. Offices of the *Herald*, the *Examiner* and the *Times* backed onto the alley, so Kosters' was close enough to permit a thirsty reporter or editor to sneak over for a drink when he was on duty, and it was handy for after-work gatherings. Tavern keeper Kosters even put his name down as a Whitechapel founder, alongside those of Charles Seymour and J. R. Paul on the club's incorporation papers.[5]

Unconventional Decor Marks Whitechapel

Members entered their club rooms through a heavy oak door that opened onto the alley. The door was decorated with elaborate wrought iron scrollwork , and the transom held a pane of stained-glass with a skull and crossed bones and the legend "I, too, have lived in Arcady," a statement that proved ironic after a tour of the rooms.

Inside, on the first floor, was a table in the shape of a shoe smithed for a mule's hind foot. At each place was a churchwarden's pipe and a tobacco-filled bowl that had once been the brain pan of a human skull. Dr. John C. Spray, a member who was superintendent of a hospital for the insane, had made a study of skulls to try to determine differences between skulls of normal persons and those of the mentally ill. He contributed his collection to the Whitechapel Club, and the club's chaplain, decorator, and all-round handyman, Chrysostom "Tombstone" Thompson, neatly sawed off the tops, implanted brightly colored glass in the eye holes and rigged the skulls as shades for the club's gas lighting fixtures. The flames flickered eerily

against walls covered with the canary yellow paper matrices of type forms.

A communal keg stood in the corner for members who wanted beer. At the bar were corked bottles for those who preferred something stronger. On nights when Whitechapelers entertained guests, they served a punch concocted by Wallace Rice. In some members' memories the favorite was a milk punch they called "wild cow's milk," but Rice said that was only a rumor, one of the many unfounded stories the club would inspire.[6]

In a smaller room on the second floor, drinkers gathered around a coffin-shaped table studded with nails with big brass heads. The boys tilted their armchairs back against the wall, put their feet up on the table, and "kept time to their own dreadful singing by hammering with their beer mugs" on the top. They held board meetings at that table and dealt poker on it, though not for money. "Playing cards and dice for money was strictly forbidden," Rice remembered. Rolling the dice for drinks was about as far as they went.[7]

In the center of the coffin table was another skull, its top still attached. It had been the head of an Indian girl and it was among the souvenirs *Herald* reporter Charlie Seymour had brought back from the West. At least two other Sioux Indian skulls were part of the macabre decorations, both donated to the club by a Captain Stuart. Serving as a cup for honored guests was the silver-lined skull of a woman said to be "a lady of notoriously easy virtue" called Waterford Jane, Queen of the Sands. The Sands, or Sand Lots, a red-light district just north of where the Chicago River empties into Lake Michigan, was a favorite stopping place for sailors off the schooners that once tied up at the city's docks.[8]

The walls of the upstairs room were covered with Indian blankets (in legend they were deeply stained with blood) and so-called ghost shirts—shirts that had been blessed by medicine men to make their wearers impervious to the bullets of U.S. cavalrymen. Seymour had collected those, too. There were nooses that had hoisted badmen in the west; pistols and knives seized as murder weapons and donated to the club by law officers; portions of fire engines destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871; and Indian war bonnets, tomahawks and bows and arrows.

Buffalo Bill Cody, in full costume, looked down from a handsome, autographed portrait hung on one wall. Cody had bestowed it on the *Herald's* Brand Whitlock after the reporter had trailed him through Chicago's saloons one afternoon interviewing him, and Whitlock had carted it to the clubhouse. A series of photographs showed Chinese pirates before and after beheading. The decorations served as symbols of the often-dark world the members covered and of the mocking posture they assumed toward it. The devices also served as totems of their fraternity.[9]

A number of the Whitechapelers were fallen-away members of the Press Club (although a few remained in the Press Club while holding Whitechapel membership), and in the latter there was a feeling that the splinters, being relatively young in the business, had left because they hadn't the money to pay Press Club dues. While that seems to have been true, at least in some cases, the Whitechapel boys enjoyed in each other more congenial companionship than could be found at the Press Club. They were literary types, while the members of the Press Club were not, and they were young and madcap—"wild and erratic geniuses," a contemporary called them—while members of the press club were older and more staid. Indeed, it would be said of the Whitechapel that, in contrast to the Press Club, it "was young with hope, and it was bizarre" [10]

The official purpose of the Whitechapel Club, boldly written on its state-issued certificate of incorporation, was "Social Reform." But that was certainly tongue-in-cheek. The Whitechapelers were not "in any sense reformers, or actuated by the smug and forbidding spirit which too often inspires that species," Brand Whitlock would write. "They were, indeed, wisely otherwise, and they were, I think, wholly right minded in their attitude toward what are called public questions, and of these they had a deep and perspicacious understanding."[11] They were rebels, dissatisfied with the political and business practices of the 1890s—even clean-shaven to set themselves apart from their bewhiskered elders.[12]

The newspapers for which they worked were as singular as the city and perfectly suited to it. "They were written largely in the language that the still growing city understood," as the sportswriter Hugh Fullerton remembered 30 years later. "They had individuality. The *Herald*, which was owned by a cooperative crowd of newspapermen, set the pattern, and the *Inter-Ocean* and *Times* rivaled it in presenting the news in entertaining manner. There was nothing sedate or dignified about them except the editorial pages and the stockyards reports. They were boisterous, at times rough; they lacked dignity, perhaps, but they were readable, entertaining and amusing."[13]

The newspapers chronicled the daily life of the city and the burst of vitality it enjoyed at the end of the 19th century. Their pages told of murders and fires, eloping heiresses and shop girls done wrong, and police and politicians on the take. But that was not all. The city had risen from the ashes of the Great Fire of just 20 years before, and by 1890 its population had grown to one million to eclipse Philadelphia as the nation's second city. It had seen the first skyscraper rise in 1885, and in the next few years had

watched others go up, one as high as 21 stories.

In the early days of the Whitechapel Club, the city was readying itself to put up the alabaster buildings that would line the midway of the World's Columbian Exposition. All that, too, was rushed into print, and the resulting journalistic portrait was that of a city of contrasts. As historian Arthur Schlesinger would describe it, there was "squalor matching splendor, municipal boodle contending with civic spirit; the very air now reeking with the foul stench of the stockyards, now fresh-blown from prairie or lake."[14] The journalists saw that clearly at the time, and none more so than the Whitechapel boys. They were exposed to the rawest elements of the city in their work, and they came to have doubts "whether this was a world of even-handed justice, and allowed themselves to wonder now and then whether 'anarchists' were really more vicious than the judgments which condemned them to death, whether Altgeld was not a better citizen than Yerkes, whether the papers they worked for were altogether a civilizing and regenerating influence."[15] They were also frustrated by the social, economic and political conservatism of most of the city's newspapers.[16] In the Whitechapel's rooms they could debate those questions loudly and at length, vent their cynicism and try to come to some accommodation with the contradictions they saw around them or, simply, relax and forget their labor in drink and boisterous camaraderie.

The newspapers were "fairly seething with talent of all kinds, and if one made an impression here it was because of a definite ability for the work and nothing less," recalled Theodore Dreiser, a cub at the time.[17] The work demanded what Whitlock described with only slight hyperbole as "hard, earnest, exhausting labor, seven days and seven nights a week, with no holidays." For him and many like him who exited the city rooms early, it was work that "soon loses the fascination which lures its victims, and descends to the level of veriest drudgery."[18] For others the daily rush was entertaining, even engrossing, and Chicago "was just the size to make the lot of the young journalist enjoyable."

Whether the reporter enjoyed his work or not, his social life was constricted by the hours he put in and by the fact that he was accorded a low social status by the community at large. He was also badly paid. Whitlock earned a princely $35 a week in 1892, tops for a Chicago reporter. But he himself reported that the average young man going into journalism might start for $10 to $15 a week, but probably less —as little as $8 a week. The average wage of the editorial staff and office staff of the *Evening Journal* was slightly more than $20 a week—about the same as the newspaper's drama critic earned. The result was that journalists of the day generally associated with each other in their off hours, and they often joined together in a riotous living, or bohemianism, as it was considered.[19]

Ade and McCutcheon Among Club's Founders

A handful of the brightest, most talented and most eccentric—most Bohemian—of Chicago's younger newspapermen began the Whitechapel Club, and they served as its soul during its short life. They were general assignment reporters, copy editors, sports writers, cartoonists and, especially, police reporters. Among them was the witty Finley Peter Dunne, reporter and editor for a variety of Chicago newspapers who would gain fame as the creator of that wry South Side tavern keeper Mr. Dooley. Others who were beginning to make names for themselves included Whitlock, then the *Herald's* political correspondent; humorist George Ade, just a year out of Purdue, and on his way to becoming a star reporter for the *Morning News,* and his fraternity bother and best friend, *Morning News* cartoonist John T. McCutcheon; Hugh E. Keough, sports editor of the *Times; Herald* reporters Wallace Rice and Alfred Henry Lewis; and the humorist Opie Read. Frederick Upham Adams—Grizzly, his friends called him—who moved from paper to paper, was the original treasurer, though it was said his job "was a sinecure, for the club never had any money; indeed, all its accounts might have been kept uniformly in red ink."[20]

At least 39 of the 94 men who have been identified as members over the club's lifetime were newspapermen, and perhaps more; the professions of 37 members have not been identified, and it is likely that many of those were journalists, specifically men working for daily newspapers. The Whitechapel boys would not accept reporters and editors for trade papers, which they saw as simply vehicles for advertising.[21]

A large number of non-journalists were members, however; like other press club founders, the Whitechapelers admitted like-minded professional men they covered or with whom they associated, including lawyers, judges and other public officials, artists, physicians and businessmen. Among them were Police Captain John Bonfield, commander of the force at the Haymarket riot; Cook County Circuit Court Judge Lorin Collins; Justice of the Peace John K. Prindiville; the distinguished criminal lawyer Luther Laflin Mills; young Robert Hammill, Yale man and son of the president of the Chicago Board of Trade; and Benjamin S. ("Sport") Donnelley, an end on Princeton's 1889 championship football team and a member of the R. R. Donnelley publishing family. An oculist, Dr. Hugh Blake Williams, was the club's vice president. Certainly, however, journalists were the moving force behind the founding and made up the core membership, for the Whitechapel was always known as a newspaperman's club.[22]

Some observers might have considered it odd that the Whitechapel boys invited policemen, public officials and merchants to join, given their antipathy to the establishment. And, certainly, within the club rooms it was

not unusual for a Bonfield or Prindiville to contradict something he had said in public. But the Whitechapelers tended to believe that the society was shot through with hypocrisy, especially in that city of contrasts, so they apparently accepted the contradictions, just as they breathed in fresh lake air one moment and the stench of the stockyards the next. That was the way things were.[23]

Charles Goodyear Seymour was the club's inspiration, its first president and its guiding light, and appropriately so, for he was the kind of journalist his colleagues admired and tried to emulate. Seymour was a general assignment reporter for the *Herald*, which was edited by his brother, Horatio.[24] "An odd little man . . . a droll quaint figure," Charlie Seymour was "always at the center of the coterie, a young man with such a flair for what was news, with such an instinct for word values, such rare ability as a writer, and such a quaint and original strain of humor as to make him the peer of any."[25]

Seymour was a brilliant and versatile reporter, or "special," in the parlance of the day. Whatever needed covering, he could handle, from the day-by-day to the most unusual. When *Herald* editors wanted a series of sketches of Eastern cities, they picked him to do the job. They ordered him to Louisville after a tornado devastated a large portion of that city. They dispatched him to Pine Ridge, South Dakota, to cover an Indian uprising. He investigated gambling and prostitution that flourished in "vile dens of iniquity" in the lumber towns of northern Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan, a task that kept him on the go for five days "without touching a pillow or taking off his clothes." His investigation was judged "a notable piece of work, well done in every particular," by the Chicago correspondent for the trade periodical *The Journalist*."[26]

Seymour had an eye for the unusual and the originality to incorporate it in his stories. Traveling through Illinois with House Speaker Thomas B. Reed, he was so taken with whiskers worn by the farmers who heard Reed speak that he devoted half a column to describing them, and his story "long was celebrated as a classic in the traditions of Chicago reporters." Sent to cover Chicago's glittering charity ball, the grandest social event of the year, Seymour spotted two waifs huddled in a doorway and watched and listened as a policeman shooed them away: "Get along with you. Don't you know this is the charity ball." Seymour led his story with the incident, only later telling the traditional story of the grand march, led by Mrs. Potter Palmer and General Nelson Miles. The story ran on page one of the *Herald*, and other newspapermen "jubilated" over it.[27]

Seymour was one of the earliest of the city's baseball writers, and it was said that of them all—and they had no equals in that day—he told "the best yarns" because he knew the game best. "He lived with the players,

chummed with the most reckless and brilliant of them, got their views on games, and translated them into epics for his paper," Hugh Fullerton wrote.[28]

Seymour also had a "love of midnight drinking parties." Older brother Horatio tried to wean him away from them by promoting him to night editor of the *Herald*. "But the resourceful younger brother was not long in discovering slack times between deadlines and mail and city editions in which he could step down the alley to the club for moments of relaxation." He finally rid himself of the editor's chair and got back on the street, "the long hours and close confinement," it was reported, "proving injurious to his health."[29]

Seymour gave the club its name. He and Adams were sitting in Kosters' saloon discussing possibilities for a name. As they talked, a gang of newsboys suddenly rushed by shouting the news of Jack the Ripper's latest foul deed in Whitechapel. "Let's call it the Whitechapel Club," Seymour said. Adams agreed. The Whitechapel Club it became.[30]

Creates a Culture of Wit and Good Fellowship

The by-laws authorized a limit of 51 members at any one time, though in the Whitechapel's heyday the club had no more than 40 members at a time, despite a long list of applicants. The rules for admission were borrowed somewhat from those of a Sinn Fein organization, Clan-Na-Gael, that had been in the news as a result of a power struggle within its ranks. Understandably, the Irishmen were exceptionally careful in screening new members. The Whitechapelers were similarly "cautious about admitting a man who later might prove objectionable to them," though according to Opie Read they selected some members for peculiar reasons. "One man was admitted because he had never been known to pay a debt," Read wrote. "Another man because he had never been known to smile." Read became a member, he said, because he had the ability to walk without crutches after having edited a newspaper in the hills of Kentucky.[31]

The club's prime qualifications were "wit and good fellowship," and three members had to vouch that a candidate offered both. Each candidate was advised to spend at least five days each week of his probationary month in the club rooms getting to know the other members, engaging in their horseplay, and enduring their sarcastic needling. The candidate's name was posted on the bulletin board and at any time during the month any regular member could tear it from the board and end the candidacy there and then. If the man survived the month, his name went before the membership for a vote. One "no" and he was out. Once admitted, the new Whitechapeler was

given a number for identification, another practice borrowed from Clan-Na-Gael, and all communications were made to his number, not his name. The club turned down some of Chicago's more prominent young men, and a Whitechapel number was so coveted that in later years men claimed membership who had visited the club only as guests.[32]

The Whitechapel's aims, of course, were much less sinister than those of Clan-Na-Gael. Despite its stated goal of "Social Reform," its real mission was to promote good fellowship among its members "with good liquor on the table and a good song ringing clear," Charles Dennis recalled. Or, more bluntly, in the words of long-time editor Willis Abbot, "the business of the organization was steady and serious drinking and newspaper gossip." And the club provided all of those in "any of the first two or three after midnight hours of any night" during its existence. Its members sat in a cloud of pipe smoke, feet up on the table, talking. They rehashed stories they had covered, and they criticized each other's work to such an extent that members often wrote their stories with an ear to the anticipated Whitechapel critique. They talked about books and authors—the young Rudyard Kipling was a favorite, for he, too, had been a newspaperman, and he had realized his literary ambitions. More often than not, their talk turned to criticism of the pretenses of Victorian society, and they would be remembered by some as "chronic kickers of the human family." But they also enjoyed more mundane diversions of that era. In the summer they fielded a baseball team, picnicked together and occasionally made rail excursions to visit clubs in other cities.[33]

Other press clubs staged public programs, some cultural, some to burlesque the year's news and newsmakers. The Whitechapel's entertainments were private—and what entertainments they were, a kind of a participatory "Saturday Night Live." The members hung a smallpox quarantine sign outside the door, and inside enjoyed scheduled, though in no way formal, programs. The opening ritual seldom varied. President Seymour poured a drink from a bottle of whiskey, corked the bottle tightly, and then, with great aplomb, "recognized himself for the last time" and toasted his own health and contentment. On a typical night, several members told stories, some of which, it was said, were "even tinged with truth." Others recited favorite poems or monologues. One rose to burlesque the manner and speech of a celebrity. A writer read from a work in progress. Actors playing in the city were invited in and amused the members with the latest jokes they had heard. Toward the end of an evening, the well-refreshed members ran through a familiar repertoire of drinking songs.[34]

Governors William McKinley of Ohio and Theodore Roosevelt of New York enjoyed the club's fellowship. So did the Hoosier poet James Whitcomb Riley, humorist Bill Nye, and boxing champions James J. Corbett and John L. Sullivan. William T. Stead, author of *If Christ Came to Chicago!,* stopped by. The dashing war correspondent Richard Harding Davis came and entertained one evening by reciting Kipling's "Danny Deever." Even the revered Kipling himself showed up during an American tour. The record of his visit was lost long ago, yet he would later write, "Having seen Chicago I urgently desire never to see it again. It is inhabited by savages."[35]

Guests were required to get up and tell stories—what was later called "a competitive telling of lies." The man who told what was judged to be the biggest lie was given the honor of wearing a huge Knights Templar sword that, some said, had been used to commit a murder in Louisville (others remembered that a West Side Chicago teamster had decapitated his wife with it). Republican politician and New York Central railroad president Chauncey M. Depew won the sword on two different nights, the only person to take it more than once. Depew was a noted raconteur who enjoyed quoting President James A. Garfield to the effect that "he might be president if he did not tell funny stories." Depew was made one of two honorary members of the club. The other was a magician named Alexander Hermann.[36]

When a man rose to speak, whether member or guest, the members took pride in shouting insults at him, a practice Seymour had observed—and obviously enjoyed—at Philadelphia's Clover Club, an editors' dining club he had visited shortly before the founding of the Whitechapel. The Whitechapelers called the practice "sharpshooting," and the best of them were the journalists—President Seymour and his successor, Charles Perkins, Pete Dunne, Ben King and Charley Almy. The club was not a "suitable place for thin-skinned gentlemen," said one observer. "The jesters spared nobody," including their most distinguished guests:

> When the heavy firing began across the table it was time for the man of weak broadsides to climb a tree. No one had an opportunity to take out his knitting when framing a reply. And the retort always had to be proof against a comeback. Those Whitechapel sharpshooters were the most expert in the business anywhere.[37]

In his short story "Dubley '89," Whitechapeler Read sketched the

sharpshooting that must have taken place. The hero, having been invited to address an alumni organization, carefully prepares a speech only to have it shredded in the telling by shouted barbs from the audience. The sharpshooting begins at the end of his first sentence:

> "'College Days', a subject that must arouse the tenderest and sweetest memories in the bosom of every one here." (*Applause*)
> A voice: "Say, this fellow's eloquent." (*Applause.*)
> Dubley: "Tenderest and sweetest memories in the bosom of every one here."
> A voice: "No encores."
> Another voice: "You said that once."
> Dubley: "Pardon me; I—ah—"
> A voice: "Go ahead! You're all right—maybe."
> Dubley: "When I look around me and see all these faces beaming with good-fellowship and fraternal love I—"
> Grand chorus: "Ah-h-h-h-h!"
> Dubley: "I say, when I look around—"
> A voice: "That's twice you've looked around."

And so it goes until Dubley is silenced by general uproar, is forced to dodge a well-aimed French roll, and is pulled into a chair complaining that he had not yet finished his speech.

"Yes, you had," the man next to him says.[38]

Read himself, although a board member, was so badly wounded by sharpshooters who took dead aim at one of his early novels that he walked out and never returned.[39]

It was the practice at the Whitechapel to end an evening's entertainment by singing "Free as a Bird" over the bodies of those who had fallen asleep. The members were especially fond of the chorus:

> Then stand to your glasses steady!
> We drink to our comrades' eyes,
> A cup to the dead already—
> Hurrah for the next that dies![40]

A Georgia editor, asked to tell what he liked best about a Georgia Press Association excursion to Chicago and Milwaukee shortly before the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, said: "to drink with the Whitechapel Club, the jolliest lot of fellows living, who sang songs and told brilliant stories with equal cleverness."[41] His group, apparently, had been spared the special treatment given to Clover Club members who were

entertained at the Whitechapel during a Chicago visit at about the same time.

James Wilmot Scott, publisher of the *Herald*, had hosted a formal dress banquet for the Cloverites and, after the meal, he and Mayor Washburne of Chicago led the elegantly-clad visitors down Newsboys' Alley and through the oak door where they were greeted by Whitechapel members in street clothes. Everyone dipped into the punch. There were speeches aborted by sharpshooting, followed by more punch. At about two a.m., someone began pounding on the door, and when it was opened a squad of police rushed in with billy-clubs drawn.

"Don't make any resistance," the sergeant in command shouted. "This place is pinched."

"My God!" Seymour yelled. "The cops are raiding us again."

Adams jumped on a chair and shouted insults at the policemen. They ignored him and went about the business of hustling the men in evening dress into three patrol wagons parked in the alley. Scott and the mayor somehow got away. The Philadelphians learned it was all a practical joke after the police drove them around for half an hour, then reined up in front of their hotel, let them out and wished them a good night. It was a scene repeated more than once.[42]

Members Design a Bizarre Exclusive

The club attracted what one member described as "a fringe of odd fish," hangers-on who reveled in its activities. One of those, Honore Joseph Jaxon, led the club into one of its most bizarre chapters. Jaxon was from Canada and had been educated at Toronto University. Part Blackfoot Indian, he had been convicted of taking part in an Indian rebellion and was destined for the gallows when he escaped and fled to Chicago where he became a union organizer. He somehow managed to take over a room in the Chicago *Times* building on Washington Street, where he set up a deer skin teepee that was said to have "a smell as of ancient goats or the father of all foxes." With his proximity to the news room, he got to know many of the Whitechapel boys, and because he was the sort of eccentric they liked, they included him in some of their festivities. It was Jaxon who introduced the club to a man who signed in on the visitors' book as "Morris A. Collins, president Dallas (Texas) Suicide Club."[43]

The members knew who Collins was. He had argued publicly for legalization of suicide in public "death chambers." What they could not know was that after his visit to the clubrooms with their skulls and other trappings of death, Collins would buy a revolver and kill himself. (In some memories, Grizzly Adams taunted Collins to fulfill his club's principles.) He

left a note to Jaxon asking that his body be dissected for scientific purposes and the remains burned.[44]

When Collins' sister agreed to cremation but not dissection, Jaxon appealed to his friends in the Whitechapel Club for help. Someone recalled that Lord Byron had disposed of Percy Shelley's body on a funeral pyre on the Italian coast and urged a similar ritual for Collins on the Indiana dunes of Lake Michigan. The idea was especially appealing to the social critics in the club because cremation was still generally thought of as an unholy practice, and it gave them a chance to flaunt propriety in a way sure to shock many people.

Materials for the funeral pyre would cost money, perhaps $500, and while the members had cheek they had little cash. Peter Dunne and Wallace Rice, who knew a newspaper story when they were about to perpetrate one, went to publisher Scott of the *Herald*. He agreed to pay for everything provided the event take place on a Saturday night so that he could print the details the following morning. And provided he got an exclusive. The Whitechapelers claimed Collins' body from the city morgue and began preparations.[45]

The ceremony took place on July 16, 1892. With the help of eight hired farm hands, club members built a pyre of cordwood and driftwood on a dune that rose 100 feet over the coast. The tower measured eight feet wide, 18 feet long and 100 feet high. Embedded in it were two barrels of tar wrapped in cotton waste that had been soaked in kerosene.

Collins' body, in a long pine box, was taken from the train that had brought it from Chicago, placed aboard a spring wagon and driven to the tower on the beach. Dr. Spray, donor of the clubhouse skulls, and Dr. Williams, the oculist, examined the body. Then it was hoisted to the top of the pyre. Various members spoke eulogies or gave readings, and at 11 p.m., the Whitechapelers lit their torches and solemnly marched around the pyre three times to the music of a harp and a zither. Then they set the pyre ablaze. It burned for five hours and was so hot that the sand below it vitrified.

Rice and Dunne filed their story from the telegraph office in nearby Miller's Crossing, and when the group returned to Chicago they were greeted by newsboys shouting the gist of it: "Man's body burnt to ashes! Git the *Herald*!" The stack of headlines, written by Whitechapeler Rice, read:

> Gone Into Thin Air
> Cremation of the Body of Morris Allen Collins
> Incinerated Upon a Pyre
> As President of the Dallas Suicide Club
> He had Directed This Disposition of His Remains
> Services Led by Whitechapelers

While the Fire Reduces the Corpse to Ashes
Orations Are Uttered on the Metaphysical Subjects
Suggested by the Dead Man's Tenets.

The story filled the first page and spilled onto a second, with sketches by two of the artists who were there. [46]

Debts Force Clubs' Closure

For all its vivacity, the Whitechapel Club was short-lived. Within five years it disbanded, the victim of financial difficulties from which it could not recover. In part, it suffered from a move from Kosters' to new, larger quarters at 173 Calhoun Place in 1892—a move attended with the boys' usual self-conscious ceremony to which all received an invitation:

> A CHESTNUT ROAST will be held at the old clubrooms of the Whitechapel Club Saturday, March 5, 1892, from 9:19 to midnight, immediately after which the club will take formal possession of its NEW CLUBHOUSE. None but members admitted. All members expected.[47]

The boys gathered at Kosters', and for nearly three hours they "sang songs of many climes, from Ireland to Palestine" and told all of the old jokes they could recall. Thus "roasted," the old chestnuts were never to be told again. At midnight, some of the members put on black academic gowns and the group straggled out into Newsboys' Alley toward LaSalle Street. A fiddler, a member carrying a bass drum and another beating the drum headed the procession. They turned right at LaSalle Street and headed south to Madison Street. There they turned west to Wells Street, where they made another right turn and paraded back to the alley and up to the oaken door of their new club house. They fired rockets and broke a bottle of champagne over the threshold, then, all shouting, they trooped in.

At the entrance was a pane of stained glass that spoke of the members' literary pretensions: a raven perched on a pen. The vestibule was hung with bronzed matrices of the Chicago newspapers. Just past the entranceway, on the right, was a buffet room painted in red and black, and straight ahead was a sitting room with walls lined with matrices of leading newspapers from throughout the country. It was furnished with "plenty of comfortable arm-chairs and tables." In an effort to keep the members in tune when they sang, the clubrooms also had a Steinway piano, a pipe organ and an aeolian harp. In the new library on the second floor, reading material, at least in the beginning, was limited to back numbers of three magazines, *Undertaker*, *Casket*, and *The Police Gazette*. Members found their souvenirs of Indian

battlefields and murder scenes already in place, along with their mule's shoe and coffin tables.[48]

When the club moved, the members were assessed $5 each and were asked to add as much as they could to that—"to come down handsomely," as it was put in a dunning letter. Even with special assessments, however, by the next year the expense of keeping up their own facility overwhelmed them. It wasn't long before they were heavily indebted to liquor dealers, tobacconists, utility companies and the landlord.[49]

As a stunt, back in 1891, the club had run Grizzly Adams at the head of a ticket in the city elections. Their platform was "No gas, no water, no police." That was in fun, though the successful candidate, Hempstead Washburne, named Adams city smoke inspector.[50] In the election season two years later, however, Tombstone Thompson suggested the club might not only have fun but get some relief from debt if the members took the race more seriously and ran a mayoral candidate who could attract campaign contributions. The members settled on Hobart Chatfield Chatfield-Taylor, a charming and wealthy young writer who had not long before started, then abandoned, a political and literary weekly magazine, *America*. Chatfield-Taylor had resources of his own and would be able to draw campaign funds from his affluent friends.[51]

Putting fun before funding, at Adams' suggestion the members added to their 1891 platform the slogan "No rent, No taxes." They also demanded "the removal of white coffins from undertakers' windows" and stated their opposition to "all Turkish baths and other sweatshops." However, they disappointed Adams by turning down his resolutions demanding that churches be closed during the Columbian Exposition and that a civic committee be appointed to welcome a threatened outbreak of cholera.

The odd campaign did little to improve the club's financial situation. In fact, it may have been the beginning of the end. While the club had always had non-journalists as members, now it beefed up its membership with men who were wealthier and more important, and its character changed. A short time later, like other press clubs in which non-journalists made up a substantial portion of the membership, the Whitechapel Club went out of existence.[52] Its corporate charter was not canceled until 1902, however, and even then the club remained on the books for another 19 years, until 1921, when the Superior Court of Cook County officially dissolved it.[53]

In later years, some who were members or guests remembered the Whitechapel Club as "the strangest organization known to man and has never had a duplicate"[54] Certainly, it provided a great deal of fellowship to those who had passed through its oak doors and it furnished them with stories aplenty for their later years. They remembered "the cursory com-

ments on passing phases of the human spectacle . . . [that were] apt to be entertaining and instructive, though they were uttered with such wit and humor that they were never intended to be instructive." Without doubt, many felt as Judge Collins did. "I have always considered myself fortunate in having had the privilege of seeing greatness in the making," he said. "More true wit and humor could be found there in one night than circumnavigation of the world would give."[55]

Whitechapel Helped Professionalize Journalism

Of that "informed, observant, intelligent and sensitive group of fledgling geniuses" many went on to other things, while many enjoyed satisfying journalistic and literary careers. Whitlock, who would soon go to Springfield, Illinois, to serve in the reform administration of Gov. John Peter Altgeld, later became mayor of his native Toledo and, during World War I, served as ambassador to Belgium. He also published a string of well-received novels. Grizzly Adams would become one of the muckrakers as founder of *The New Times*, a magazine of social reform.

Finley Peter Dunne and Alfred Henry Lewis, would also be considered muckrakers within a few years. Dunne's fame has persisted through Mr. Dooley, whose pithy comments on politics are as apt today as they were a century ago. George Ade's work still has an audience. Adams, Lewis, Read and Rice would all write novels. Rice was also a poet and, for a time, was literary secretary to Joseph Pulitzer. Hugh Keough would establish the *Chicago Tribune's* "In the Wake of the News," which has been continued into our time. In fact, many of the members "climbed the first rungs of the literary ladder while grubbing for the day's news." A count some years later put their literary output at more than 100 books ranging from serious exposes of abuses in political, social and economic life to satirical treatment of the country's institutions and practices of the times. [56] Unfortunately, some died before they could fulfill their promise, including the beloved Charlie Seymour.

The Whitechapel Club meant many things to its members, some of which were apparent to them. The fellowship with like-minded men, and the club's rituals—bizarre, macabre and even adolescent, as they may have been—strengthened the bonds among them. The police reporters, especially, who covered the rawest aspects of life could pour sentiment into their stories but steel themselves against sentimentality through bizarre jokes and relaxation among their trophies of death.

More important was an intangible result. In that society they defined themselves as journalists.[57] During those late nights around the mule's shoe table critiquing each other's work they argued their notions of what journal-

ism was and the role it had to play in that contradictory society, and that led to a common view of the work. Very much creatures of the 1890s, with that decade's emphasis on realism, on facts, they nevertheless idealized the literary and strove to imbue their writing with individual style; and thus it was when a Charlie Seymour led the story of a society ball with a cop chasing two children of the street they could "jubilate." In their self-conscious rituals and ceremonies they mimicked the rituals and ceremonies which, Bledstein observed, dominated the relationships of a broad cross-section of Americans in the late 19th century and served to "consolidate the emerging culture of professionalism."[58] In short, the Whitechapel boys consciously created the character and image of the reporter of that time: the heavy-drinking, devil-may-care, fast-talking, wise-cracking cynic, out to get the facts, hardened to the tragedy of the facts he found, but ready to piece them together into a story that would "read" as well as inform. And while the Whitechapel died, the image its members forged endured not only in their own minds but in the values and behavior of journalists for many years after.

Endnotes

[1] Schudson, Michael. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 68-70; Ziff, Larzer. *The American 1890s* (New York: Viking, 1966), 165; Bledstein, Burton. *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 80-105.

[2] For detailed discussion of Chicago journalism and journalists during the period, see Sims, Norman Howard, "The Chicago Style of Journalism." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1979), and Duncan, Hugh Dalziel, "The Rise of Chicago as a Literary Center from 1885 to 1920: A Sociological Essay in American Culture." (Totowa, N.J.: The Bedminster Press, 1964).

[3] Dennis' series ran Monday through Saturday, 27 July 1936-5 September 1936, as an editorial page feature. Subsequent references will be to Dennis.

[4] Lee, Alfred M. *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 666-7; Schudson, 70. Pierce, Bessie Louise, *A History of Chicago*, Vol. 3, *The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 410; Bryan, Charles Page, "The Clubs of Chicago," *The Cosmopolitan*, 7:3 (July, 1889), 211-15.

[5] Secretary of State, Certificate of incorporation, October 19, 1889; Chicago *Inter Ocean*, 6 March 1892; Dennis, 27 July 1936.

[6] Dennis, 27 July 1936; Wallace Rice to Dennis, 11 August 1936, Dennis Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[7] Dennis, 28 July 1936; Rice to Dennis, 11 August 1936.

[8] Dennis, *Ibid*; *The Journalist*, 11:22 (16 August 1890), 7; The memories of the members grew hazy and confused as time went on. Opie Read said the first owner of the skull-turned-cup was "Roxey Brooks, an ancient fighter known as 'Queen of the Sand Lots.' " Read, Opie, *I Remember* (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930), 232.

[9] Dennis, *Ibid*; Chicago *Inter Ocean*, 6 March 1892; Nevins, Allan (ed.), *The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock, The Letters* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), 541-2.

[10] McGovern, John, "The Whitechapel Club," *The Scoop*, December, 1915 (4:52), 1005; *The Journalist*, 11:15 (28 June 1890); Dennis, 30 July 1936; Abbot, Willis J., *Watching the World Go By* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1933), 87.

[11] Certificate of incorporation; Whitlock, Brand. *Forty Years of It* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916), 42.

[12] Dennis, 29 July 1936.

[13] Fullerton, Hugh. "The Fellows Who Made the Game," *Saturday Evening Post*, 21 April 1928, 18.

[14] Schlesinger, Arthur M. *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 86.

[15] Linn, James Weber, *James Keeley, Newspaperman* (Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937), 38.

[16] Duncan, 113. See also, Nord, David Paul, "The Business Values of American Newspapers: The 19th Century Watershed in Chicago," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61:2 (Summer, 1984), 265-273. Nord determined the newspapers "seem to have been early proponents of progressive-era views on business and labor."

[17] Dreiser, Theodore, *Newspaper Days*, ed. by T. D. Nostwich (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 44.

[18] Brand Whitlock to Rufus M. Potts, Feb. 26, 1894, Nevins, 2.

[19] Abbot, 86-87; Duncan, 114-15; Whitlock to Potts, Nevins, 2; Thompson, Slason, *Way Back When: Recollections of an Octogenarian* (Chicago: A Kroch, 1931), 291-2. Green, Lacy and Folkerts, who compared family characteristics of Chicago journalists and rural journalists, concluded that while "Chicago journalists were bohemian in nature," the stereotype was exaggerated. Green, Norma, Stephen Lacy and Jean Folkerts, "Chicago Journalists at the Turn Of the Century: Bohemians All?" *Journalism Quarterly*, 66:4(Winter, 1989), 813-21.

[20] Dennis, 28 July 1936.

[21] McGovern, 1005.

[22] Wallace Rice and Tombstone Thompson compiled a list of members which was printed by Dennis, 29 July 1936 and 5 September 1936. Sims added identifications to many of them. Sims, 285-93. Two additional names were gleaned from a report of the Whitechapel election of 1890 (*The Journalist*, 11:26 (13 September 1890)), and one other was found on the club's certificate of incorporation. See also Hermann, Charles H. *Recollections of Life & Doings in Chicago: From the Haymarket Riot to the End of World War I.* (Chicago: Normandie House, 1945), 129; Dennis, 28 and 29 July 1936; Whitlock, 42; *New York Times*, 25 May 1934; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20:137 and I:59; B. S. Donnelley file, Princeton University Archive.

[23] McGovern, 1005.

[24] Horatio Seymour was renowned in his own right; As telegraph editor of the *Times*, he became celebrated for his alliterative headlines, including the infamous "Jerked to Jesus;" He was also known as a masterful editorial writer; *Chicago Times*, 27 November 1875;

[25] Fullerton, 19. Whitlock, 44;

[26] *The Journalist*, 9:20 (3 August 1889), 6; 11:3 (5 April 1890), 6; 12:12 (6 December 1890), 6; 7:26 (15 September 1888), 4.

[27] Whitlock, 48; Dennis, 18 August 1936.

[28] Fullerton, 18.

[29] Dennis, 18 August 1936; *The Journalist*, 14:26 (12 March 1892), 2.

[30] *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 6 March 1892; Dennis, 30 July 1936.

[31] Read, 232.

[32] Dennis, 31 July 1936; Whitlock, 44; Read, 232.

[33] Abbot. P. 88; *The Journalist*, 11:22 (16 August 1890), p. 7.

[34] Dennis, July 28, 1936.

[35] Hermann, p. 130; Kipling, Rudyard, *American Notes* (Boston: ,1899), 91.

[36] *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 246; Dennis, July 29, 1936; Abbot, 90.

[37] *The (Chicago) Sunday Herald*, 7 July 1889; Dennis, July 28, 1936; John K. Prindiville, quoted in Dennis, 31 July 1936.

[38] Ade, George, *In Babel: Stories of Chicago* (New York: A. Wessels Co., 1906), 125-35.

[39] Sims, 240.

[40] Dennis, 5 September 1936.

[41] *Atlanta Constitution*, 28 June 1891.

[42] *The Journalist*, 13:15 (27 June 1891); *cf. New Orleans States*, 21 June 1891; Abbot, 92; Read, 236.

[43] Dennis, 4 August 1936; 5 August 1936; Abbot, 83.

[44] Dennis, 28 August 1936; Read, 232.

[45] Dennis, 29 August 1936.

[46] Dennis, 31 August 1936.

[47] "Fo'teen, Secretary" to ?, 8 January 1892, Wallace Rice Files, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[48] Chicago *Inter Ocean*, 6 March 1892.

[49] Dennis, 14 August 1936; Read, 236.

[50] Abbot, 91.

[51] Thompson, 283-5. Chatfield-Taylor, "a representative young leader in the progressive life of this metropolis of progress," not only had a foot in the Bohemian Whitechapel Club. He also belonged to the toney Chicago Club, of which he "was fitly chosen as secretary and treasurer." That club numbered among its members a dozen or so multi-millionaires, including Marshall Field, George M. Pullman, and Philip D. Armour. Bryan, 212.

[52] Whitlock, 44; Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 604.

[53] Secretary of State, State of Illinois, Certificate of Cancellation of Charter, 1 July 1902; Clerk of the Superior Court of Cook county, In Chancery Genl. No. 14135, 12 April 1921.

[54] Whitlock, 42; Read, 232.

[55] Dennis, 1 September 1936.

[56] Filler, Louis, *The Muckrakers* (reprint ed.; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), *passim.*; Schlesinger, 195; Dennis, 28 July 1936.

[57] Schudson, 70-1; Sims, 245-9.

[58] Bledstein, 94-5.

Great Ideas

Searching For Journalism History in Cyberspace

By David T. Z. Mindich

I recently devoted a class period in a mass communication course to the Internet. In lieu of homework, I asked my students to have an online discussion about the impact of the Internet on their lives. One student, mindful of winter walks to the library, wrote, "I like not having to walk anywhere in the freezing Vermont weather to get some simple information that now takes under a minute to collect online." Who needs books, he was saying, when you have the machine? An entirely different image of the Internet came the very next day, when a history professor I know told me that he tells his students, "the Internet is not a resource, but a way to find resources." You use the machine, he was saying, to get to books.

The Internet is not a substitute for libraries. Nor, however, is it merely a card catalogue. This article is a brief introduction to what the Internet can and cannot offer journalism historians.

Internet 101

The Internet, an outgrowth of the old Arpanet system of the 1960s, has grown exponentially in recent years. The expansion of e-mail has been startling. Of the 870 scholars listed in the 1994 *Directory of Journalism and Mass Communication Historians,* only 49 had e-mail addresses. Two years later, 187 of 781 had e-mail. Now, in 1998, it is difficult to find a person affiliated with a college or university who does not use electronic mail as a regular form of communication. The growth of the World Wide Web has been rapid, too. In 1993, there were a few hundred Web sites; in 1995, there were more than 20,000; as this article is being written, the number is more than a million.[1]

David T. Z. Mindich is an Assistant Professor of journalism at Saint Michael's College, the founder of Jhistory, an Internet group of journalism historians and the vice-head of the AEJMC's History Division.

As I write this paragraph, I am thinking about how I used the Internet this morning: For some research I am preparing on early references to baseball in the American press, I checked Lexis/Nexis and found that an article in *The New York Times* said that the earliest reference is in an 1825 Delhi, New York, newspaper. Included in the article was the name of the Baseball Hall of Fame's librarian, and I got his number off the Internet and plan to phone him tomorrow. I found Delhi, New York, on an Internet map and discovered how long it would take to drive from my home, as well as the distance between that city and Rochester, another place where baseball was played in the 1820s. I sent a query to 250 journalism historians on Jhistory, the Internet group for journalism historians. I already got a reply. I did all this without getting up once. The only downside is a sore back from sitting too long.

The above research will not replace making a trip to Delhi and other New York town libraries. But working on New Year's Day, a day when practically everything is closed, I was able to collect data that will help me on these trips. Before databases and the Internet, I could have found the references to early baseball, after a long search, in *The New York Times* microfilm collection; I could have found the librarian's name and number and a map of Delhi. But it would have taken much longer than a morning. Before the Internet, scholars *did* talk to one another and post queries in newsletters, but the type of discussion mailing lists provide is structurally different. Neither newsletters nor conferences allowed a scholar to talk, spontaneously and publicly, with 250 other journalism historians at once.

Web Benefits for Scholars

Although the Web is not always as reliable as books, it often is, and provides things that books can't. Using one of the Internet's great strengths, massive databases, one can cover much more ground than the print-based researcher. To track down an American art collector whose whereabouts were unknown, for example, I merely typed his last name in the "People Search" section of Yahoo (http://www.yahoo.com) and found not only the city where he lives, but his home address and telephone number. Not just stalkers, but anyone trying to locate someone benefits from this, sore back notwithstanding. When I wanted to talk to my mass communication class about Shakespeare's references to news ballads, I went to an electronic concordance at http://www.cs.usyd.edu.au/~matty/Shakespeare/. Within minutes, I had a list of Shakespeare's 19 references to the word "ballad." To double check the references, one can go to the Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/FOLIO.html, which provides a concordance of Shakespeare's first folio. Print-based concordances do exist, but I saved time by searching online.

Listing all of the useful search engines on the Internet would be impossible, but three come to mind that are especially helpful to historians: The Census Bureau's site, http://www.census.gov/, will let you search the Bureau's massive databases in a number of ways. The Library of Congress' Experimental Search System, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/catalog/, will search by key word for more than four million books and hundreds of thousands of articles, recordings, photographs, and motion pictures. You can even view many pictures and motion pictures in the collection. Other databases can be found by using Internet search tools, such as the one found at http://www.yahoo.com. Use it to search for a key word or words (for the latter, put it in quotes: "Frederick Douglass"). If Yahoo doesn't find it, it sends you to a more sophisticated search engine, Alta Vista, which generally gives you much more than you want.

An Online Case Study: James Gordon Bennett, Sr.

What kind of history is presented online? A Yahoo search for "James Gordon Bennett" is revealing. A half dozen sites give brief thumbnail biographies of his life, the most detailed being a site called the History of Technology in Nova Scotia (http://www.alts.net/ns1625/techdt01.html):

> James Gordon Bennett was born in Scotland. "The year of his birth is frequently misstated; the name-plate placed on his coffin by his family gave it as 1795, but the month was unknown." In April 1819, "upon a sudden impulse, he left Aberdeen and emigrated to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he earned his living by teaching." It is believed he was hired to teach school at Cole Harbour, a village an hour's walk east of Dartmouth. Shortly thereafter, he made his way to Boston. "Without friends, money,or work," he didn't have enough to eat, "and was at one time rescued from two days of starvation by finding a shilling on the ground." On 6 May 1835, Bennett published the first issue of the New York *Herald*, a four-page newspaper which sold for $3 a year or one cent a copy. The printing was done under contract, and Bennett was the sole employee — "editor, reporter, proof-reader, folder, and cashier." His office was a desk in a corner of the printing shop. The *Herald* was astonishingly successful. In the issue of 20 October 1841, the newspaper "boasted an annual revenue of $130,000." In the 1860s, "annual profits approached $400,000". Abraham Lincoln read it every day he was in Washington. Bennett was the sole owner. His knowledge of Nova Scotia was a factor in his becoming deeply involved in early electric telegraph operations hereabouts, and without Bennett the remarkable 1849 pony express would not have existed. "The *Herald* was the first newspaper to make lavish use of the telegraph" for gathering news. [The quotes are from *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1930.]

The belief in the Internet as card catalogue, as expressed by the history

professor, is illustrated in the above passage. If we want to learn about Bennett, the above points us in the direction of the Dictionary of American Biography, an aged but valuable source. However, it doesn't point us to the better books on Bennett, including those by James Crouthmel and Andie Tucher. For that, we need to read print book reviews, attend conferences, or log onto online mailing lists. The Internet is an excellent source of information for a quick reference. And if I wanted to read more about Crouthamel and Tucher's books, I could look up the university presses that publish the books and order a copy through their site or through the big online booksellers, amazon.com or barnesandnoble.com.

While the above passage illustrates the way the Internet interacts with traditional texts, it also illustrates an advantage that the Internet has over books: The Internet is wonderful source for investigating how we use the past to understand the present. Thus, in the above passage, Bennett is used to understand Nova Scotia. At http://www.law.indiana.edu/ilj/v72/no4/rehnquis.html, we find a speech by Chief Justice Rehnquist in which he used Bennett to make a point about the struggles between press freedom and national security during the Civil War and what those struggles might mean for today.

The James Gordon Bennett Scholarship page (http:www.mediainfo.com:8080/epmember/awards/rega-f.htm) uses the Bennett name to support children of journalists. The Freedom Forum's site, http://www.freedomforum.org/, uses Bennett to celebrate journalism and freedom of speech at its Freedom Park in Arlington, Virginia. Often, as with searches for Pulitzer and Hearst, names remain active because of their institutional affiliation. In other words, their posthumous role in present institutions informs their past. The Internet affords rich material for historians trying to understand how people appropriate the past to understand the present.

The search for Bennett also turned up some gems. A Library of Congress discussion of daguerreotypes, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/daghtml/dagdag.html, links to the "American Memory" section of the Library of Congress, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/, for a picture of James Gordon Bennett and to the Library's interactive section on daguerreotypes, which includes a discussion of the medium, a timeline, and some wonderful digitized reproductions. Brown University's library page (http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/University_Library/publications/publications.html) has links to a discussion of the Ellen Jewett murder, with a reproduction of a drawing of the prostitute on a pamphlet cover.

Jhistory and Other Useful Sites

Of all the important resources online for journalism historians, the

mailing lists (or "listserves") which are available in practically any field might be the most useful. A list that I help run, Jhistory, is a good first one to join: it sends only a few messages a week, has online book reviews of journalism history texts, and plays host to a number of interesting discussions. Many of the top names in the field participate, and the informal atmosphere provides graduate students and others a rare access to debates in the field. To join, send an e-mail message to listproc@lists.nyu.edu. The content of the message should read:

subscribe jhistory Yourfirstname Yourlastname.

For other lists, two sites are valuable: Liszt, http://www.liszt.com/, which points to more than 84,000 lists, and the H-Net homepage, http://h-net2.msu.edu/, which has fewer lists, but of a higher quality.

Although they are not updated frequently, two sites are designed specifically for journalism historians. My Web page for Jhistory, http://personalweb.smcvt.edu/dmindich/jhistory.htm, explains the Jhistory mailing list and provides an archive and a links-page which connects to academic organizations relating to journalism and/or history, search engines for jobs in academia, journal sites, and related links. The Media History Project, http://www.mediahistory.com/histhome.html, is a much more sophisticated site, with colorful, interactive timelines and many links, including online book reviews. However, neither the Jhistory site, nor the Media History Project, has been updated recently.

For an introduction to how the telling of history can be done interactively on the Internet, go to "Tales of the Early Republic," http://www.panix.com/~hal/, a site created by Hal Morris, an amateur historian.

The Internet is fluid. Because of Internet's frenetic rate of change, articles like this will quickly become artifacts. Still, two recent ones are most helpful. The two, by William J. Leonhirth and Ann Mauger Colbert, can be found in the Fall, 1997 issue of *Clio Among the Media* (Kathleen Endres, Ed.), published by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC). These articles, as all intelligent ones about the Internet, implicitly acknowledge an old Buddhist notion when discussing the Internet: that statements about it, like ones which I used to open this article, are neither wholly false nor wholly true.

Great Ideas is designed to showcase new approaches and information about the teaching of media history. Authors of _Great Ideas_ should first query the editor with their ideas.

Endnotes

[1] O'Malley, Michael, and Roy Rosenzweig, "American History on the World Wide Web," *Journal of American History* 84 (June 1997), p. 133. Their article also served as a general model for this one; See also Matthew Gray's "Web Growth Summary," http://www.mit.edu:8001/people/mkgray/ (downloaded, 1 January 1998)

Websites Listed in This Article

http://www.yahoo.com
http://www.cs.usyd.edu.au/~matty/shakespeare/
http://www.oed.com/FOLIO.html
http://www.census.gov/
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/catalog/
http://www.alts.net/ns1625/techdt01.html
http://www.law.indiana.edu/ilj/v72/no4/rehnquis.html
http://www.mediainfo.com:8080/epmember/awards/rega-f.htm
http://www.freedomforum.org/
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/daghtml/dagdag.html
http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/University__Library/publications/publications.html
http://www.liszt.com/
http://h-net2.msu.edu/
http://www.mediahistory.com/histhome.html
http://www.panix.com/~hal/

1997 Presidential Address

History and the Age of Cyberspace

By David Spencer

Editor's Note: As in the past, *American Journalism* is reprinting the annual presidential address. Outgoing President David Spencer delivered his address to the members of the American Journalism Historians Association Annual Conference, held in Mobile, Alabama, October 15 - 18, 1997.

I spent part of last week reviewing the comments made one year ago to this convention by our past President Tom Heuterman. Having attempted to come to grips with the intellectual and always thoughtful historian from the northwest corner of the country is enough to scare one off from trying to compose any form of response. However, like most effective presidential addresses, it provides an agenda for debate, which if we continue to be aware of our chances for survival and hopefully intellectual growth in an exceedingly crass and monetary world, we must continue to articulate the issues which concern us. We have all seen the diminution of the university as a community of scholars and its slow and often questionable transformation into an extension of market economies. To pretend that we can reverse this trend is a position fraught with potential frustration and highly likely to be defeated.

The university of the 21st century will not be the university of the 20th century, as much as the university of the 20th century was not the university of the 19th. Before Jeremy Bentham, before John Stuart Mill, before Karl Marx, the rhetorical position of the traditional English university and, to a significant degree its American step-child, was one of intellectual inquiry to the state of the human condition, both on a secular and theological plane. It is no accident that the great schools of Oxford and Cambridge, the seats of English-speaking learning, were patterned after the saints who gave inspiration for their founding.

In my own country, my alma mater, the University of Toronto remains to this day, a collection of historical religious colleges solidly constructed on foundations laid by 19th century Anglicans, Catholics, Methodists, Baptists,

---

David R. Spencer, Past President of the American Journalism Historians Association, is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Information and Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada.

Presbyterians and Congregationalists surrounded with a modern day and almost reluctant concession to secular institutions. One of these colleges, I am pleased to say, is named after Harold Innis. My own institution, the University of Western Ontario, was a school founded by a young Polish Jewish immigrant who converted to Christianity early in the 19th century. Early 20th century courses showed the major scholarly activities at the time were medicine, law, literature, rhetoric and languages. The idea that the university had a place or role in the teaching and research of business ideas, communications practices, engineering, athletics, the plastic and visual arts or studies in food and nutrition would have never crossed the mind of one of Canada's great Victorian intellectuals, Principal Grant of the Presbyterian seat of learning at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

The Need for Creative Tension

Change can be a terrifying spectacle for any member of the human community and the last three decades have been witness to some of the greatest challenges in the human experience since the Industrial Revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. As AJHA President Heuterman noted last year, "There should always be creative tension between those who say we've gone too far and those who say we haven't gone far enough." Although prediction is always a risky business with the possible exception of those who have made a living at it such as Jeanne Dixon and Sidney Omarr, I will venture to some degree on this dangerous course if only to offer some personal visions of where I feel we might be in the next millennium. I can say with no reservations whatever, that these thoughts are personal and I have no hesitation in being called to task some years from now as future scholars read these remarks with the possible retort of "How could anyone think that way?" We are indeed fortunate that David Sarnoff's prediction that the energy requirements for the American home would eventually be derived from a nuclear reactor in the basement did not come to fruition.

In 1950, a young Canadian economist steeped in the tradition of the Department of Economics at the University of Chicago turned his attention to change and in particular technological change. Harold Adams Innis, born to a strictly religious family in Southwestern Ontario in 1894, had made his mark in the academy with his 1929 study of the fur trade in Canada. The young scholar was not just content to follow the path of migration and settlement across the vast Laurentian Shield as voyageurs and aboriginal hunters tracked the beaver almost to extinction from the St. Lawrence basin to the delta of the MacKenzie River, where it flows into the Arctic Ocean near the Alaska-Canada border. Others had done this before

him and others would follow. Instead, the curious Innis turned his attention to the transportation of beaver pelts and its impact on cost of both the unfinished and finished product.

Innis noted, in what was to become a premonition of scholarly interest later in his life, that the search for the beaver not only left settlements behind, it created a communications network upon which the very nation would eventually be structured. As the 19th century progressed, the rivers and trails gave way to railways, railways gave routes to telegraph lines and eventually to radio and television. As Innis observed, there was a symbiotic relationship between economic activity with its biases and rigidities and the emergence of communicative societies which possessed many of the same characteristics. What had begun as a study in economics at the University of Chicago would eventually form the basis for the first important studies in communications history and theory in the western world.

In many respects, Innis was deeply troubled by the technological changes brought about by electronic communications. He had noted that oratory in the 19th century brought to the front men with powerful lungs. Not only were the likes of Gladstone and Bryan gifted speakers, they were showmen in their own right, not unlike many a modern day televangelists. Innis believed that the emergence of radio implied a sharp decline in this sort of individual. The great orators left the political and social stage to be replaced by leaders who understood the power of the word and language but not necessarily the intimate and physical contact of the political platform in the Victorian Age. Radio, a new technology with new biases, gave birth to the powerful personality, the Churchills, the Wallaces and the Roosevelts. Innis firmly believed that radio, unlike the personal appearance, allowed these figures to, as he put it, "continue like disembodied spirits or pestilent corpses along after their power diminished or disappeared."

To harken back to Heuterman's words, had Innis perceived with the invention of radio that we had gone too far? What would Innis think of the information revolution and the role of the historian in it? We can speculate, based on his own words, but can never be assured of an accurate conclusion. Innis' life spanned the first wave of the Information Age, from the rise of the telegraph, the phonograph, the first transatlantic wired communications, to the emergence of worldwide press agencies and eventually wireless communications themselves. Yet, echoing many a contemporary concern, Innis worried about the social and political impact of electronic communications, in particular as the media fell into fewer and fewer hands. He noted that competition seldom brought monopolies to account, but observed that they regularly collapsed under their own weight, perhaps a harbinger for the likes of Time-Warner, Viacom and the rest.

But we are getting slightly off track here. My central thesis flows from Innis and as historians, and in particular as media historians, we have a vital stake in the changing world around us. The old academy, the one that most of us have built and nurtured, is in a state of flux, much like the societies in antiquity that Harold Innis documented in *Empire and Communications.* And this state of flux cannot be exclusively attributed to the retreat by governments from higher education. How are we to continue to grapple with the questions that Innis, then McLuhan and then James Carey have so ably put before us? How are we to deal with the new Information Age, when our research and our writing will inevitably move us beyond the archives and volumes of dusty papers and microfilms that we have been trained to read and interpret? Have we indeed gone beyond the boundaries where the role of the historian might just be reduced to that of a reporter of incidents of time and place, lacking the soul and interpretation that separates us from information junkies and gossip mongers?

As we contemplate our future as journalism historians, debating the issue as to whether or not we wish to expand our borders, let us return to the definition of media as offered by Marshal McLuhan. McLuhan, Innis' inheritor, moved well beyond the historical perspective so carefully cultured by his mentor. Innis, in looking at scrolls, carvings on stone monuments, ancient hand-written books, saw clearly the symbiotic relationship between culture and communications, the extension of which has been integral to the work of James Carey. Both Innis and Carey have recognized the importance of the historical dialectic to the contemporary journalism and media scholar. McLuhan, on the other hand, has mixed up the proverbial witches' brew. While on the one hand, attempting to redefine the borders around which media study can take place, he has only triggered the debate about who we are and where we should go. His final work, written in conjunction with his son Eric McLuhan under the title *Laws of Media,* notes that "media is ... explored in its broadest meaning, encompassing all that has been created by humans: artifacts, information, ideas, every example of human innovation, from a computer program to a tea cup, from a musical arrangement to the formula for a cold remedy, from an X-Ray machine to the very paragraph I am reading to you at this moment."

Although I somehow have a problem seeing Vicks Vapo-Rub as a form of media, at least McLuhan placed the ultimate challenge in front of us, dealing with the Global Village. As much as the concept became essentially correct, the vehicle, that is television, was incorrect. We have emerged from an age where communications has evolved from scratchings on a cave wall,

to the printed page, to wired communications, to wireless communications, back to wired communications and now a hybrid of both. The new technologies are capable of both opening the world of research to us and closing it simultaneously. Allow me to elaborate.

Creating Scholarly Cyber-Communities

In my role as a journalism historian, I am constantly faced with two important and critical questions. As governments continue to run away from their obligations to higher education, who is going to replace them and what will be the impact of the research and teaching of media history? On the whole, a good question without an obvious answer. Of course, within the first part of the premise lies the fear that eventually MicroSoft, Wal-Mart, Disney, Time-Warner and the ilk will come with open purses to the campus and through their generosity, so to speak, will convert the campus to the business of business. In every respect, this is a real fear and one that must be thoroughly debated. Yet, it is a catch-22 proposition particularly for campuses who depend to a significant, if not total degree, on funding from both governments and students. Yes, the risk exists that eventually history will be replaced with multimedia theory and production or some similar undertaking.

As much as this may be fairly serious, I am coming to the conclusion that there are other factors at play that represent more intricate challenges to the way we conduct ourselves. With the emergence of listservs and websites with interactive feedback, we can now construct the virtual historical community without having to get together in places such as this once a year. Is this the way of the future? Will we live in our own communities, sitting in our comfortable chairs in our comfortable homes and conduct our business through new technologies such as teleconferencing. Good grief, what would Delta, United, American, TWA think of that development not only for academics but for the rest of the business community as well. In many ways, placing questions such as these on the agenda force us into the most non-intellectual of our exercises, the choice between yes and no, one or the other. As historians, we have had the advantage to see where this kind of dialogue has taken us in the past.

With a great degree of early caution, I will contend that the cyber-community can take us places where no other development in the course of human history has allowed us to go. And, we do not necessarily see our choices in the realm of black and white. Although there may be pressures from short sighted administrators to do so, we should never dispose of our annual meetings since it has been within the realm of human contact, that

much good scholarship has begun. A meeting in a cafe, having a coffee with a colleague, cannot be re-created on a listserv or a website. But other things can. Within the past half decade, we have evolved from a community of scholars corresponding infrequently to one another to one which communicates somewhere in the academic world almost on a daily basis. We can now be in instant contact with colleagues around the world. Continents have shrunk and oceans have dried up, figuratively speaking. The historical community in my judgement is more alive and active because of the JHistory listserve, the new website at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and the recent arrival of our first on-line *Media Studies Monograph* series soon to be coming out with its first issue.

Maintaining Scholarly Integrity

However, a word of caution needs to be expressed. As observers of the past, we should now know what happens when one worships at the altar of false gods. Technology within itself cannot become the new secular religious experience. Technology is only as good as the human hand which touches it. Although I feel that our future will allow us to tap into the great resources of the Smithsonian Institute, the New York Public Library and a myriad of university collections from anywhere in the world, it will still take the human eye to discover, examine, analyze and create the material that allows the intellectual world to survive.

If there is a final word, it is this. We must harness the new to enhance the old. I was struck by a scene from Umberto Eco's medieval mystery, *The Name of the Rose.* The crime drew attention to the library where daily a number of monks sat down to their desks to painfully copy in exacting detail ancient manuscripts in ancient languages. Why was so much effort placed into this project? To preserve the past, of course, but when Gutenberg and Claxton unveiled their mass information instruments to an unsuspecting world, the craft was lost forever until the British journalist and political activist William Morris duplicated their efforts in the mid-Victorian period.

Was Morris longing for an age gone by, a golden area in which craft, art and literacy reigned supreme? Perhaps he was, but Morris was much more well known as a savage critic of the age in which he lived. But had he looked back to the emergence of new information technologies in the 15th century, he need not have lamented. As Innis so correctly noted, the invention of the printing press brought with it increasing pressure for the spread of universal literacy, a new and enlightened population, the quest for democracy and the fall of the Divine Right of Kings and the monopoly of knowledge held by the church. Perhaps it would be facetious to equate that age with ours. We have

yet to see the impact of our inventions as much as the intelligentsia of the middle ages were ignorant of theirs. But we do know one thing. Like our predecessors, we have a new tool for the spreading of knowledge. The challenge is to learn to use it with a degree of exactitude and intelligence. Historians, of course, are best equipped to do so.

• • •

Book Reviews

David Spencer, Book Review Editor

As Seen On TV: The Visual Culture Of Everyday Life In The 1950s.

By Karal Ann Marling. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994. Cloth, $24.95. Paper (1996), $14.95.

Karal Ann Marling, a professor of art history and American studies at the University of Minnesota has seven chapters about American culture as depicted on the TV screen in *As Seen On TV.* She brings a new perspective and viewpoint to that which has become almost too familiar. Her academic interests clearly impact on her topics and the manner in which she approaches them. There is a discussion of "Mamie Eisenhower's New Look," which details how the First Lady actually impacted the fashion world with her "normal" look, poodle haircut and charm bracelets.

Prof. Marling picks up on some interesting fads of the 1950s that are not the usual discussed in mass media courses. She notes that, "Market research proved that it was the heaviest TV watchers who were liable to be the most interested in painting a still life or upholstering the living room sofa." She then goes on to explore the advertising of do-it-yourself products, including such things as paint-by-number kits, power tools, model trains and planes, for instance. She ties in such items with Churchill, Eisenhower, Grandma Moses, and their well-publicized painting, and notes that the TV screen itself frames all sorts of things.

The book views Disneyland as both place and TV show; automobile styling and TV's impact; Elvis as he first appeared on TV and then going into the army; the use of symbols to represent products, i.e., Betty Crocker and the way TV influenced the American kitchen. Finishing up this view of the '50's, Karal uses Richard Nixon's kitchen debate with Khrushchev in Moscow to discuss the use of kitchen design as a symbol for individualism versus communism. The beginnings of the freeing of the American housewife from plain drudgery to fanciful activities was begun in the arena of the happy homemaker, the kitchen.

The true value of Prof. Marling's work is her juxtaposition of the visual impact that TV made upon culture with the postwar design craze which some feel reached either great heights or depths during the decade reviewed. Our nostalgia for that period is given meaning by this study of the style and materialism that came into so many homes in the 1950s.

>Marvin R. Bensman, University of Memphis

Evil Influences: Crusades against the Mass Media.

By Steven Starker. New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Transaction Publishers, 1989 (Second Printing 1991). 212 pp. Cloth, $39.95.

In this engaging and accessible volume, medical psychologist Steven Starker has moved on from his earlier examination of self-help literature, *Oracle at the Supermarket,* to trace the pattern of recurring crusades against the mass media. With an emphasis on history, he looks at the development of the modern media and the reactions of those who have seen them as dire threats to individual well-being and societal stability.

Starker points out that dire predictions and attacks have accompanied the growth of each successive new mass medium and that these reactions have been based largely on fear — fear of change, fear of human violence and sensuality, fear of imagination and fantasy. Self-proclaimed experts condemned graphic portrayals of violence and sex as a menace to health and welfare and feared their overpowering effects upon the young and innocent. They saw media influence as detrimental to literacy and the survival of fine art. That their fears failed to materialize proved no deterrent to repetition of the same dire predictions with the advent of each new medium.

The book begins with two introductory chapters that trace mass culture to its roots in the invention of writing and, much later, printing. The author traces censorship back almost as far and describes continuing attempts to stifle expression in chapters, based largely on secondary sources, that cover journalism, the novel, comics, movies, radio, television, and technological developments of the 1980s. If the book could be updated to move into the 1990s, the ascendancy of the Internet and reactions like the Communications Decency Act would provide yet another illustration of his point.

Thus, in the eyes of critics, newspapers brought unnecessary information as well as overstimulation with their stories of violence and scandal, while requiring unusual eye movements of their readers. Novels promoted escapism and threatened the morals of young readers. Comics, with their graphic images, seemed even more likely to corrupt the young. Movies offered detailed lessons in crime and sexuality while injuring eyesight. Radio, even without visual representations, managed to create unwholesome pictures in listeners' minds, bringing crime and horror right into the country's living rooms. It also brought advertising, often aiming sales pitches at vulnerable children. And television, combining elements of all its predecessors, became not only the ultimate mass medium but also the ultimate threat.

Two concluding chapters offer social and psychological perspectives on the "masscult menace," with attempts to explain why true believers on both ends of the political spectrum worry about media influence. Starker concludes with a suggestion that the best preparation for confronting future media challenges is understanding their roots.

The book has an extensive bibliography, although it is now somewhat out of date, notes at the conclusion of each chapter, and indexes of subjects and names. It

is generally well-edited. Unfortunately, an error in the spelling of "its" came in a sentence that referred to the misspellings of the early comic strip, "The Katzenjammer Kids": "It's (sic) narrative was written in misspelled gutter-language, the better to capture the flavor of life among the urban poor."

Evil Influences brings together a wealth of material that helps put the mass media in the context of their times. Students of media and society should find it understandable and informative.

>Sherilyn Cox Bennion, Humboldt State University

Editor's Note: This book was recently sent for review despite its publishing date of 1991. As Professor Cox Bennion notes, many of its premises remain valid, but an update would enhance the credibility of its contents.

The Literary Index to American Magazines, 1850-1900.

By Daniel A. Wells. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996. 441 pp. Library binding, $89.50.

Academics who teach in English departments have of late appeared to be caught up in political correctness and awash in theoretical "-isms": hermeticism, hermanuticism, deconstructionism, and the like. It is, therefore, refreshing to come upon a professor of English who has, without so much as a nod to trendiness or theoretical pretense, produced a good old-fashioned piece of solid scholarship. Much credit is due Daniel Wells of the University of South Florida, whose *Literary Index to American Magazines, 1850*-1900 appeared in mid-1996. For the modest but growing number of scholars interested in the literary role of the American magazine, this reference book is a major addition to scholarship, extending the contribution Wells made in 1980 with his similar index that covered the years 1815-1865.

For many decades, literature professors avoided the magazine involvements of the authors whose books were these same professors' main interest. Most journalism faculty members, for their part, felt ill at ease commenting on the literary content of these magazines. In the 1990s, however, a convergence of interest has occurred between English professors, who are concerned with magazines for their literary content, and mass communication scholars, whose expertise is focused on the journalistic aspects of magazines. Since the mid-1980s, considerable work has been done on both sides of the disciplinary fence in describing the history of individual magazines, literary and otherwise, and in assembling biographical accounts of magazine publishers, editors, and, to a lesser extent, writers.

Reference material on the American magazine is now far more available and better organized than was the case even a decade ago.

The aspect of magazine history most in need of additional scholarship is the work of individual writers, and Wells' new book helps fill that need. Wells has

selected eleven magazines known for their literary content and has examined every page of every issue of these magazines — roughly 200,000 pages of copy, by his estimate. This is a feat that requires considerable stamina and near infinite patience. The magazines Wells selected were *Atlantic Monthly, Critic, Galaxy, Harper's Monthly, Lippincott's, Literary World, North American Review, Overland Monthly, Scribner's Magazine, Scribner's Monthly/Century,* and *Southern Review.* Of these, six were published in New York, two in Boston, and one each in Philadelphia, Baltimore and San Francisco.

On first glance, one is tempted to criticize Prof. Wells for emphasizing Northeastern magazines. No magazine located south of Baltimore was included, and the Midwest was excluded altogether. On the other hand, no one would likely fault Wells' choice of *The Overland* to represent Western letters, and it must be admitted that no Southern or Midwestern magazine of the second half of the 19th century was of comparable quality to the titles chosen for this index.

The general arrangement of Wells' index is alphabetical, by the author's last name. The more than 700 author entries list roughly seven thousand titles by these authors. Indexed were stories, articles, poems, reviews, columns and commentaries, and correspondence. Inserted alphabetically among the author entries are citations for such general topics as copyright, Darwinism, drama, poetry, transcendentalism, and women.

Both American and foreign writers are indexed, and each author entry begins with birth and death dates and a brief general description, such as "ALDRICH, Thomas Bailey (1836-1907) American editor, novelist, and poet." Then follows an alphabetical listing of cited works and references to them; a list of the writer's own stories, poems and other works; and a listing of biographical or critical books about the writer. Wells accords the word "literary" its broad meaning and indexes not only the work of novelists, short story writers and poets, but dramatists, critics, essayists, nonfiction writers, writers of children's literature, philosophers, scholars, clergy, satirists, humorists, editors, and journalists. The result is a rich resource for students and scholars of literature and of literary journalism.

>Sam Riley, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Mightier Than The Sword: How The News Media Shaped American History.

By Rodger Streitmatter. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997. 287 pp. Paper, $17.50.

For critics among us who sometimes fault journalism historians for their failure to provide synthesis of important events and fully integrate key source material, Rodger Streitmatter's *Mightier Than The Sword* will be an especially welcome addition to the literature. Streitmatter, who teaches a popular course at American University of the same name as the subtitle of this book, "How The News Media Shaped American History," planned this effort carefully, with synthesis and

students in mind. *Mightier Than The Sword* offers analysis of 14 important episodes in American history in which the Fourth Estate helped to shape major events. While the episodes are distinct, themes emerge and they also focus on some of the most colorful figures in the history of American journalism, making the reading compelling and insightful. The book spans two centuries, draws on a variety of source material and also addresses a broad range of issues, helping to expand the definition of what constitutes landmark status. For example, it offers a wide-ranging assessment of press treatment of women and minorities, of special importance to those in both print and the electronic media.

The author is well-known for two previous historical works with minority themes and also for consistent scholarly contributions to both the American Journalism Historians Association and the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication meetings and journals. Some of the sections of this book began as conference papers. Because of an integrative approach, the author draws heavily on the work of noted history scholars and those who have focused specifically on trends and treatment of minorities. For example, introductory sections of the book, especially Chapter Three, follow the trailblazing scholarship of Karen List of the University of Massachusetts on the post-revolutionary role of women, while six chapters later, the author builds on the work of such scholars as Susan Hartmann and Maureen Honey, to demonstrate how the press helped propel women into the workforce during World War II. Also noteworthy are chapters devoted to slavery and the Abolition movement. Chapter Seven, focusing on the newspaper crusade against the Ku Klux Klan, was recognized in early format for outstanding scholarship by the AEJMC History Division.

Issues of bigotry and intolerance arise in various historical contexts as do topics which have punctuated contemporary journalism performance, including coverage of political scandal. The usual cast of colorful characters populating our journalism history texts for years: Boss Tweed, Father Coughlin, Joe McCarthy, and, of course, Richard Nixon, are all present, but coverage of their antics goes well beyond the norm. The thematic approach offers depth, illumination and an opportunity to contrast similar kinds of occurrences and press response in different contexts. Explanations of how events unfold is tied to pressing political issues and standards of press performance of their day. The concluding chapter, addressing the range of issues regarding the role press organizations have played in shaping American history from the standpoint of setting an agenda and sticking strongly to it, is especially interesting and worthy of attention by students. It offers unrestricted insight into how and why particular topics get covered.

Streitmatter has put together an impressive analysis of events with insights into journalism coverage and media influence of some of the most critical issues in American history, including contemporary topics such as the struggle for Civil Rights, Vietnam and Watergate. He has skillfully woven them into a fully integrated narrative, with special attention to the individuals punctuating these episodes, or as Elizabeth Burt notes on the book's back blurb, "from Tom Paine to Rush Limbaugh." Unlike many journalism history books which attempt an integrated theme, radio and television get careful, evenhanded coverage, especially in those chapters focusing on the American social revolution of the 1960s. Primary

source material provides much of the support documentation and most of the photos were obtained from the Library of Congress.

Given the breadth of this work, the author should be credited for avoiding the tendency to present the reader with an overwhelming laundry list of names and dates. For this reason alone, *Mightier Than The Sword* will be of tremendous value in the classroom. Many of these stories have been told before, but not nearly as skillfully, with interesting details and anecdotes of special value for students. The book is easy to read and therefore it is even easier to predict that this work is likely to find a national readership among members of the general public, thus increasing awareness to the importance of the field, something we as journalism historians have sought for some time.

>Michael D. Murray, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Radio: The Forgotten Medium.

Edited by Edward C. Pease and Dennis E. Everette. Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, N.J., 1995. 213 pp. Paper, $21.95.

Radio: the Forgotten Medium is the book release of a series of short essays that originally appeared in the 1993 *Media Studies Journal* of the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center at Columbia University. The 22 authors are mostly well known writers, social commentators, and academics. The series was edited by Edward Pease and Everette Dennis.

The title of the collection is misleading. The editors seem to have presented radio as a straw man, based on the complaint that no one takes it seriously any more, but then attempt to give the reader convincing proof that radio really is important after all. In the editors' view, radio is only "forgotten" by those critics and scholars who have been seduced by the higher visibility of television and the Internet.

Pease and Dennis inform us that the purpose of the collection is to challenge the perception that radio is no longer important: "Every indication we see — economic, demographic, social and democratic — suggests that, far from fading into the ether, radio is moving back into our consciousness and back into the mainstream." The writings that follow are divided into four loose groups with topics related to radio's history, its cultural expression, global influence, business structure and regulation, all of which apparently have been selected to refute the working title of the collection. Some essays, especially by those in the business, border on boosterism, while others use solid research to make the case for the health of the medium.

So, in this series, radio is far from forgotten. We learn that it is taken for granted and relegated to niche media status, but that unlike television and the Internet, radio may continue to be the unchallenged medium of choice when an individual wants a personal, local connection to one's community. Of course, television and cable have always taken the best of radio and made it their own; in

the 1950s, broadcast television took over the comedy, drama, and other entertainment that defined early radio, and radio's successful use of targeted, niche formats now defines much cable programming. It seems that radio has been ripped off, ill-used, underappreciated, and often left to wither and die. Unlike cable and the Internet, radio is licensed to serve the public interest, a fact that may make it less controversial but ultimately more credible and with lasting value. Radio remains important, perhaps saved by the very government regulation it has often eschewed.

The essayists in this series are a disparate collection of industry-meets-academia-meets pop sociology. As a consequence, the writings range from the well-researched to the highly anecdotal. The essays in Section 1 are mostly historical, and like most brief treatments of broadcast history, they are overly simplistic; the usual role of radio in the sinking of the Titanic, KDKA, Father Coughlin, FDR's Fireside Chats.

In Section 2 there is a solid article on the demographics of talk radio by Andy Kohut that suggests that the conventional wisdom we hold about the composition of talk's audience is not entirely correct. Historian Tom Lewis compares the on-air styles of Rush Limbaugh to 1930s radio zealots Dr. Brinkley and Huey Long while talk show host Diane Rehm wants us to know that her version of talk radio is a valuable educational tool for the audience. I was impressed by the factual article by educator Michael Keith on the state of AM radio, but writings about the BBC and the new uses of clandestine radio during global political upheavals were superficial and predictable.

Articles in Section 4 suggested that new technologies could quickly change the delivery structure of radio programming, but failed to point out that as early as 1934, FM was touted as a replacement for AM, but it took nearly 45 years to happen. And while no fault of the authors, those stories that imparted information on media regulation or technology were probably out of date before the book went to press. Reliable information about those environments can only be current in the daily newspaper.

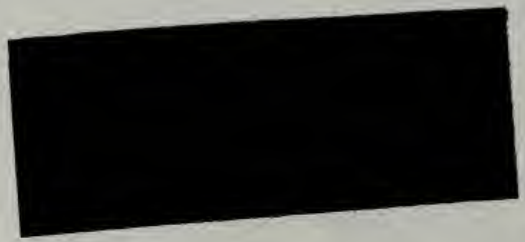
Is *Radio: the Forgotten Medium* interesting? Only a few of the 22 essays sparkle. Is it useful? Yes, if you need to assign a reader on the current state of radio. Is it groundbreaking? If viewed as a promotion piece for the viability of radio it is not. While there is little new information in these essays, this collection might be valuable for an undergraduate media studies course, but the overall superficial nature of the work would, in my opinion, make it unsuitable for advanced graduate study. It is mostly pop history and culture, without depth or perspective, and while many well-known writers have contributed, it is mostly written toward a general audience, those members of the public interested in a few sound bites of media wisdom. Each essay is the sort of introductory speech you might see on one of those C-SPAN panels, paid for by a well-meaning, even prestigious think tank. They're initially interesting, they attract attention, but ultimately they are not all that satisfying.

>Michael H. Adams, San Jose State University

American
Journalism

Department of Communication Studies
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, CA 95819-6070

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 02572
Sacramento, CA



A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Spring 1998
Volume 15, Number 2

American Journalism

John Wanamaker's 'Temple of Patriotism' Defines Early 20th Century Advertising and Brochures 15
Patricia Bradley

"Gospel of Fearlessness" or "Outright Lies": A Historical Examination of Magazine Letters to the Editor, 1902-1912 and 1982-1992 37
Brian Thornton

Strategic Competition and the Photographer's Work: Photojournalism in Gannett Newspapers, 1937-1947 59
Bonnie Brennen

The American Hero and The Evolution of the Human Interest Story . . . 79
Betty Houchin Winfield and Janice Hume

Great Ideas: Extra! Extra! Pennsylvania's Tim Hughes Offers Old and Rare Newspapers for Sale 101
Michael R. Smith

Book Reviews 105

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Spring 1998
Volume 15, Number 2

American Journalism

Editor . . . . . Shirley Biagi
California State University, Sacramento

Book Review Editor . . . . . David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Assistant Editor . . . . . Timi Ross Poeppelman
California State University, Sacramento

Design . . . . . Gwen Amos
California State University, Sacramento

Former Editors . . . . . William David Sloan
University of Alabama

Gary Whitby
East Texas State

John Pauly
Saint Louis University

Wallace B. Eberhard
University of Georgia

1998 American Journalism Historians Association Officers

President	James Startt Valparaiso University
1st Vice President	Eugenia Palmegiano Saint Peter's College
2nd Vice President	William David Sloan University of Alabama
Secretary	Barbara Straus Reed Rutgers University
Treasurer	Dick Scheidenhelm Colorado State University
Historian	Alf Pratte Brigham Young University
Board of Directors	Elizabeth Burt David Copeland John Coward Wallace Eberhard Kathleen Endres John Ferré Tracy Gottlieb Eugenia Palmegiano William David Sloan Jim Startt Rodger Streitmatter Pat Washburn

Definition of History

For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing *but not* necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed NOT in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a unique, significant and time-conditioned human past. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews. The narrative element (with a logical beginning, ending, and thematic unity) should be the core of written, historical submissions offered to create meaning in our lives.

Editorial Purpose

American Journalism publishes articles, book reviews and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history; and new ideas and methods for the teaching of media history.

Copyright

© American Journalism Historians Association 1998. Articles in the journal may be photocopied for use in teaching, research, criticism and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U. S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, including electronic reproduction and/or distribution, users must obtain written permission from the editor.

Submission Guidelines

Authors submitting research manuscripts for publication as articles should send five manuscript copies (including an abstract with each). Manuscripts should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style,* 14th Edition, and should not exceed the recommended maximum length of 20 pages. Research manuscripts are blind refereed.

Great Ideas is designed to showcase new approaches and information about the teaching of media history. Great Ideas are typically three to six manuscript pages. Authors of Great Ideas should first query the editor.

American Journalism is produced on Macintosh computers using Microsoft Word 6.0.1. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication are asked to submit their work on PC or Macintosh disk, formatted in Microsoft Word 5.0 or 6.0.1.

Send Submissions to:	Professor Shirley Biagi *American Journalism* Communication Studies Department 6000 J Street Mendocino 5014 Sacramento, CA 95819-6070 Telephone: (916) 278-5323 E-mail: ajha@csus.edu
Book Reviews	To review or propose a book review contact: Professor David Spencer Graduate School of Journalism University of Western Ontario London, Ontario Canada N6A 5B7 E-mail: dspencer@julian.uwo.ca
Advertising Rates	Contact the Editor
AJHA Membership & Subscription Rates (yearly)	AJHA Members: $30 AJHA Student Members: $15 AJHA Retired Faculty Members: $15 Libraries (US & Canada): $30 Libraries (All other countries): $40 Single copies: $8.50 each
Send AJHA membership and subscription dues and single copy orders to:	Dick Scheidenhelm AJHA Treasurer 4185 Corriente Place Boulder, Colorado 80301-1626

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Spring 1998
Volumn 15, Number 2

American Journalism

John Wanamaker's "Temple of Patriotism"Defines Early 20th Century Advertising and Brochures 15

Patricia Bradley

The author explores themes used by the Wanamaker's store in its advertising and brochures. The article emphasizes the strategies used by Wanamaker's to encourage women to shop at the store.

"Gospel of Fearlessness" or "Outright Lies": A Historical Examination of Magazine Letters to the Editor, 1902-1912 and 1982-1992 37

Brian Thornton

Letters to the editor printed in 10 popular magazines from 1902-1912 and from 1982-1992 are the subject of this article. The author argues that a careful examination of the public's responses to print journalism could be an invaluable contribution to media history, especially the muckraking era.

Strategic Competition and the Photographer's Work: Photojournalism in Gannett Newspapers, 1937-1947 59

Bonnie Brennen

The author offers a case study on the perceptions of photojournalism by Gannett Newspapers in the late 1930s and 1940s. The case study explores the struggle of photographers to be accepted as professional journalists.

The American Hero and The Evolution of the Human Interest Story 79

Betty Houchin Winfield and Janice Hume

The authors examine the creation of the American Hero by the mass media in the 19th century. The authors argue that the term "hero" has become an identifying symbol used by the mass media to increase and maintain an audience.

Great Ideas: Extra! Extra! Pennsylvania's Tim Hughes Offers Old and Rare Newspapers for Sale 101

Michael R. Smith

In an interview with a collector of old and rare newspapers, the author learns how Tim Hughes began his business that now includes an inventory of over half a million newspapers, some dating back to 1537.

Book Reviews. 105

David Spencer, Book Review Editor

COLONIAL AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS: CHARACTER AND CONTENT 105
By David A. Copeland
Reviewed by David T. Z. Mindich

FROM GRUNTS TO GIGABYTES: COMMUNICATION AND SOCIETY 107
by Dan Lacy
Reviewed by Douglas Birkhead

GREAT EDITORIALS: MASTERPIECES OF OPINION WRITING (2ND EDITION). 108
by Wm. David Sloan, Cheryl Watts, and Joanne Sloan
Reviewed by Carol Sue Humphrey

MASS MEDIA AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT: AMERICA'S GREEN CRUSADES. 110
by Mark Neuzil and William Kovarik
Reviewed by Christine Oravec

THE MASS MEDIA IN CANADA (2ND EDITION). 113
by Mary Vipond
Reviewed by Michael Nolan

POLITICAL COMMENTATORS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE 20TH CENTURY: 114
A Bio-Critical Sourcebook
by Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome
Reviewed by David J. Vergobbi

THE REPORTAGE OF URBAN CULTURE: ROBERT PARK AND THE CHICAGO SCHOOL. 117
by Rolf Linder
Reviewed by Mary Vipond

STREET SMARTS AND CRITICAL THEORY: LISTENING TO THE VERNACULAR. 119
by Thomas McLaughlin
Reviewed by Thomas Carmichael

WOMEN IN COMMUNICATION: A BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCEBOOK. 121
by Nancy Signorielli
Reviewed by Barbara M. Freeman

Editor's Note

I would like to thank those of you who wrote to tell us how much you like the journal's new format. Some of you also noticed that the blue stripe on the front cover is meant to highlight the word *"Journal"* in *American Journalism.* This important extra is the brainchild of the journal's gifted designer, Gwen Amos, a CSUS colleague and friend, who offered her talents to create the journal's new look.

In this second issue at the journal's new home in Sacramento, you will find a valuable collection of articles examining the history of media manipulation, media management and the media's reflection of cultural values.

The continuing conversation between media and their audiences is the focus of two of this issue's selections. In "John Wanamaker's 'Temple of Patriotism' Defines Early 20th Century Advertising and Brochures," Patricia Bradley offers a fascinating look at the role that advertising played in creating the image of Philadelphia's John Wanamaker's Department Store. The company, says Bradley, used advertising and brochures to carefully craft a belief among Wanamaker's customers that they were doing business in an ideal "family" environment.

In "'Gospel of Fearlessness' or 'Ouright Lies': A Historical Examination of Magazine Letters to the Editor," Brian Thornton conducts a useful analysis of the letters received and printed in popular magazines in two distinct time periods (1902 - 1912 and 1982 - 1992) to determine whether the conversation among publishers and their readers, as reflected in the Letters to the Editor, has changed. In fact, says Thornton, the tone of letter writers seems to have evolved from a very respectful, supportive tone toward the media at the turn of the century to outright anger today.

The relationship between media managers and their workers is the focus of Bonnie Brennen's article, "Strategic Competition and the Value of Photographers' Work: Photojournalism in Gannett Newspapers, 1937 - 1947." Brennen captures the evolving role of photojournalists working within the Gannett organization by following management discussions about the use of photographs in Gannett newspapers. In the early days of photojournalism at Gannett, says Brennen, editors thought anybody ("even girls") could take usable images. It took Gannett quite a while to decide that photojournalism and photojournalists were a special group, with valuable talents for capturing the news in pictures.

The social values created by the media are the focus of "The American Hero and the Evolution of the Human Interest Story," as Betty Winfield and Janice Hume examine the portrayal of American heroes. Over time, the news media actually helped to create changing definitions of who should be revered as "heroic," according to Winfield and Hume.

This edition's book reviews include a look at new titles by David Copeland (*Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content*), Wm. David Sloan (*Great Editorials: Masterpieces of Opinion Writing*, 2nd edition), and Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome (*Political Commentators in the United States in the 20th Century*). In Great Ideas, Michael R. Smith highlights Tim Hughes, who has spent more than 20 years selling old and rare newspapers.

And please give special attention to the **Call for Manuscripts on Conservative Media** for a future edition of *American Journalism,* to be edited by Rodger Streitmatter.

As always, I invite you to respond to the journal, to comment on topics in this issue or suggest new ideas, by writing me at the journal's address.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

Call for Manuscripts on "Conservative Media"

American Journalism announces a call for manuscripts on a theme issue focusing on Conservative Media.

The issue will explore the history and achievements of newspapers, magazines, and electronic media that have sought to communicate an overtly conservative point of view.

Media historians have, in recent years, broadened their research agendas to celebrate diversity. Consequently, the body of knowledge that wears the label "media history" has expanded to include studies of the communication networks that have been created by such groups as abolitionists, African Americans, suffragists, gay men and lesbians, Chicanos, Jews, and Native Americans.

One form of diversity that has not been fully explored, however, attempts to maintain the status quo or return to an earlier status. This theme issue seeks to broaden the diversity agenda by encouraging and showcasing scholarship related to the conservative media.

Examples of topics that would be appropriate for publication in this theme issue would be: the history of Know Nothing publications of the mid-19th century, the nativist publications of the late 19th century, or newspapers that sought to uphold segregation in the mid-20th century. Appropriate topics of study related to the electronic media would include Father Charles E. Coughlin or the development of the Christian Broadcasting Network.

Manuscripts, which should follow the *American Journalism* guidelines for submissions, should be sent to Rodger Streitmatter, editor of the theme issue, at the School of Communication, American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave. , NW, Washington, D. C. 20015.

If potential contributors have questions, they may telephone Streitmatter at (202) 885-2057 or contact him by e-mail at rstreit@American.edu.

The deadline for submissions for this theme issue on the conservative media is February 1, 1999.

American Journalism Reviewers

David Abrahamson
Northwestern University

June Adamson
University of Tennessee

Donna Allen
Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

Perry Ashley
University of South Carolina

Jeanni Atkins
University of Mississippi

Donald Avery
Penn State University

Charles G. Bailey
Marshall University

Gerald Baldasty
University of Washington

Warren "Sandy" Barnard
Indiana State University

Maurine Beasley
University of Maryland

Louise Benjamin
University of Georgia

Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

Douglas Birkhead
University of Utah

Margaret Blanchard
University of North Carolina

Patricia Bradley
Temple University

Bonnie Brennen
Virginia Commonwealth University

Joshua Brown
American Social History Project

Pam Brown
Rider University

Flora Caldwell
University of Mississippi

James Carey
Columbia University

Lucy Shelton Caswell
Ohio State University

Jean Chance
University of Florida

Barbara Cloud
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Ann Colbert
Indiana-Purdue University

John Coward
University of Tulsa

David Copeland
Emory & Henry College

Ed Cray
University of Southern California

David Davies
University of Southern Mississippi

Donna Dickerson
University of South Florida

Pat Dooley
University of Maine

Ferrell Ervin
Southeast Missouri State University

Fred Fedler
University of Central Florida

Tony Fellow
California State University, Fullerton

John Ferré
University of Louisville

Jean Folkerts
George Washington University

Jim Foust
Bowling Green University

Ralph Frasca
Hofstra University

Brooks Garner
Oklahoma State University

Tracy Gottleib
Seton Hall University

Kevin Hagopian
University of Memphis

Susan Henry
California State University, Northridge

Louise Hermanson
University of South Alabama

Tom Heuterman
Washington State University

Glenn Himebaugh
Middle Tennessee State University

Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist University

Bill Huntzicker
University of Minnesota

Frankie Hutton
Lehigh University

Ernest Hynds
University of Georgia

Terry Hynes
University of Florida

Jay Jernigan
Eastern Michigan University

Phil Jeter
Florida A & M University

Tom Johnson
Southern Illinois University

Beverly Deepe Keever
University of Hawaii

Richard Lentz
Arizona State University

Lawrence Lichty
Northwestern University

Larry Lorenz
Loyola University

Jack Lule
University of Tulsa

Charles Marler
Abilene Christian University

John Marrs
Everett Community College

Maclyn McClary
Humboldt State University

Sheila McIntyre
Harvard University

Floyd McKay
Western Washington University

James McPherson
Washington State University

Beverly Merrick
New Mexico State University

Karen Miller
University of Georgia

David Mindich
Saint Michael's College

Catherine Mitchell
University of North Carolina

James Mooney
East Tennessee State University

Meg Moritz
University of Colorado

Michael Murray
University of Missouri, St. Louis

Orayb Najjar
Northern Illinois University

Richard Nelson
Louisiana State University

Doug Newsom
Texas Christian University

David Nord
Indiana University

Ron Ostman
Cornell University

Oscar Patterson
Pembroke State University

Alf Pratte
Brigham Young University

Chuck Rankin
Montana Historical Society

Barbara Reed
Rutgers University

Ford Risley
Penn State University

Kitt Rushing
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

Dick Scheidenhelm
Colorado State University

Michael Schudson
University of California, San Diego

Norm Sims
University of Massachusetts

David Sloan
University of Alabama

C. Zoe Smith
University of Missouri

Ted Smythe
California State University, Fullerton

David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Andris Straumanis
University of Minnesota

Rodger Streitmatter
American University

Leonard Teel
Georgia State University

Joe Trahan
University of Tennessee

John H. Vivian
Winona State University

Tom Volek
University of Kansas

Pat Washburn
Ohio University

Mary Weston
Northwestern University

Jan Whitt
University of Colorado

Julie Williams
Samford University

Quintus Wilson
University of Utah

Betty Winfield
University of Missouri

John Wanamaker's "Temple of Patriotism" Defines Early 20th Century Advertising and Brochures

by Patricia Bradley

The marketing of Philadelphia's famous John Wanamaker department store at the beginning of the 20th century blurred the line between culture and commerce. Wanamaker's also defined women's role in terms of directed consumption in an enduring and sophisticated public relations and advertising campaign.

> It is fitting that a great temple of merchandise in historic Philadelphia should also be a temple of patriotism.
>
> *A Friendly Guide-Book to the Wanamaker Store*, 1913.[1]

By 1913, Philadelphia's major department store had been constructing its image along the lines of—if not a temple—a place of public community since the post-Civil War days of its founding. The culmination of such image building was the dedication of the new Wanamaker Building in 1911. At two million square feet, the building was the largest merchandising emporium in the world.[2]

Its dominant feature was its rotunda, soaring 150 feet over the main floor, its ionic and Corinthian columns encapsulating gallery after gallery of goods for sale that seemed endowed with the authority of a grand

Patricia Bradley is Professor and Chair of the Department of Journalism, Public Relations and Advertising at Temple University in Philadelphia.

public building. Emphasizing the effect, the rotunda enclosed the "Grand Court," the showcase for yet another symbol of nationhood, a 2,500 pound bronze eagle, and housed, in still another blurring of institutional metaphors, the Wanamaker organ, the largest in the world.

President Taft performed the dedication ceremonies at the building's opening, and the place where he stood was marked by a plaque set in the Tennessee marble flooring.[3] Shortly afterward, in a celebration of John Wanamaker's 50th anniversary in business, the Grand Court became the presidentially authorized setting for the 8,000 celebrants whose voices joined in the singing of *America*.[4]

Wanamaker's Becomes a Civic Religion

America, of course, is not the national anthem, but its 1911 performance in the store's "Grand Court" was certainly an anthem to a store marketing strategy that had existed for more than 50 years. The name "Wanamaker" had come to be as much a part of the city's civic religion as the flag itself.

While the store's location in Philadelphia made the connection obvious, this article explores how the Wanamaker store attached itself to the nation's symbols and rhetoric in a construct that provided Wanamaker's as the example of the ideal nation, offering the qualities of safety and security that were not seemingly available in the world outside.

The Wanamaker store did not invent, and was not alone as a business that rolled institutional metaphors into a marketing strategy. By the end of the 19th century businesses were rushing headlong to define themselves in terms of their patriotic service to the public. In this strategy, lines between private gain and public good blurred, as business values were inserted in place of community values.

Newspaper readers were led to believe the newspapers were guardians of their well being rather than profit centers for their owners. The Associated Press early promoted itself as a gatekeeper for the public good. Utility companies were successful enough in their strategy that the actual word "public" would be indelibly attached to their private purpose. Such 19th century and turn-of-the century precursors set the stage for the "American System" campaign waged on behalf of commercial broadcasting in the 1920s.

But it was the U.S. advertising industry that was master of the art of connecting private gain and the public wealth. In the 1940s, when the Advertising Council's "patriotic campaign" mounted a traveling exhibition

of American historic documents, the advertising industry had a 50-year history in which patriotic themes had been useful in containing governmental regulation.[5]

These marketing efforts produced the desired results—the advertising business avoided the governmental regulations it feared; the utility companies established monopolies; early broadcasting developed along commercial rather than educational lines; and department stores turned women into loyal shoppers. The success of such marketing could only be a prelude to the privileging of the commercial culture in the 1920s, a governmental mode that remains with us today alongside an artistic culture that heavily depends upon commercially produced products.

Creation of a Wanamaker Nation

The growth of American consumption as the handmaiden of U.S. commerce is of continuing interest to scholars, and department stores have been of increasing interest in those studies.[6] This essay focuses on the advertising and public relations techniques of one major American department store, probing the intersection between the portrayal of the John Wanamaker store as the model for the nation and the relevance of that model for the women shoppers.

For women, comprising the store's primary customers, there was more than the literal price of purchase to pay for citizenship in the Wanamaker nation. By the turn of the century the presentation of the store as an idealized world of safety and security, with women as purchasers in this sphere, conspired to establish a metaphor of limitation and dependency for them. The role of women was to be the chooser of goods but only in a supervised, tacitly male, setting. The metaphor could not so easily be ignored when the store's advertising and image building unrelentingly represented the Wanamaker way as the appropriate carrier of national values.

Alan Tractenberg has observed that department stores endowed their goods with "a language of promise radically new in the history of man-made things."[7] For the John Wanamaker store, the entire shopping experience, from advertising to purchase, was a language of promise indeed. Coming of age in a period that notably has been characterized as a "search for order,"[8] the Wanamaker store came to exemplify the characteristics of an ideal community—providing an orderly and beneficent structure under which the intimacy of the day-to-day retail transactions could occur safely and confidently.

By providing order and intimacy under one roof, the Wanamaker store reflected the ability of the founder to translate the needs of the time into the currency of retailing. Ultimately the store promised more, its prosperity and self-importance leading to intimations that it could fulfill the cultural, political, and familial traditions generally considered to be the realm of the larger community.

Creating "Families" Within the Store

For its employees, the "store family," the Wanamaker store provided educational, military, and retirement benefits; for its "shopping family," the store provided thin but showy opportunities for public education and cultural experiences. Lost in the simile of the store as a perfect nation and its employees and shoppers as bureaucrats and citizens, was the fact that the store was, in the end, a store, not a place of government, culture or social welfare.

No matter the empowerment of the shopping moment, shopping at Wanamaker's—or Marshall Field or Macy's for that matter—was not so much an act of female choice as it was a response to the shrewd use of advertising, brochures, and spectacle that turned the national mood to its own purpose. As surely as the store's garment cutters turned the products of the fields and mills into ready-made clothing, the store's copywriters shaped issues of gender, myth, and nationhood in order to attach them to the experience of purchase.

Wanamaker's Early Reliance on Advertising

From his earliest days as a retailer, Wanamaker's reliance on advertising was immense, influencing other retailers to depend on newspaper advertising and, not incidentally, helping support, then shape, the city's multiple daily newspapers—a dozen or more through the latter half of the 19th century. In the 1880s and 1890s the John Wanamaker store advertised daily, except Sunday, in the city's circulation leaders.

Considering the importance of advertising to the store's success, it is not surprising that Wanamaker personally was not only a public supporter of advertising throughout his career, but that the store advertised its advertising, holding it up as something close to public service: "[W]e use our influence to stimulate the higher grade of advertising and to restrict the lower," according to one such advertisement.[9] That emphasis led the writers of the three biographies that appeared shortly after Wanamaker's

death to single out advertising for special note.[10] At a time when the advertising industry sought professional status, Wanamaker and the store quickly gained a prominent place in advertising and business texts.[11] One of Wanamaker's early copywriters, John E. Powers, became an advertising icon. Powers' successor, Joseph H. Appel, served as a leader of national advertising groups on the strength of his Wanamaker connection and, given the national role of Wanamaker advertising, considered himself appropriate to be a Wanamaker biographer.

The store's reliance on advertising did not make the store an exception among department stores in Philadelphia or elsewhere. By 1900, newspaper and magazine advertising outdistanced even window displays as a means of promoting department stores.[12] But clearly Wanamaker's was a leader in department store advertising, and Philadelphia newspapers were routinely subscribed to—according to all the biographers—by stores across the nation seeking to emulate the Philadelphia store. By that measure, the Wanamaker store helped establish the themes and values of all department store advertising.

Additionally, this article takes into account that much of the marketing of the Wanamaker image came by way of the multitude of brochures that were published beginning in the 1870s by the store's in-house press. Examinations of department stores have heretofore ignored the role that brochures played in department store image building.

Rags to Riches Tale Only Partly True

In a frequently told tale, Wanamaker and his brother-in-law, Nathan Brown, went into the men's ready-made clothing business in 1861. When Wanamaker launched his "new kind of store" 15 years later, his early years in retailing were set down as mythic history. Wanamaker's *Little Red Book* published in the Centennial year (and versions of it forever after), portrayed a rocky start in a rags-to-riches narrative of individual endeavor. That portrayal was only partly true, as the young firm had been helped over early financial difficulties by Wanamaker's influential circle of friends, including his "surrogate father," George Stuart, one of the city's most powerful businessmen.[13]

It was thanks both to the vision of the young Wanamaker as well as his contacts in several circles that the business was able to find profitable trade in supplying uniforms for Philadelphia's Civil War enlisters and for the city's police and fire departments.[14] As early as 1864, having been in business just three years, Wanamaker was recorded as paying taxes on

$27,500, an income "extremely high for the day"[15] that put him among the city's known wealthy elite. By the end of the 1860s, Wanamaker was the largest retail dealer in men's clothing in the United States.

Wanamaker had used advertising and publicity long before his department store days. In 1874, promoting his men's store, Wanamaker added a fixed-price guarantee to the advertising's emphasis on low prices and quality. The policy was declared with fanfare in a half-page advertisement that was itself copyrighted and the fact noted in the ad.[16]

In closely-written, packed type, the advertisement distanced itself from the entertainment values of the old Wanamaker and Brown campaigns. The price and guarantee policy was set out in the style of a contract, each "point" buttressed by an explanation of its advantages in an appearance that suggested readers would give it close reading in the rational frame of mind they would give to any contract. Its only expression of passion came at its close: LET IT BEGIN, as if a clarion call to a new age.

Promoting an Image of Safety and Security

As Wanamaker began to advertise his men's retail clothing business image along the lines of safety and security, Wanamaker was also establishing himself as a responsible public man. Beset by street violence and riots for decades before the Civil War, Philadelphia had turned to merchants in its own search for order.[17] Wanamaker, the sickly son of a bricklayer, was born without social prominence, but could offer his businessman's credentials in a city that increasingly valued them. Those credentials were further enhanced by a life-long religiosity (although later making him a figure of fun when he was U.S. Postmaster General in the Harrison Administration[18]).

Despite the accumulation of great wealth, allowing Wanamaker to spend his time among several baronial residences at home and abroad,[19] biographers have never ascribed personal gain as one of his motives. Nor have biographers connected Wanamaker's rise as a clothing manufacturer and retailer to the blacklist of members of Philadelphia's garment cutter's union in 1866-68. Wanamaker's famous pocket bible, his involvement in the city's 1875 religious revival, and his longtime Sunday school affiliation enlarged his personal image as a man who was beyond money grubbing, much less coercion. His quick rise to public prominence was exemplified by his selection as just one of 15 Philadelphians to the Centennial Exhibition's national Board of Finance.[20]

The Message of Domesticity

The Centennial Exhibition was also the significant event in building the Wanamaker image along lines of civic pride that became represented in terms of domesticity. By 1876, Philadelphia was something of a latecomer in the race by American cities for national recognition, but what Philadelphia could show the world was a "city of homes." From row houses to suburban mansions, the Centennial served to legitimize and elevate the home and its accouterments. "Public opinion," said the *North American* in a Centennial issue celebrating the city's commerce, "has perseveringly set up the home of the domestic circle as the chief object to be provided for, looked after, cared for and rendered comfortable, pleasant and attractive."[21]

Domesticity, of course, was a powerful message in the latter half of the nineteenth century for a number of audiences. Immigrants and the upwardly mobile found that in America the home was what you "established" for the cost of a mortgage and furnishings rather than the place of birth, an important shading of meaning that stressed settlement, not emergence.

In Philadelphia, thanks to the growth of savings and loan associations, home ownership became available at a spectrum of economic levels and served to advance several agendas: a path of assimilation for immigrants; the promise of wealth for the new merchant outfitters, and, for the city fathers, a bulwark against social unrest as factory workers became occupied with home retention.[22]

The presentation of Philadelphia as a city of homes at the nation's Centennial was to offer Philadelphia's solution to the problems of industrialized life. There could have been no better set of circumstances for the debut of a grand store that called itself a "new kind of store." The store, with its goods heaped on trestle tables under the iron grid of what had been the railroad sheds of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was new in its size, scope and openness and became one of the sights of the 1876 Exhibition.

Wanamaker encouraged visitors, viewing his business as appropriate for such attention. In a special brochure printed for the Centennial, visitors were invited to look over the store. "Some of our employees are specially detailed to show visitors who wish only to look, not to buy."[23]

At the Centennial's close, the young retailer was faced with the problem of keeping crowds coming to his store. Finding it impossible to lease portions of the store to specialized merchants, he chose to expand his line of goods. Wanamaker had seen the success of the Parisian emporium,

the Bon Marche. In expanding his store, however, there could be no doubt that this was to be *an American* institution.

Brochures Evolve Historical Antecedents

From the Centennial onward, the Wanamaker publishing house printed brochure after brochure that inextricably connected the store to the national experience. The store early portrayed itself as "national," but national, in the Wanamaker view, was not simply because the store shipped merchandise across the country but rather because of "the interest attached" to the store. In one of its purse-sized indexes that the store distributed to customers by the thousands, the back cover noted that "Visitors to Philadelphia want to see the old store just as they want to see the new Mint; and they are welcome to see it and enjoy its courtesies."[24]

In *A Little Hand-book of Philadelphia and the Wanamaker Store* the location of the first Wanamaker store is seen as a worthy inhabitant of the "historic site in which Washington had once had his home in a dwelling subsequently occupied in turn by Richard Penn and General Howe." With such historic antecedents, the booklet renders the establishment of the new store in a flag metaphor: "It nailed up a flag with the stars of its early experiences and the stripes of new colors in business practices for the retailing of Dry Goods."[25]

In a merchandising technique that hardly changed in half a century, the brochures and booklets provide a multitude of examples of the store inserting itself into the national culture. In one brochure with the telling title, *A Short History of the United States with an Interwoven Chronology of the John Wanamaker Business,* the store's history shares the same pages with portraits of the country's presidents.[26] A similar approach was taken in a 64-page booklet in which even the cover art of the Liberty Bell does not manage to crowd out the ponderous title—The *History of the Founding of Philadelphia, Some Brief Historic Chapters on the City, and Especially the Heart of the City, Including The Wanamaker Store.* The reference to the store was printed in red.[27]

These brochures were only the bunting, the most extreme examples, of the conflation of public and private spheres. As the store connected itself to the nation's history by virtue of its location. The store characterized itself so closely with the city of Philadelphia that it took on the role of the city's formal greeter. The store's printing plant produced dozens of street and institutional guides to the city, some specially prepared guides for particular conventions, as in this introduction to Philadelphia

prepared for the Elks' convention:

> This Store is the threshold of Philadelphia in more than a geographical sense. In its comforts, conveniences, hospitalities, it embodies in everlasting form the spirit of Philadelphia—the spirit that, eschewing fripperies, greets the stranger cordially at the front door and bid him enter in and tarry.[28]

At the same time, the Wanamaker voice had no hesitancy in taking on expanded authority for economic pronouncements. Despite the period's persistent economic dislocations—including those that were difficult for the store to overcome—the store's promotional literature laid claim to store immutability on the basis that it understood and participated in a system of fair economic laws. One brochure offered:

> But it is more than a store—more than a money-getting business—more than a material result of individual enterprise. It has developed into a system—an economic system resting on laws as immutable as the law of gravitation; a system capable of the widest application in the business world; and yet a unique system.[29]

Another booklet that devoted itself solely to the theme of the economics of retailing said the store "illuminated the fact there is a law of rhythm in commerce as truly as in harmony, and that popular sentiment found itself instinctively in unison with the new keynote." It further noted, in a Darwinian mode, "As animal life in its primary forms was uncouth and clumsy and the ascent to the modern creation was only by slowly stratified ages so commercial life has slowly risen through the strata of centuries to the higher atmosphere of civilization."[30]

Big Business As the Father of Us All

The brochures provide examples of an emerging big business America that, as Stuart Ewen noted, "had begun to define itself as the father of us all."[31] The Wanamaker store also offered apparent proof that it could take care of all of its customers' needs. The enormity of the store itself suggested there was no reason ever to go beyond the parental roof. The promotional literature never grew tired of bringing attention to the size of the Philadelphia and, later, the New York store, or providing lists

detailing numbers and amounts.

Each year new departments, innovations, enlargements and improvements were announced in the newspapers and in the literature. Services to customers abounded—fitting and waiting rooms, restaurants, telephones, shoe repair, postal services and free delivery for the smallest item. The Wanamaker emporium also included factories under its own roof—a chemistry lab for the manufacture of perfume, a factory for the production of mattresses, and not surprisingly, an army of non-union cutters for its clothing business.

Not only did the stores provide for the needs of its customers, its beneficent universe was also expressed by the ongoing educational and cultural programs the store sponsored for the benefit of all citizens. The Philadelphia store had a 1,500-seat auditorium for public events. Exhibitions of paintings came from Paris. One exhibition honoring Napoleon included museum artifacts. After the completion of the new building in 1910, the world's largest organ was purchased from the St. Louis World's Fair, further enlarged, and installed in the grand concourse of the new store where daily organ recitals entertained shoppers. The Wanamaker store was an early adventurer in radio ownership, and the Philadelphia store housed its own radio studio that broadcast the famous Wanamaker organ music overseas.[32] Indeed, there seemed times that retailing was a subsidiary to the store's mission as a public benefactor.

Fostering the Wanamaker Universe

The public also learned of the store's "interior life," that is, the life of the employees. For, as the company took care of its customers' needs, the store similarly cared for its employees, the "store family" as the employees were called. The public discussion of the store's personnel practices became another way of fostering the notion of the Wanamaker universe. Wanamaker, as its promotional literature frequently elucidated, not only provided its employees with jobs, but with recreation (glee clubs, a fife and bugle corps, an orchestra), health needs (a store medical clinic with a nursing matron on duty), education (a library; a commercial training institute that would become state affiliated), a savings club, a beneficial association and even military training (several cadet training troops were formed)..

Certainly by the turn of the century, Wanamaker's represented something more than a place to purchase goods. Promotional brochures claimed visitors came to Philadelphia to see the store as much as the

Liberty Bell. And why not? The Wanamaker store seemed to be an example of everything a public institution promised but did not deliver. Of course, the John Wanamaker "Grand Depot" was not a public institution, it was a retail establishment that had to sell a great many rather pedestrian items one at a time in order to stay in business.

The Importance of Newspaper Advertising

What sold the gloves, muslin underwear, yards of silks, household furnishings, and multitude of household items that supported the store and still left enough over to make John Wanamaker a multimillionaire was the daily newspaper advertising. The brochures portrayed Wanamaker's in terms of the public virtue expected of a city-state. In the newspaper advertising, however, the clerks and counters were its inhabitants and homes, and it was the newspaper advertising that delineated the place women were expected to occupy in the grand scheme of the pubic store.

The newspaper associated with Wanamaker advertising has been Philadelphia's *Public Ledger*, the newspaper to which he took his first $24 worth of profits in the story that became legend.[33] Wanamaker did indeed advertise in the *Ledger*, but hardly exclusively. However, the *Ledger* played a pivotal role in the development of the single-column advertising for which the store became famous.

Although Philadelphia was bursting with publications of all kinds, the elite daily newspaper in the 1870s was the *Ledger*.[34] Moreover, it was published by one of the city's foremost Republicans and Wanamaker's political ally, George W. Childs, a man who was certainly aware of public image when he moved the former penny press newspaper into a grandly columned, public-styled building directly across the street from Independence Hall.

Childs' vision of the paper as a "family journal" also moved the paper away from its penny press heritage into an emphasis on women and respectability.[35] In the late 1870s, as Wanamaker was looking for a vehicle to appeal to women customers, there seemed no better place than the *Ledger*, and Wanamaker joined other dry goods merchants in the columns of the paper.

Although Childs had made changes in focus, he had not changed the appearance of the old *Ledger*. Appropriate to the Jacksonian democracy of its founding, the typography of the *Ledger* gave equal weight to all-comers. All stories and advertising were in a single-column format.

Advertising was simply a series of announcements under a small label. This was hardly the kind of typographical environment that, on the face of it, was appropriate to the bombast of the "Grand Depot's" public image.

In other Philadelphia newspapers, Wanamaker used display ads, and in the two-column ads that Wanamaker regularly took in the *Inquirer,* there were early experiments with the use of John Wanamaker's characteristic signature logo. However, the *Ledger's* circulation and image could not be denied, and the Wanamaker store joined the city's other dry goods merchants ingloriously, albeit democratically, crammed one against the other in single columns—all under the "Dry Goods" label.

Copywriters Sell One Pair of Gloves at a Time

Initially, Wanamaker and the others tried a variety of techniques to personalize their single columns of advertising. Advertisements that could not spread horizontally, extended downward; type was stacked in various permutations; white space enlarged; lines of copy repeated twice or three times; whole ads sometimes repeated three or four times. Occasionally, Wanamaker and other dry goods merchants advertised in the "Personals" column.

It was the Wanamaker copywriters, however, who found a way for advertising in the single column format to work. The copy became specific. Separate items—new arrivals of silks, a shipment of dress patterns, handkerchiefs from France—were each assigned a paragraph and were identified by department. In the brochures it was the public image that was promoted, but in the newspapers, beginning with the *Public Ledger,* the merchandise was sold one pair of gloves at a time.

By the early 1880s, as Philadelphia's Strawbridge and Clothier and other local stores were still using the old typographical tricks, the Wanamaker advertisements often consisted of an elegant column of single paragraphs, each with the first word in boldface, advertising products by departments and concluding with the "address" of the counter where the goods were sold, as in "Chestnut Street entrance." In the intimate, one-on-one setting of the classified ad section, a clear statement of the merchandise, its quality and price, and a candid comment about it became the rule.[36]

In a style that would later be emulated by broadcast news writing (also to meet the demands of intimacy essential to the medium), the copy for the classified advertisements became increasingly personal. The use of direct address, the "you" and "we" of the merchant addressing one

customer at a time, increased, and a conversational tone was emphasized by the use of elisions: "Corset covers. No misfits in these goods: we don't deal in that style. You may have them for 25 cents or $3 or half a dozen grades between. The quality'll vary, so'll the fit," the copy warned. "Better none than a slouchy corset cover."[37]

Privacy in a World of Public Consumption

Not only did such an advertisement meet the demands of the medium—the single newspaper column—it also met the demands of the intimate subject at hand. The classifieds appeared to be a private environment to be read closely by one woman at a time. It was an appropriate place in which to talk about private affairs such as slouchy corset covers.

Indeed, what likely made single-column advertising so successful for the Wanamaker store was that it provided an answer for the increasing loss of both privacy and intimacy that resulted from department store merchandising techniques. In promoting emulation of the consumption patterns of the middle class, the new plate glass windows and the use of mannequins turned the window displays into public tableaux of middle-class manners. The dozens of furniture "galleries" that were meant to replicate living, dining and bedrooms were invitations for one class of people to see how other classes (presumably) lived.

Privacy was further eroded by the actual selling of goods. Clothing was repeated endlessly and sold off racks; women's underclothes, which women or their seamstresses once had made privately, were sold from heaps on open tables. The use of display advertising further carried out this theme of making public what had been private concerns. Advertising in the single column format was one way of seemingly mitigating the erosion of privacy that necessarily accompanied mass merchandising,

Although the single-column advertisements were as public and read as much, if not more, than any other advertisement, appearance was the significant factor. The typography of these advertisements removed the Wanamaker customer from the reality of the world of merchandising as much as the fantasy world of the in-store displays removed her from the realities of production.

Single Column Ads Become a Hallmark

The technique of single-column advertising became the Wanamaker store hallmark, and the store used the style in other newspapers, including

those that had no ban on display advertising. In the 1880s and into the 1890s the store's single-column advertising became a daily fixture in Philadelphia newspapers, usually found in the same place every day.

In the *Evening Star* and the *Philadelphia Record*, for example, Wanamaker's routinely advertised in a single column on the left side of their front pages until the mid-nineties. In the *Evening Bulletin* Wanamaker's advertised daily in two single columns on the editorial page. The single-column advertising, occasionally interspersed with display ads for special announcements, became the mainstay of Wanamaker's advertising in all newspapers. In fact, Wanamaker's did not change its advertisements from one newspaper to another. The penny *Evening Star* was filled with patent medicine advertising and lively police stories as well as the same Wanamaker's advertisement that appeared on the same day in the *Ledger*. Two columns over from the Wanamaker discussion of spring wraps and silver-plated tea sets, for example, readers found "Shot Dead on Arch St./A Colored Woman Murders the Man Who Forsook Her."[38] A discussion of ladies' underwear was inches away from the story about the socialite who eloped with her coachman.[39]

In 1890 Wanamaker spent over a quarter of a million dollars on newspaper advertising.[40] The appearance of Wanamaker advertising in newspapers of all stripes is evidence that Wanamaker was, after all, a mass merchandiser, seeking all customers, whatever their class. John Wanamaker ended his substantial contract with the *Record* because its readers lived in the factory section of Kensington but less on the basis of class or disposable income than because Kensingtonian shopping habits did not include downtown. He would later become a leader in establishing a subway system that would have the Wanamaker store as one of its downtown stops and served to bring Mainline matrons to his store as well as less prosperous shoppers—the platform of the Wanamaker stop just level steps away from the bargain basement.

While the Wanamaker store presented a middle-class public face, both middle-class and lower-class shoppers may have assumed that shopping in the store signified their class or their class ambitions. There was an irony for the factory worker/consumer, who would be brought to the purchase of items she may have quite literally made with her own hands by advertising and merchandising techniques that gave them the value that made her want to purchase the items.

In whatever venue, the common denominator emerging from the single-column advertising over the 20 years of its primary use is the enormous authority of the Wanamaker voice. In a tone that was variously familial, caring, respectful of customers' good sense as choosers, the Wanamaker advertising was nonetheless didactic rather than persuasive. It was also a male voice: the "we" of the copy is always the store, not the gender. Despite the familial warmth, the copy is ultimately directive, offering the store's ubiquitous care and concern in exchange for the customer's acceptance of the store's higher authority.

The directive tone, however, was hardly that of a martinet. Informal, even family speech, characterized the single-column advertising, emphasized by the use of slang and sometimes a teasing tone, as in this advertisement, which asks how the store could sell gingham so cheaply:

> Not going to tell you. The makers don't want us to tell. We'd like to tell *you;* but the merchants read every word we print. The makers don't want the trade to know what did, or who did it.. We'll tell you a little more.. The other merchants had 'em and can't get 'em. They'd never thought of 'em but for our having 'em.[41]

In the long run, however, a paternal, even patronizing tone that urged consumers to trust the store was most in evidence: "What would you expect from a merchant whose general policy is to satisfy you in everything?" one advertisement for carpets concluded.[42] "This store has been a place to see ever since the Centennial. It's a store that's too busy with business to worry for more," according to an advertisement that sounded the theme that profit was never Wanamakers guiding motive.[43] Buyers were often reminded that the store had special purchasing power because of its size: "Most of our buying is done abroad and as we must buy in very large quantities, it is easy to keep prices below the market."[44]

Taken together, the Wanamaker advertisements are of exuding confidence, articulated with an assurance that made rejection difficult for readers of any class. Such copy not only presented the Wanamaker store in terms of safety and security, but embraced the readers who accepted the store's role as guide, teacher and ultimate authority. "Are you tired of hearing of bargains? We imagine not, so long as the bargains are real

bargains. But the stupidest advertising under the sun is that which talks of advertising bargains, when there are none."[45]

Created a Newspaper-Within-a-Newspaper

The single-column advertising so successfully delineated the Wanamaker store that it continued in the *Ledger* even after the *Ledger* permitted display advertisements. By the mid-90s, when the single-column advertising was beginning to be typographically lost amidst a morass of illustrations appearing in newspapers, the store's advertising staff, now under the leadership of Manly M. Gillan,[46] arrived at a solution that retained the intimacy of the single-column chattiness but provided the dominance of the display ad. The Wanamaker newspaper-within-a newspaper was a display ad that took as its style the old *Ledger*—few illustrations, a banner label as a "headline," followed by many individual items, separated by small boldface headlines.

After the turn of the century, Wanamaker himself contributed a daily signature column to the "store news." These evolved from discussions of merchandise into general homilies for living and became yet another example of the store's imaging of itself in the public sphere. The move to the newspaper-within-a-newspaper style also said something about the elevation of the values of the store from those associated with the surrounding editorial copy of the newspaper. The advertisements floated above the news of the everyday—self-contained, self-confident and not a little self-satisfied.

After 1900, a result perhaps of John Wanamaker's personal prestige, the new century, and a sense of the store's invincibility as a survivor of the time's financial downturns, newspaper advertising played a larger role in promoting the store as a public institution. This occurred at commemorations of the store's anniversaries, particularly in March, "Founder's Month," when the store was intimately connected to the national heritage in the mode the brochures had long practiced.

The March events for 1904 included a "rally for veterans," and the advertising copy included portraits of Civil War generals Grant and Sherman next to the discussion of Easter shopping.[47] A high point of such patriotic advertising occurred in 1906. Next to a drawing of Abraham Lincoln, the copy included: "[W]hat to some may have seemed to be local history has really been a matter of National importance. Let Philadelphia have its proper place in the onward march of America, internally and externally."[48]

In the days that followed, advertising reiterated the store's history—even going back to produce a portrait of a Henry Pratt, said to be the colonial owner of the ground on which the first Wanamaker store had been constructed. Another day found illustrations of men important in the city's history, such as Benjamin Rush and Mathew Carey, accompanied by copy that had about it a vague call to empire:

> The 30 years war on revolutionary battlegrounds for the abolition of old standards of commerce has won victories for America. The American system of retailing instituted here standards first in the world. There must be no stop. Let us resolutely go on and do still better.[49]

Then there was an illustration of William Penn leaning from the clouds to touch the fingertips of an arm (clothed in a male business suit) that was stretched across the Wanamaker Building; Franco-American Day, which suggested customers who purchased goods Wanamaker imported from France would be helping to pay the nation's debt to Lafayette; and the idea that the founding of the John Wanamaker store represented an extension of the American Revolution: "American Independence had to begin somewhere and John Adams is supposed to have been its first advocate. A declaration of independence in old mercantile customs had to begin somewhere, and the new Construction of Business began here next to the new City Hall."[50]

50th Anniversary Merges Spectacle and Reality

The patriotic tone of the advertising was buttressed when the new Wanamaker building was dedicated in 1911, soon followed by the celebration of John Wanamaker's 50th anniversary in business, the "Jubilee," a word referencing recent memory of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Involving 13,000 participants, the *Evening Telegraph* called the event "probably the greatest demonstration ever accorded to an employer by his employees."[51]

Led by the John Wanamaker Commercial Institute's Band and the Boys' and Girls' Bugle Corps, some 6,000 employees, costumed according to "the world's producing nations," as the *Telegraph* account had it, paraded past a reviewing stand in the store's "Grand Court," each department led by an individual in U.S. historic dress. This resulted in some bizarre juxtapositions: "George Washington" inserted between "Tearoom

and Kitchens" and "Silks and Velvets" and "Benjamin Franklin" between "Corsets and Fitting Rooms" and "Books."

The occasion peaked when employees presented Wanamaker with the deed to his birthplace. Wanamaker responded by announcing he had purchased property for a retirement home for aged employees. The event received hyperbolic front-page coverage. "The 50th anniversary of a commercial career that has been unsurpassed in the history of the world was fittingly commemorated last night" began a typical account.[52]

The "jubilee" marked a point when spectacle and reality began to merge. As if the store were indeed a governmental unit, workers manned a "John Wanamaker Regiment" in World War I. Those who returned, in a grand fête, were each awarded a special Wanamaker medal struck for the occasion. Following the Armistice, the store had a "20% off sale," whose purpose was not profit, but to prevent post-war inflation, according to biographers such as Appel, who credited Wanamaker with performing a public service.[53]

When Wanamaker died, it was not surprising he received the kind of funeral associated with public men. The Philadelphia City Council adjourned for the day.[54] Wanamaker employees subsequently raised funds for a statue in his honor. Veterans of the "John Wanamaker Post" set a wreath at its foot.[55] His son, Rodman, shipped a "Founder's Bell" from Paris. At its installation on top of the store building, Rodman dedicated the bell in appropriate Wanamaker fashion: "To the Store Family, as the Founder always called us, the Bell is a constant and standing summons to build with the Spirit—the spirit of our heritage and inspiration."[56]

From the distance of three quarters of a century, the installation of the "Founder's Bell" as a concluding example of the store's civic religion may seem a nostalgic reminder of an American innocence rather than the preemption of a traditional symbol of religion and community under the shadow of the national monument. It can also be considered that women shoppers were neither so innocent nor gullible to take the store's advertising and public relations strategies as guides to either personal or civic beliefs. Clearly, the John Wanamaker store held a place of affection for Philadelphians over several generations. When the company was sold in 1995, the news warranted a front-page banner headline, a four-column, color picture of a customer looking pensively at the famous bronze eagle, and many sidebar stories recounting the store's history.[57]

The outpouring of nostalgia that accompanied the eventual abandonment of the John Wanamaker name (Lord & Taylor now occupies the

downtown premises) is one example of the success of the marketing of American business so its products have been accepted as essential to the nation's culture. How the acceptance of these symbols of commerce has furthered the separation from the world of lived, integrative experience has been explored particularly by Jackson Lears.[58]

Creating a Culture of Consumption

The aim here is to suggest that when a commercial endeavor blurs private gain and public good, definitions are likely to take the shape benefiting the commercial endeavor. In a marketing strategy in which a private perspective was presented as a public voice, the Wanamaker store provided definitions that were useful to its ends.

Primary among those definitions was the notion that women could fulfill their domestic roles by consumption, a message of some power when guided by a voice that carried authority and legitimacy because of the store's advertising sophistication. For those who responded, the rewards of purchase were substantial: security and comfort, even coddling; the legitimation of class or class hopes; and the sense of participation in a large and ostensibly well-working, quasi-public system. In essence, however, the rewards were more imaginary than real and served to promote the habits of consumption as values to live by.

Endnotes

[1] *A Friendly Guide-Book to the Wanamaker Store*, (Philadelphia: priv. pub., 1913), 1.

[2] Susan Porter Benson, "Palace of Consumption and Machine for Selling: The American Department Store, 1880-1940," *Radical History Review* 21 (Fall 1979): 203.

[3] "President Taft Sends Tribute to Merchant Prince," *The Evening* [Philadelphia] *Telegraph*, 20 October 1911, 1.

[4] "Golden Jubilee" program, 28 October 1911, Urban Archives, Paley Library, Temple University, Philadelphia.

[5] Ben Badikian, *The Media Monopoly*, 3d. ed (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990); Stephen Shmanske, "News as a Public Good: Cooperative Ownership, Price Commitments, and the Success of the Associated Press," *Business History Review* 60 (Spring 1986): 55-80; Susan Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting, 1899-1922* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1984); Robert W. McChesney, *Mass Media and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U. S. Broadcasting 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Robert Griffith, "The Selling of America: The Advertising Council and American Politics, 1942-1960," *Business History Review* 57 (Autumn 1983): 388-412.

[6] "Harry E. Resseguie, "Alexander Turney Stewart and the Development of the Department Store, 1823-1876," *Business History Review* 39 (Autumn 1965): 301-20; Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976); Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Culture: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," in *The Culture of Consumption,* Richard Wightman Fox and Lears, eds. (New York: Pantheon, 1983); William R. Leach, "Transformation in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," *The Journal of American History* 71 (September 1984): 329-342; Ronald A. Fullerton, "Art of Public Relations, U.S. Department Stores, 1876-1913, *Public Relations Review* 16 (Fall 1990): 68-79; Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

[7] Alan Tractenberg, *The Incorporation of American Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 138.

[8] Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[9] *Philadelphia Record,* 30 May 1885; other examples, *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* 17 January 1885, 14 May 1895; *The Philadelphia Record,* 12 March 1890.

[10] Russell Conwell, *The Romantic Rise of a Great American* (New York: Harper, 1924); Henry Gibbons, *John Wanamaker,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1926); Joseph H. Appel, *The Business Biography of John Wanamaker* (New York: MacMillan, 1930). Wanamaker's advertising figures prominently in Appel's autobiography, *Growing Up with Advertising* (New York: Business Bourse, 1940).

[11] "John Wanamaker Shows the Way," in Frank Presbrey's *The History and Development of Advertising* (New York: Doubleday, 1929), 324-336. Also, Paul Nystrom, *Economics of Retailing,* 3d ed. (New York: Ronald Press, 1930; orig. pub., 1915), 142.

[12] James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 18.

[13] Herbert Ershkowitz, *John Wanamaker and the Rise of Modern Retailing,* (Philadelphia: Signpost Biographies, 1998), 30 [ms.].

[14] Gibbons, 70.

[15] E. Digby Baltzch, *Philadelphia Gentlemen, The Making of a National Upper Class* (New York: Free Press, 1958), 109.

[16] [Philadelphia] *Public Ledger,* 26 September 1874. Appel, *Business Biography,* 67-72.

[17] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City, Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), 125-149.

[18] Roger Fischer, "'Holy John' Wanamaker: Color, Cartoon Centerfold," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* [hereafter *PMHB*], 115 (October 1991): 451-474.

[19] In the late 1890s, he earned $750,000 annually on store sales. Ershkowitz, 116-17, 129 [ms.].

[20] *International Exhibition 1876 Official Catalogue* (Philadelphia: priv. pub., 1876), Historical Society of Pennsylvania [hereafter HSP], Philadelphia. 11.

[21] *The* [Philadelphia] *North American,* 1 December 1876, 4.

[22] Nathaniel Burt and Wallace E. Davis, "The Iron Age 1876-1905," in *Philadelphia A 300-Year History,* Russell F. Weigley, ed. (New York: Norton, 1982), 474.

[23] *Methods of Business of the Largest Establishment in the World for the Manufacture and Sale of Men's Wear* (Philadelphia: Wanamaker and Brown, 1875), HSP.

[24] *A Key to the Wanamaker Store, The Goods, the Methods and the Points of Interest* (Philadelphia:, priv. pub., 1902), HSP.

[25] *A Little Hand-Book of Philadelphia and the Wanamaker Store* (Philadelphia: priv. pub., 1889), 3, 6, The Library Company, Philadelphia.

[26] *A Short History of the United States with an Interwoven Chronology of the John Wanamaker Business* (Philadelphia, priv. pub., 1910), HSP.

[27] *The History of the Founding of Philadelphia Some Brief Historic Chapters on the City, and Especially the Heart of the City, Including The Wanamaker Store* (Philadelphia: priv. pub, 1910), HSP.

[28] *Wanamaker's the Threshold of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: priv. pub., 1906), Urban Archives, Paley Library, Temple University, Philadelphia, 2.

[29] *A Little Hand-Book*, 29.

[30] *The Wanamaker System Its Place in Economics and Its Helpful Relations to the Social System in Intellectual, Moral and Material Ways* (Philadelphia: priv. pub., 1899), HSP, 10.

[31] Ewen, 184.

[32] WOO was established in 1922 and discontinued six years later. It broadcast to Paris in 1923 and to London a year later. "Wanamaker Radio Outfits Last Word in Wireless," *The North American*. 1 October 1922; 'Paris Fans Hear Wanamaker Radio," *Evening Ledger*, 17 March 1923; "Wanamaker Store Broadcast Music in Overseas Test," *The North American*, 1 December 1924.

[33] Presbrey, 326.

[34] Circulation was 75,000 in the late l870s. It would grow to 80,000 by the end of the century, although by that time other Philadelphia newspapers, such as the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, had adopted gentrification and far exceeded the *Ledger's* circulation. *N.W. Ayers and Son Annual Directory* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Son, years various).

[35] "George W. Childs Dead," *Public Ledger*, 3 February 1894, 1. Elwyn V. Robinson, "The *Public Ledger*: An Independent Newspaper," *PMHB* 69 (January 1940): 43-55.

[36] Appel credited the influence of his predecessor, the English copywriter, John E. Powers, for the adaptation of advertising to a single column (Appel, *Growing Up*, 54).

[37] *Public Ledger*, 13 February 1887.

[38] *Evening Star*, 23 April 1885, 1.

[39] "Eloped with a Coachman," *Evening Star*, 11 April 1890, 1.

[40] Ershkowitz, 138.

[41] *Evening Bulletin*, 23 March 1886.

[42] *The Press*, 27 April 1882.

[43] *Evening Bulletin*, 12 July 1896.

[44] *Evening Star*, 20 October 1880.

[45] *The Press*, 3 April 1882.

[46] Powers worked for Wanamaker from 1877 to 1886; Manly M. Gillan, formerly managing director of the *Philadelphia Record*, from 1886-1894; Joseph H. Appel bridged the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Ershkowitz, 40.

[47] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 March 1904.

[48] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 March 1906.

[49] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 March 1906.

[50] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 March 1906.

[51] "President Taft Sends Tribute to Merchant Prince," *The Evening Telegraph*, 30 October 1911, 1.

[52] "Wanamaker Gives Hospital and Farm,' *The Philadelphia Record*, 29 October 1911.

[53] Appel, *Business Biography*, 266-273.

[54] "15,000 at Funeral of Mr. Wanamaker," *The Evening Bulletin*, 4 December 1922, 1.

[55] "Wanamaker Post Return Home to Hearty Welcome," *The Evening Bulletin*, 13 October 1927, 1.

[56] "Founder's Bell Largest in the Western Hemisphere Put in Place," *Evening Ledger*, 23 December 1926, 1.

[57] "John Wanamaker Stores to Be Sold," *The Philadephia Inquirer*, 22 June 1995, 1, 14,.

[58] Lears, *Fables*.

"Gospel of Fearlessness" or "Outright Lies": A Historical Examination of Magazine Letters to the Editor, 1902-1912 and 1982-1992

By Brian Thornton

This research compares the themes of letters to the editor published in 10 magazines from 1902 to 1912 with letters printed in 10 magazines from 1982 to 1992. The purpose is to shed light on the ongoing public conversation about journalism and to record how that conversation changed over time.

If you could hear people talk about journalism in 1902 and then again in 1982, would you find that the discussion about the press has changed? If you tracked the public conversation about journalism over a span of 10 years, from 1902 to 1912, and then from 1982 to 1992, would recurring themes materialize? In an attempt to answer these and other questions, this research compared 2,154 letters to the editor published in 10 popular magazines from 1902 to 1912 with 41,822 letters printed in 10 magazines from 1982 to 1992. The purpose is to shed light on the ongoing conversation about journalism involving a select group of magazine readers and how that conversation may have changed over time.

Dr. Brian Thornton is Assistant Professor of Mass Communication at Midwestern State University in Wichita Falls, Texas.

Journalism historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia argues that such study is needed because media ethics literature generally fails to give a historical perspective to journalism standards. More primary material grounding journalistic standards in history needs to be uncovered, Dicken-Garcia argues. She asserts that we need this material "to inform, direct and give continuity" to current discussions of journalism ethics.[1] Further, the voice of the audience speaking about journalism standards has been almost entirely missing from the record. This paper seeks to recapture what some of those voices were saying about journalism between 1902 to 1912 and 1982 to 1992.

Studying letters to the editor offers certain challenges. For example, the letters do not record all the conversations about journalism that took place long ago. But as journalism historian David Nord writes, letters to the editor provide a record of at least a portion of the ongoing conversation of a community.[2]

Another problem with the study of letters to the editor as historical artifacts is that editors act as gatekeepers and select which letters to publish, thus adding to the distortion of the voice of readers. For example, in 1989 *Time* magazine editors received close to 50,000 letters to the editor from more than 5 million weekly readers. *Time* editors usually publish only 1,000 to 1,500 of those letters annually. In a yearly letter to readers in which the total of all letters to the editor received during the previous year is listed, *Time*'s editors state that they publish a representative sample of the letters; the editors insist they do not promote any social or political agenda in the letters they print.[3] In a similar letter to readers in 1986, *U.S. News & World Report* editors wrote that the magazine received 36,000 letters from nearly 2.5 million readers the year before. And the magazine reported it regularly gets that many letters each year.[4] Thus it can be argued that magazine editors, if they desire, can manipulate readers' dialogue by choosing to print only certain letters on limited topics.

Letters Represent What Readers Saw

Addressing a related concern expressed by some early critics of this work, it is true that the total number of unpublished letters is simply not available to those who research letters to the editor. But that omission and the possible distortion of letter topics by gatekeeping editors doesn't invalidate a study of the letters that made it through the gatekeepers in 1902 and then again in 1982. Letters from both time periods are histori-

cal artifacts. They represent what readers saw in print. Simply by being published in a magazine's pages, the missives helped set the agenda for public discussion.

The historical record of published letters to the editor can and does reflect *some* ideas of the population at large, especially those educated enough to feel comfortable expressing their views in writing. Published letters to the editor cannot be mistaken for the voice of the people. But they are often the only existing record of some public opinion, especially from much earlier time periods. Thus, despite the limitations in researching letters to the editor, these letters are important artifacts, worthy of analysis.

Nord describes letters to the editor as useful historical texts, despite their shortcomings, because they reveal some readers speaking directly to—and often shouting at—editors. Nord argues that a historical examination of letters to the editor can give us what we may need most to construct a history of readership: a glimpse into the past of some readers reading and reacting to content.[5]

Nord is not alone in this observation. For example, Mark Popovich writes that, although a growing body of research "gives us some insight into the type of readers who seek out magazines," there is little study of the "strength of the relationship readers may have with magazines." "Without that kind of information we have a poor perspective on the role magazines play in our society today," says Popovich.[6] Another magazine specialist, Lee Jolliffe, observes there is a scarcity of research into audience reaction to magazine content. Jolliffe asserts that studies of magazine audiences are needed to "show the exchange of influences between the editor, the magazine text, the audience and society."[7]

Looking at letters to the editors in magazines and comparing the themes and numbers from different points in time can be a step toward the depth of research called for by Nord, Jolliffe and Popovich. Moreover, such a study can lead to understanding more about magazine readers; how those readers relate to different publications; and how that relationship may have changed over the years. Published letters to the editor offer a significant view into a limited but influential world. These letters are valuable historical artifacts that show some of the topics on the agenda for public discussion at a particular time.

Why Consider 1902 to 1912 and 1982 to 1992?

The period from 1902 to 1912 was initially selected for this study

for several reasons. To begin, the period falls into what historians generally call the muckraking era of journalism. This era, many scholars argue, has had a significant and enduring impact on present-day journalism. For example, Robert Miraldi says muckraking, with its "adversarial, critical and anti-authoritarian stance," changed basic expectations about responsible journalistic standards of conduct.[8] Richard B. Kielbowicz writes that "muckraking marked a departure in journalism . . . the better muckraking articles marshaled details unearthed in thorough investigations. Significantly, the exposés derived their power from well-selected facts, not forceful polemics."[9] Thus, muckraking is believed to have changed fundamental perceptions of what constituted good press conduct and press responsibility.

The period of 1982 to 1992 was chosen for comparison with the 1902 to 1912 period for three reasons. First, 1982 to 1992 is just a few years into the past and yet provides historical distance. Second, a 10-year period that inched into two separate decades (1982 to 1992), was sought, similar to the muckraking age of 1902 to 1912. Finally, there was a soaring interest in journalism standards or journalistic ethics during this post-Watergate period that made the 1982-92 period a good time frame to examine — witness, for example, the fierce public debate over the ethics of the coverage of the personal life of presidential candidate Gary Hart during this time. Many new books on the topic of journalistic ethics were printed between 1982 to 1992. And many new college courses on the topic of journalistic ethics were added to the curriculum in the 1980s and early 1990s, along with centers dedicated entirely to the study of media ethics.[10]

Muckraking Defined

Many books and scholarly articles have defined and described the muckraking phenomenon of 1902 to 1912. For purposes of this paper, muckraking is defined as the investigative magazine journalism that swept across the United States early in this century, featuring factual accounts of societal corruption. Earlier research about muckraking generally falls into five major categories: narrative descriptions of content;[11] biographies of the muckrakers;[12] examinations of the factors contributing to muckraking's rise and fall;[13] discussions of the importance of muckraking to the Progressive political reform movement; and explorations of the importance of muckraking to the development of journalism.[14]

The literature does not tap into the dialogue about muckraking

contained in letters to the editor published in the better-known magazines of the era; that is, the muckraking literature has not specifically considered the point of view of members of the audience. How did readers react to muckraking? Did they write hundreds of letters to the editor about it? Moreover, readers' point of view and responses have not been incorporated into the historical record.

In comparison to the muckraking literature, there is a small but steadily growing body of material surrounding the historical study of letters to the editor. The literature is confined primarily to a discussion of the hazards of trying to ascertain public opinion with certainty through letters to the editor. Some of the more prominent letters-to-the-editor scholars who have written about these problems include: Schulyer Foster Jr., who wrote that most people who write letters to the editor are negative or "are agin something or somebody, be it war, the New Deal or gambling";[15] William D. Tarrant, who hypothesized from a limited study of some Eugene (Oregon) *Register-Guard* letter writers that those who write letters to the editor are better educated, less mobile and more religious than average citizens;[16] David L. Grey, who said that published letters in presidential elections are more likely measures of the gatekeepers' politics;[17] Emmet Buell, who said letter writers are too often dismissed as kooks but argued they are not significantly different from the general population;[18] and David Hill, who described letter writers as generally Republican, conservative, and motivated to write to complain more often than to praise articles. Despite these disclaimers about letter writers, Hill used letters to the editor as a pragmatic way to measure some public sentiment about the Equal Rights Amendment.[19] These authors, however, have not attempted to systematically track letters to the editor in select magazines over 10-year periods and then compare one 10-year period to another.

Methodology Included Popular Magazines

Letters to the editor in 10 popular magazines published from 1902 to 1912 were studied and then compared to 10 magazines from 1982 to 1992. The 10 magazines from 1902 to 1912 were *Arena*; *Collier's*; *Cosmopolitan*; *Everybody's*; *Harper's Weekly*; *The Independent*; *The Ladies' Home Journal*; *McClure's*; *Munsey's*; and *World's Work*. All the letters to the editor printed in these 10 magazines between 1902 and 1912 were examined — a total of 2,154 letters. The 1982 to 1992 magazines examined in this research were: *Atlantic*; *Forbes*; *Harper's*; *Life*; *The Nation*; *New Republic*;

Newsweek; *The Progressive*; *Time*; and *U.S. News and World Report.* All letters to the editor published in these 10 popular magazines between 1982 and 1992 — a total of 41,822 — were examined. Any letters that discussed journalism's standards — 652 letters out of a total of 2,154 published between 1902 and 1912, and 1,481 letters published between 1982 and 1992 — were analyzed in more depth.

To be labeled as a letter about journalistic standards, a letter needed to discuss what a writer thought was good or bad reporting or complain or praise the media in some way. For example, a letter that said "We have to look at mass media as an instrument to stir and provoke society,"[20] was considered a letter about journalistic standards. Or if a letter suggested that, for example, "your magazine is participating in the despicable practice of our modern press community, first to build up a man to celebrity proportions and then to dump him with complete disregard for truth,"[21] that, too, was considered a letter about journalistic standards. If a letter had any discussion in it about the media, it was included in the analysis of journalistic standards.

The criteria for initially selecting each publication for study in the 1902 to 1912 period is relatively simple: Each magazine was selected to represent a cross-section of the mainstream magazine field, from the influential radical left *Arena*, to the conservative, and profit-obsessed *Munsey's*. Six of the magazines — *Arena*, *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Everybody's*, *The Independent*, and *McClure's* — were studied because they were considered to be circulation leaders and premier muckraking publications, according to journalism historians Louis Filler and Arthur and Lila Weinberg.[22] *Harper's* and *Munsey's* , which did not publish muckraking material, were included in this study to provide a contrast with their aggressive muckraking magazine colleagues. *The Ladies' Home Journal* was studied because Filler admitted that this women's publication, which he described as "reactionary" and representative of the "solid middle-class home," led one of the most widely renowned and successful muckraking battles — the campaign for pure-food legislation. In contrast, *World's Work* was described by Filler as honest, sincere, and always one step behind the muckrakers.[23] It seems appropriate to include the magazine labeled the most behind the times in the muckraking movement in this analysis.

The magazines from 1982 to 1992 were then selected on the basis of their similarity to those from 1902 to 1912. For example, *World's Work* was compared with today's *Forbes* in this study. The two magazines are similar in purpose — they both focused on commerce. A cross-section of

the 1982 to 1992 American magazine world was also sought.[24] As a result, big circulation, mainstream magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, which sell 4 million and 3 million copies weekly, were studied along with considerably smaller and more esoteric publications such as *The Progressive*, which sells roughly 40,000 copies a month and *The Nation*, which sells 80,000 copies a month.

Once the letters about journalism were collected, every letter was analyzed to determine its thematic category. The categories Dicken-Garcia used in her study of letters to the editor from the 1800s, including public service, truth telling, political nonpartisanship, freedom of the press, protector, fairness, privacy, money-making and journalism as a moral force, were originally used as a template.[25] But some categories had to be abandoned in the 1982 to 1992 study since they were no longer applicable. Dicken-Garcia's category of "effects on general knowledge," for instance, was not mentioned in 1982. As a result, that category was not included in this research. In addition new categories for the 1902 to 1912 letters had to be created, such as advocacy for the common man, while the categories of trust and objectivity were created for the 1982 to 1992 letters. Each article could be coded more than once if it discussed more than one journalistic theme. A limited test of these categories was undertaken by sharing several dozen letters with several colleagues and seeing if they agreed with the labeling. They agreed with the findings presented here. Nevertheless readers should be warned that the categorization of more than 2,000 letters to the editor was inevitably a matter of some interpretation. Like a Rorschach test, subsequent researchers can and could find different categories appropriate for the same letters.

Letters Reveal a Growing Skepticism

The most frequently expressed theme of published letters to the editor about journalism changed drastically from 1902 to 1912 and then from 1982 to 1992: In the 1902 to 1912 period, discussions focused on the public service role of news, while in the 1982 to 1992 period letter writers debated press accuracy and reliability. This change reveals a growing skepticism and a lack of belief among readers in what the press reports. (See Tables 1-2) Truthfulness in journalism was discussed in 405 letters between 1982 and 1992. This was the largest single theme of all the 1982 to 1992 letters. It represents 27 percent of the 1,481 letters to the editor about journalism printed in the 1982 to 1992 period.

Table 1. 1902 to 1912 Letter Themes, Numbers and Percentages.

Theme 1902-12	Theme Total out of 652 Letters:	Theme % of Total of 652 Letters
Public Service	246	37%
Moral Force	117	17%
Political Partisanship	114	17%
Fairness	70	11%
Free Press	51	8%
Truth Telling	37	6%
Common Man	17	3%
Total	652	100%

In comparison, the most frequently expressed journalistic standard in the magazine letters to the editor printed during the muckraking era was public service. Roughly 37 percent of all the printed letters, or 246 letters, discussed this topic between 1902 and 1912. No single theme was expressed in the letters as often as public service and in as many of the magazines from 1902 to 1912.

The five most popular themes of 1902 to 1912 era were: 1-public service (38 percent); 2-moral force (18 percent); 3-political partisanship (18 percent); 4-fairness (11 percent); and 5-free press (8 percent).

In the 1982-1992 period, the five most popular themes were: 1-truth (27 percent); 2-objectivity (22 percent); 3-fairness (16 percent); 4-public service (15 percent); 5-moral force (12 percent).

Some of the major themes of the letters from the two different eras are now considered in more detail. This consideration starts with an examination of the concept of truth in reporting as expressed in letters from 1902 to 1912 and 1982 to 1992.

Telling the Truth: 1982-1992 versus 1902-1912

Letters about truth-telling in journalism printed between 1982 and 1992 mainly complained about accuracy with little other comment about journalistic standards. An example can be found in a letter to *Newsweek* that took the magazine to task for failing to mention "the watchdog organization Accuracy in Media in your recent discussion of those who track media bias."[26] Another letter attacking *Time* said, "Your story on the press contained two factual errors . . . First, you misspelled my name."[27]

Still another example of this type of discussion is a 1982 letter in the *Nation* that said, "You are right to tell the truth and to take *The Wall Street Journal* to task for its propagandistic editorials. The *Journal's* editorials not only distort the facts; they also offer as fact assertions they knew full well are untrue . . . These are deliberate lies."[28]

In contrast, letters printed in 10 magazines studied between 1902 and 1912 rarely mentioned the concept of truth-telling by itself. More often telling the truth was discussed by letter writers in conjunction with some greater good. That is, letter writers said truth-telling was valuable when it promoted such things as public service, political nonpartisanship, advocacy for the common man and morality. Truth-telling was the subject of only 6 percent of published letter writers' comments during the muckraking era. But those who wrote about the subject were vociferous.

John Ward Stimson, for instance, wrote to *Cosmopolitan* : "The country cannot be too grateful for the splendid truth of such articles as those which Lawson and David Phillips offer. . . . Lawson has done nobly; Phillips can strike an even more fatal blow to high treason."[29] A letter published in *Everybody's* in 1904 made a similar point when it congratulated the magazine for truthfully depicting reality. The letter said, "[*Everybody's*] exploits no mission; it depicts true life. . . . The real life of the real people is shown in your magazine. This real life lies in the territory between the greatly exciting, hair-raising and unusual . . . . Every line of your contents breathe truth."[30]

Truth-telling was also equated with civic duty and godliness in many 1902 to 1912 letters. For example, in an Aug. 3, 1912, letter to *Collier's*, James E. Reynolds of Ventura, California, wrote: "In your appreciation of our best men, as in your fearless, probing criticism of our bad men, and willingness to tell the truth, yours is a work of untold usefulness to the Republic."[31] In that same issue, E. Ammerman, of Iron River, Michigan, wrote: "*The Literary Digest* and *Collier's* are my Bibles. *Collier's,* for speaking the truth and for the firm stand taken against all that is unholy and detrimental to the public welfare. I wish you would continue the fight [against patent medicine frauds] with a strong hand."[32] Leroy Turnbull of St. Louis was also moved to discuss the truthfulness of the patent medicine fraud exposure. In another letter also published in *Collier's* August 3, 1912, edition, Turnbull wrote: "We have gloried when you truthfully trekked the wily Kidney Kure, the Liver Librator, and the Sawdust Specialty Breakfast Food."[33]

Letter Writers Define Objectivity

Letter-to-the-editor writers defined objectivity in 318 letters on this subject printed between 1982 and 1992 as the ability of reporters to purge themselves of obvious external loyalties or prejudices. Modern readers said they expected reporters to be free of bias and preconceived notions and to transcend their subjective views of events in their coverage of stories. There was no comparable published debate over objectivity in the 1902 to 1912 era: Neither the term "objectivity" nor the general concept was mentioned in any of the 1902 to 1912 letters studied. As a result no direct comparisons can be made of readers' views on the subject.

It is interesting to note, however, that while the majority of the 1982-1992 letter writers seemed to have a clear definition of objectivity, they admitted they rarely saw it in practice. For example, Martin Peretz, editor of *The New Republic*, criticized *Newsweek* in 1982 for what he said was a terrible display of journalism sorely lacking objectivity. "Your report of the reporting of the Lebanon war," Peretz wrote, "partook of the same penchant for error you were reporting on. The problem in Lebanon wasn't that reporters lied, but that they uncritically reported just about any sensational charge they heard, particularly if it fit their ideological bias. The bias of your reporters was clear."[34]

A 1985 letter to *Life* magazine echoed a similar point about objectivity. "It is a sad commentary that American journalists cannot transcend their prejudices and write such an objective and unbiased piece as the British (in this case), to provide the American public with a true picture of the physical, psychological and emotional strains that faced the American soldier in Vietnam," wrote Oscar Patterson, of Pembroke, North Carolina.[35]

Writers expressed their disappointment over a perceived lack of magazine objectivity on other subjects as well. For example, Catherine Harold of Devon, Pennsylvania, complained in a 1986 letter to *Life*: "Your story just barely veiled the opinion of your reporter on the subject of abortion. I think it's irresponsible, even dangerous, for a national magazine to conclude a story with such obvious approval of teenage abortion."[36]

A *U.S. News & World Report* letter writer objected similarly to biased reporting in a 1983 missive. Jaqueline Shadle, of Napa, California, wrote: "In the last several months I have been incensed by the hypocrisy of the American press in its obsession with reporting every detail of human-

rights infringements in Poland, whereas we hear barely a whisper of news concerning the torture and systematic harassment of the general population in U.S-supported Argentina and Chile." She concluded by saying she was disappointed that the magazine didn't even attempt to be objective in its coverage of this area.[37]

Fairness Attacks & Complaints

Fairness was defined broadly by letter writers in both eras as a willingness to print many points of view about a given issue. Sixteen percent of the 1982-1992 printed letters stressed the importance of this theme, compared to 11 percent of the 1902 to 1912 letters. And the more recent letters were more caustic and aggressive in their attack when they believed journalists were being unfair.

Here's an example from a 1984 letter in *Forbes*: "You are guilty of the most irresponsible, one-sided and biased journalism. You never attempted to tell more than one point of view."[38] A 1983 *Newsweek* reader expressed a similar sentiment when he wrote: "Your recent article could hardly be considered responsible or fair journalism. You sought to denigrate Jimmy Swaggert's character and conveniently neglected to mention any of his many brilliant accomplishments. You don't have the basic understanding of fairness."[39] A *New Republic* reader put the discussion of fairness this way in a letter published in 1992: [The magazine] "takes the cake for publishing one of the most outright blasphemous, racist and unfair articles to date . . . If you ever bother to balance your articles with what some of the rest of us have to say . . . for once you'll be honest journalists."[40]

The fairness debate was largely more genteel between 1902 and 1912. An example can be seen in a June 11, 1904 letter that commended *Collier's* for "fair play in allowing pro and con concerning [William Randolph] Hearst to appear in your columns."[41] This should not give the impression that letter writers were always happy with the fairness of 1902 to 1912 articles, however. Quite a few letter writers from that era attacked editors and reporters who they accused of violating the rules of journalistic fairness — but these readers complained with a bit more restraint than their modern counterparts. More than 15 letters in *Collier's*, for instance, accused *Collier's* of maliciously "taking up arms against Hearst," and "dealing unfairly in gossip and small personalities."[42] Harry Thompson, for instance, from New York City, in a 1907 letter, complained about *Collier's* unfair political coverage of William Randolph Hearst.

Thompson wrote:

> You are and have been raging a howling over Hon. W. R. Hearst's recent popularity. . . .Your paper shall never be welcome in my residence again. It is anarchistic and unfair in the extreme; it deserves the boycott of every true American. It's a disgrace to America. Do you feel as cheap and green as the notorious Joseph Pulitzer or [James] Gordon Bennett?[43]

Journalists' Public Service Role

The printed letters-to-the-editor discussion over the public service role of journalism reveals a wide schism between the 1982 to 1992 and 1902 to 1912 eras. In the first place, only 15 percent of the 1982 to 1992 letters discussed public service — compared to 38 percent in 1902 to 1912. And the more recent debate on the topic was rather bland and dispirited, compared to near-lyrical comments from the 1902 to 1912 period. Here are a few examples: a 1982 letter in the *Nation* magazine said the magazine "would be doing us all a great public service if [it] raised its voice about the abuses of civil liberties in Costa Rica, rather than repeated cliches in response to the inane propaganda of *The Wall Street Journal.*"[44]

Compare this to a 1906 letter from Margaret Dunn of New York City who told *Cosmopolitan* editors that the job of the press is to "keep us in touch with this great big world and its important events; help us to grow and broaden, so our interests and our sympathies will extend over the whole world, instead of being selfishly confined to our own little firesides."[45]

Another comparison can be made by studying the following two exchanges over public service and reporting: the first printed in *Newsweek* in 1983; and the second in *Everybody's* in 1906. "*Newsweek's* editors did us all a great service and deserve credit for turning down a deal to publish the phony Hitler diaries," wrote James D. Mardsen, of Providence, Rhode Island. In contrast are these remarks published 77 years earlier: "The great obstacle in the way of reform is the partisan press," wrote C.L.W. of Lexington Kentucky. "You need to continue to give the people the facts and they will do the rest." Give them a truth deal and they will force a square deal."[46]

Moral Force

In the 1982 to 1992 period, 171 letters, or 12 percent of the 1,481 letters about journalism discussed the moral force of the press. In com-

parison, the press as a moral force was a standard that generated 117 letters, or 18 percent, of all the 652 letters to the editor about journalism printed in the 10 magazines studied between 1902 and 1912.

Once again the near-poetic quality of the 1902 to 1912 letters separates them from the 1982 to 1992 letters. For example, a letter from Donald R. Calvin, of Plymouth, Michigan, printed in the *Progressive* in 1985, discussed morality in the media as follows: "A publication that calls itself Progressive has a moral obligation and responsibility to say to certain businesses, 'Your ad does not fit the message we want to convey.'"[47]

But a 1907 *Ladies' Home Journal* reader elaborated with much more detail, explaining how the *Journal* was wrong in "teaching the details of anatomy and physiology to children, or in giving them any information or advice, even with the highest moral purpose, which shall direct their attention constantly or even frequently to the subject of sex. Human nature being constituted as it is, subject to sin and weakness, such attention often produces the most disastrous effects in the way of moral decay and morbid or abnormal development.[48]

Another 1907 *Ladies' Home Journal* reader claimed the *Journal* saved his soul:

"Just how you saved me, never mind. But you did. It was only a sentence that you wrote, but it was just the sentence, the strength, the warning that I needed, and I turned from the path of evil just in time. God bless you . . . You did your work. That is the main thing and a man made over is on the board to your credit.[49]

It is hard to match the power of a letter from a reader who claims a magazine saved his soul. As a result, nearly all the more recent letters about morality or the moral force of the press pale in comparison. This 1987 letter about morality in *The Nation*, for instance, lacks the same punch: "There has generally been such good writing, even when pungent, in *The Nation*," the letter said, "that it is disappointing to see lapses into vulgarity that corrupt your moral purpose. It is hoped that this will be corrected. I look forward each week to your exposés."[50]

Fewer Letters About Journalistic Standards

Even though the number of published letters to the editor about journalism increased from 652 between 1902 to 1912 to 1,481 between 1982 to 1992, the percentage of letters about journalism declined dramatically — from 30 percent to 3.5 percent.

Table 2. 1982-1992 Total Letters by Magazine and Percentages Related to Journalism.

1982-1992 Magazine	All Letters in Magazine	Letters about Journalism	% Related to Journalism
Atlantic	1,841	32	1.7%
Forbes	3,322	23	.7%
Harper's	1,118	83	7.4%
Life	1,650	50	3.0%
Nation	1,878	263	14.0%
New Republic	2,697	90	3.3%
Newsweek	7,869	421	5.3%
Progressive	1,742	89	5.1%
Time	11,892	296	2.4%
U.S. News	7,813	134	1.7%
Totals	41,822	1,481	3.5%

For instance, *Time* magazine published 11,892 letters to the editor from 1982 to 1992. But only 296 of those letters discussed journalism. This means the subject of journalism was the focus of only 2.5 percent of all the published letters in *Time* from 1982 to 1992. While almost 42,000 letters to the editor were published in all 10 of the contemporary magazines studied here, only 1,481 letters — or roughly 3.5 percent — discussed journalistic standards.

In sharp contrast, letters to the editor in the magazines published between 1902 to 1912 reveal a much higher percentage of readers' comments about journalistic standards. For example, *Collier's* magazine published 220 letters between 1902 and 1912 — and 195 of those letters, or 89 percent, discussed journalism and what makes good and bad reporting. In total, 2,154 letters to the editor were published in the 10 magazines studied from the period of 1902 to 1912. And of that total, 652 letters, or 30 percent, debated journalistic standards.

The data show that the number of published letters about journalistic standards steadily declined throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s in the 10 magazines surveyed. In 1982 all 10 magazines printed 176 letters to the editor about journalism. But by 1991 the total number of published journalism letters in all the magazines decreased to 116. By 1992 the number was down to 101. This means that within 10 years the number of published letters to the editor discussing journalistic standards in the 10 magazines decreased by more than 50 percent.

What do these findings mean? First, the strong primary evidence shows that the most popular themes of printed letters to the editor in the magazines studied changed from 1902 to 1912 to 1982 to 1992. In the course of 80 years, people's published comments about journalism changed. For many readers the relationship they had with the magazines appears to have undergone a transformation — and not for the better. Letter writers in the modern era complained much more about the basic accuracy and truthfulness of what they read. Truthfulness was the most frequently discussed subject in 6 out of the 10 magazines from 1982 to 1992.

In addition to revealing this thematic change, evidence is strong that the number of published letters to the editor about journalism in magazines has declined dramatically from the beginning to the end of the 20th century. It's true there may be more letters to the editor about journalism sent to today's magazines than are actually published. But that was probably true in 1902 as well. Nevertheless, all 10 modern magazine editors wrote frequently in their editorial pages about their attempts to publish as many letters as possible; and the editors expressed their strong commitment to publish representative samplings of letters. Similar comments were printed in the magazines from 1902 to 1912. If the editors of the highly regarded magazines from both eras are to be believed, they would publish a large sampling of letters to the editor about journalistic ethics if they received many letters on that topic.

Some may claim that the changing media world can explain the decline in letters about journalism. For example, in 1902 magazines were one of only two mass outlets for public media criticism; thus, by default magazines were heavily used by readers as a forum for journalism critiques. Today, the new mass media includes radio and TV.

But this assertion loses its strength when one considers the usual broadcast media roles: Peter Jennings doesn't read many letters to the editor about journalism on *World News Tonight.* And although Howard Stern and Rush Limbaugh may laughingly ridicule one or two letters from irate listeners per year on their radio shows, this hardly constitutes a satisfying public outlet for media criticism. The fact is that outside of talk radio, which has a rather limited constituency and appeal, the broadcast media do not offer many consistently available opportunities for feedback.

In contrast, if a viewer is mad at ABC News today and wants the world to know it, he or she could probably do quite well by sending a

steaming letter to *Time* magazine, praising *Time* for its journalistic standards and deriding ABC for its lack of journalistic ethics. But ABC would likely not air such a complaint, since there are few venues for such critiques from the public.

Could the Internet account for declining published debate about journalism in magazines? This scenario, suggested by some critics, also seems unlikely. Between 1982 and 1992 this new medium was in its infancy. It involved only a fraction of the American population.

Taking the decline of journalism letters at face value, this paper argues that the decrease of published letters discussing the media in all 10 contemporary magazines over a 10-year period suggests readers may have lost interest in discussing journalistic standards. The pursuit of "why" is dangerous for a historian. But it's tempting to ask other journalists and historians to join in a consideration of which factors may have contributed to the decline of letters to the editor about media ethics.

It's easy to simply say no one writes letters to the editor anymore. But that assertion does not explain the average of 50,000 letters to the editor received each year at *Time* magazine between 1982 and 1992. The other nine modern magazines receive thousands of letters as well, much more than they publish. The evidence suggests that many magazine readers wrote letters to the editor between 1982 and 1992, but on subjects other than the press.

Public Alienation as a Factor

Part of the change in the letters-to-the-editor dialogue about journalism may be public alienation from the press. The 1902 to 1912 letters generally exhibit a great affection for the press, with only a few exceptions. The majority of readers actually defended the press then and hailed its good works. As an example, a reader, described only as a "European University Professor," wrote to *McClure's*: "I find all the articles in *McClure's* to be the ideal literature of a free republic, of a free people. It is by constant exposures of public evils that evils are minimized."[51] Another example can be seen in a 1904 letter in *McClure's* from "A Minister, New Haven, Connecticut," who wrote that "you are preaching a gospel of such downright fearlessness that I am personally grateful beyond words."[52]

This is not to suggest that letters to the editor between 1902 and 1912 were nothing but fan mail. A letter writer told *Cosmopolitan,* for instance, that many popular magazines, including *Cosmopolitan*, were destroying public morality by publishing "vicious, demoralizing [stories] .

. . that are enervating to the virtues of truthfulness and honesty."[53] However, the majority of the letter writers between 1902 and 1912 — even those who lambasted the press for its shortcomings — said they sincerely believed the press was a powerful instrument for good; it only needed to be reminded of its responsibilities, to straighten out and live up to public expectations. Thus, for the most part, readers from the muckraking era expressed what some might describe as either a naive or optimistic notion that the press would and could improve, simply if its shortcomings were pointed out. In sharp contrast, there is very little affection evident in modern-era letters to the editor.

Contrasting Standards of Journalism

Was there something special about the period from 1902 to 1912 that encouraged people to write more letters to magazines about journalism than the period from 1982 to 1992? And is that special something now gone? Did the magazines represent something different and special to readers then? Editors in both time periods published regular pleas for reader response. It's a tantalizing question to ask why a much smaller percentage of readers chose to be media analysts between 1982 and 1992 when they took pen to paper or pounded out a missive on their computer.

Further research can investigate whether there was indeed a unique set of circumstances in the muckraking era that might have prompted more letters about journalism. Maybe the outpouring of letters about journalistic standards during this time suggests that new journalistic standards were actually being set during the muckraking era. No letter examined from 1902 to 1912 directly called muckraking a new phenomenon; they never stated that what they were reading differed from what had gone before. But readers commented frequently about journalistic standards and procedures. This perhaps indirectly indicates that something was changing in journalism and readers wanted to express their feelings about it. Full exploration of this question clearly requires more research — studying expressions of journalistic standards in detail before and after the muckraking period and before 1982.

A More Complete Picture of Journalistic Standards

Some magazine readers engaged in extensive debate over journalistic standards throughout the muckraking era — as shown in the hundreds of letters published in 10 popular magazines. Then in the 1980s and early

1990s the published debate about journalism among readers in 10 popular magazines shrank dramatically and nearly disappeared. The small remaining amount of discussion of journalistic standards also seemed to have turned sour. Rather than debating the public service responsibility of the press, readers were more likely to simply dispute the truth of what was published. Further research should try to explore the meaning of these changing themes and the decline in journalistic discussion in more detail and move toward definitive explanations.

The popular assertion in the media that readers are angry about the way journalists conduct their business may need to be reconsidered in light of the declining numbers this research shows. Assertions about how much people hate journalism and journalists nowadays can be found in many public opinion surveys, from Gallup to Harris to the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press. And trade journals, such as *Columbia Journalism Review* (CJR) and *American Journalism Review* (AJR) are full of articles that discuss the animosity between readers and reporters. Andrew Kohut, director of the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, has been quoted saying recently that many people believe the press is getting in the way of the country's efforts to solve its problems. But research presented in this paper contradicts this claim and indicates 1982 to 1992 readers may have given up on journalism, rather than gotten angry.

David Nord says more audience studies are needed. "We don't need more philosophy, not more theory about audience activity or passivity," he writes, "but rather more empirical research, research that links actual readers with texts and historical and social contexts." He further urges the examination of history for the study of reader response:

> For history is the discipline of context, of the rich specificity of time and place. But the historian faces a daunting task . . . Indeed the experience of most readers in the past can never be recovered.Yet historical readership research is possible. Some readers have left behind a residue of their reading: diaries, memoirs . . . letters to editors. The work of building a genuine social history of reading is well under way — at least a history of the reading of books. The reading of journalism, however, is even more difficult to trace in the past because journalism is ephemeral and the reading of it so commonplace and unremarkable and therefore so commonly unremarked upon in the historical record. Yet it is precisely this commonness

that makes the history of journalism readership central to the broader social history of reading in everyday life.[54]

This research argues for the historical importance of letters to the editor. The absence of material in journalism history books on letters to the editor reflecting reaction to muckraking and the implied or expressed expectations of journalistic standards in such reaction is an oversight begging for correction. Inclusion of such material in journalism history books could add to the continuing debate over journalistic standards and the role of the press. The somewhat unusual research presented here attempts to live up to Jean Folkerts and Stephen Lacy's (1984) prediction that "Unconventional approaches [to journalism history] can lead to a more thoroughly developed concept of holistic history."[55]

In the process, this research may contribute to a deeper understanding of the muckraking era, audience reaction to journalism then and now, and the discussion of journalistic standards among today's journalistic audience. Rather than relying on secondary sources and assumptions about what magazine readers thought about muckraking and what they think about modern journalism, researchers need to find the voice of the public, some of it voiced in letters to the editor, and include that in journalism's historical record. In that way a more complete picture of journalistic history can be created — along with the beginning of a much needed history of public discussion of journalistic standards.

Endnotes

[1] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 4.

[2] David Nord, "The Nature of Historical Research," in *Research Methods in Mass Communication* eds. Guido Stempel and Bruce Westley (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989), 290.

[3] For an example of such a letter to the reader, see *Time* 20 February 1989, 12. In that article *Time* editors say they received 51,000 letter in 1988.

[4]Unfortunately the other eight magazines from 1982 to1992 did not publish how many letters they received each year.

[5] David Nord, "Reading the Newspaper, Strategies and Politics of Reader Response, Chicago 1912-1917," *Journal of Communication*, 45 (3), 1995, 67.

[6] Mark Popovich, "Research Review: Quantitative Magazine Studies, 1983-1993," *The American Magazine: Research Perspectives and Prospects* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1995), 32.

[7] Lee Jolliffe, "Research Review: Magazine Editors and Editing Practices," *The American Magazine*, 64.

[8] Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 6.

[9] Richard Kielbowicz, "The Media and Reform, 1900-1917," in *The Media in America* eds. Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James Starrt (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 315.

[10] Some of the more prominent authors who published books in the 1980s and early 1990s regarding journalistic ethics include: Ed Lambeth, *Committed Journalism* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986); Louis A. Day, *Ethics in Media Communications* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1991); William L. Rivers and Cleve Mathews, *Ethics for the Media* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988); Thomas W. Cooper and Clifford Christians, *Communication Ethics and Global Change* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Inc., 1989); Eugene Goodwin, *Groping for Ethics in Journalism* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1983); Lee Thayer, *Ethics, Morality and the Media* (New York, Hastings House, 1980); Frank McCulloch, ed., *Drawing the Line* (Washington, D.C.: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1984); and Philip Meyer, *Ethical Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1987). Two major continuing workshops on media ethics were established with cooperative journalism industry-academic funding during this time as well: The AEJMC/Gannett/ University of Missouri Ethics Workshop and the Poynter Institute for Media Studies Teaching Fellowship in Ethics. In addition, the Society of Professional Journalists began to sponsor local media ethics workshops all across the U.S. in the 1980s.

[11] Two of the most frequently cited authors who tell the story of muckraking are: Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1939) and Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961).

[12] Some of the most notable authors in the field include: Donald Bragaw, "Soldier for the Common Good" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1970); Justin Kaplan, *Lincoln Steffens: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); and Kathleen Brady, *Ida Tarbell* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1984).

[13] Two works were particularly relevant to this research: John Filler,"The Muckrakers in Flower and Failure," in *Essays in American Historiography* eds. Donald Sheehan and Harold Syrett (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 240-43; and Bruce Evensen, "The Evangelical Origins or Muckraking," *American Journalism* 6 (June 1989), 5-29.

[14] The claim that muckraking changed journalism by making it more aggressive is examined by Richard Kielbowicz, "The Media and Reform, 1900-1917," in *The Media in America* eds. Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James Starrt (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 315-22. Still others who explored this theme are: Robert E. Park, "The Natural History of the Newspaper," *American Journal of Sociology* 29 (November 1923), 273-89; and Thomas C. Leonard, *The Power of the Press: The Birth of Political Reporting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[15] H. Schuyler Foster, Jr., and Carl J. Friedrich, "Letters to the Editor as a Means of Measuring the Effectiveness of Propaganda," *American Political Science Review* 31 (April 1937), 71-79.

[16] William D. Tarrant, "Who Writes Letters to the Editor?" *Journalism Quarterly* 34 (Fall 1957), 501-502.

[17] David L. Grey and Trevor R. Brown, "Letters to the Editor: Hazy Reflections of Public Opinion," *Journalism Quarterly* 47 (Autumn 1970), 450-56.

[18] Emmet Buell, Jr., "Eccentrics or Gladiators, People Who Write About Politics in Letters to the Editor," *Social Science Quarterly* 56 (December 1975), 440-49.

[19] David Hill,"Letter Opinion on ERA," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1981), 384-92.

[20] Michael Schaffer, Lake Bluff, Ill., Letter to the Editor, *U.S. News & World Report*, 27 January 1992, 8.

[21] Norma K. Turner, Waterviolet, Mich., Letter to the Editor, *Atlantic*, February 1982, 5.

[22]See Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 41, and Weinbergs, *The Muckrakers*, 139.

[23]See Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 165.

[24] Following is a 1992 breakdown of the circulation figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation for the modern magazines studied, ranging from the largest to smallest: *Time*, 4,063,146; *Newsweek*, 3,158,617; *U.S. News & World Report*, 2,240,710; *Life*, 1,596,862; *Forbes*, 777,353; *Atlantic*, 464,709; *Harper's*, 218,219; *New Republic*,98,252; *Nation*, 82,788; and finally, the *Progressive*, 40,000. Unfortunately comparable reliable circulation records are not available for magazines from 1902-1912. The Audit Bureau of Circulation had not been formed yet and magazines right after the

turn of the century were notorious for wildly overstating their circulation.

[25] Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 122.

[26] Lambert Ford, Yucca Valley, Calif., Letter to the editor, *Newsweek*, 21 May 1984, 7.

[27] Bill Vogrin, Topeka, Kansas, Letters, *Time*, 9 January 1984, 2.

[28] Jeff Machioni, New York City, *Nation*, 23 January 1982, 66.

[29] John Ward Stimson, New York City, *Cosmopolitan*, May 1906, 113.

[30] Unsigned letter in "With 'Everybody's Publishers,'" *Everybody's*, February 1904, 291.

[31] "Brickbats and Bouquets," *Collier's*, 3 August 1912, 38.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Martin Peretz, Editor, *The New Republic*, Washington D.C., *Newsweek*, 27 September 1982, 4,5.

[35] Oscar Patterson III, of Pembroke, South Carolina, *Life*, June 1985, 17.

[36] Catherine Harold, Devon, Pennsylvania, *Life*, May 1986, 21.

[37] Jaqueline Shadle, Napa, California, *U.S. News & World Report*, 4 July 1983, 5.

[38] Stanley M. Weeksler, President, Mountain Capital Corp., New Canaan, Connecticut, *Forbes*, 13 August 1984, 12.

[39] William D. Cooke, Tulsa, Oklahoma, *Newsweek*, 13 June 1983, 7.

[40] John McCaslin, Washington D.C., *The New Republic*, 16 March 1992, 5.

[41] signed W.D. R. of Denver, Colorado, *Collier's*, 11 June 1904, 30.

[42] This letter was signed with the initials of 15 people, from Davis, West Virginia, *Collier's*, 11 June 1907, 30.

[43] "Brickbats and Bouquets," *Collier's*, 25 May 1907, 32.

[44] Marc Edleman, *Nation* 23 January 1982, 66.

[45] "Magazine Shop-Talk," *Cosmopolitan*, July 1906, 332.

[46] "With 'Everybody's' Publishers," *Everybody's* October 1906, 577.

[47] Donald R. Calvin, Plymouth, Michigan, *The Progressive*, January 1985, 8.

[48] Henry Van Dyke, no address printed, *Ladies' Home Journal*, May 1907, 5.

[49] unsigned letter, "The Editor's Personal Page," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1907, 1.

[50] Mrs. Edward M. Litke, Grass Valley, California, *The Nation*, 24 January 1987, 66.

[51] Letters to the Editor, *McClure's*, May 1904, 223.

[52] Letters to the Editor, *McClure's*, May 1902, 223.

[53] H.S. Cooper, Galveston, Texas, *Cosmopolitan*, April 1911, 721.

[54] Nord, "Reading the Newspaper," *Journal of Communication*, 67, 88.

[55] Jean Folkerts and Stephen Lacy, "Journalism History Writing, 1975-1983," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (1984), 585.

Strategic Competition and the Value of Photographers' Work: Photojournalism in Gannett Newspapers, 1937-1947

By Bonnie Brennen

This article addresses the early role of photography in Gannett newspapers and the construction of the position of photographers from 1937 to 1947. Photographs were seen as a competitive strategy, a documentary tool, and a technological advancement while photographers were generally seen by Gannett management as expendable labor.

> "For him, everything in a photograph came together just before the shutter was released. In that split second, he interpreted the meaning and felt the emotion of a scene, set his stops and speed, focused and composed simultaneously so that all the release did was duplicate on film the image fixed in his mind."
>
> — Philip Caputo, *DelCorso's Gallery*

An understanding of the role of photographers in the development of newspaper photojournalism in the United States is a portion of journalism history that rarely has been addressed. In the 1990s, the majority of media historians still remain focused on institutional history, concentrating on the structure of media institutions

Bonnie Brennen is Assistant Professor at Virginia Commonwealth University.

and the importance of protecting content. Such history privileges property and ownership rather than addressing the issue of production in terms of labor and newswork.[1]

From an institutional perspective, workers are considered of marginal importance; their participation in media industries is thus primarily relegated to the background. This article offers an alternative to traditional journalism history. Drawing on cultural materialism[2] as a theoretical framework which views history as a "continuous and connected process,"[3] it understands that communication is the result of specific social processes of production and seeks to address the relationship between the means of production and human agency.

An emphasis on newswork addresses issues of labor, knowledge, and experience that are defined and produced in the service of dominant media institutions. As Hanno Hardt explains:

> Because the process of work is typically anonymous and disappears in the product, a history of media work discloses the relationship between specific representations of reality and the particular professional practices of distinct media workers at a specific historical moment in society, revealing a new perception of newsworkers and the American media.[4]

In their struggle for acceptance and professional satisfaction, as they confront demands, pressures, and policies of industrial capitalism, newsworkers help maintain the institutional power of the media. While media institutions are quick to invoke press freedom claims, members of the rank and file are frequently judged as expendable news products and find their identity and use value tied directly to the production of news.[5]

Contributions of Photographers Minimized

Maintaining that an emphasis on the productive work forces is central to understanding the political and economic development of the media in the United States, this article addresses the early role of photography in Gannett newspapers and the construction of the position of photographers by Gannett management from 1937 to 1947. During this period, photographs were seen as a competitive strategy, a documentary tool, and a technological advancement by Gannett editors and publishers. Yet, the role of photographers was marginalized with little understanding of their efforts in the creative process; the contributions of these workers

were minimized and they were generally seen as expendable labor by Gannett management. Far from being an isolated example, this case study mirrors late 1930s and 1940s perceptions on the value of photography as well as the experiences of photographers working for urban daily newspapers throughout the country.

Although the first U.S. news picture depicting the anti-immigration riots in Philadelphia was produced in 1844,[6] it took nearly 100 years until photographs became an important component of the traditional press. By the beginning of the 20th century, photographs were primarily associated with yellow journalism; it was not until the 1930s that the majority of U.S. newspapers began to develop photography departments and incorporate the use of local art.[7]

The introduction of photojournalism may be seen as a new journalistic language which challenged the newsroom hierarchy and traditional textual narratives. Operating within the dominant economic and political order, "photography is a means of communication within a theory of culture and communication that locates the media within a society conceived of as a complex relationship of activities and institutions."[8] Incorporated as a "medium of record," photography was initially seen as a tool of documentation, supplementing journalistic narratives and depicting reality rather than interpreting it.[9] Yet, the detailed and realistic representations created by photographers may also have challenged the status of traditional news reports; journalists were anxious about this new language of journalism and feared that photographs had the power to overshadow their words.[10]

Understanding Power and Influence

This case study on the introduction of photography within Gannett Newspapers illustrates the hegemonic process related to the definition and control of the role of the photographer and the function of photography on daily newspapers in the United States. From a cultural materialistic perspective, hegemony is not considered a singular, static concept, but rather an active dynamic process involving distributions of power and influence which "sees the relations of domination and subordination in their forms as practical consciousness, as in effect a saturation of the whole process of living."[11]

Through the incorporation of dominant and specific values and meanings, hegemony unites the persuasion from above with the consent of those individuals below, as it operates through "a complex web of social

activities and institutional procedures. Hegemony is done by the dominant and collaborated in by the dominated."[12] It enters all facets of daily life; it frames work, leisure time, and interpersonal relationships. As it attempts to become common sense, it impacts creative energies, thoughts, beliefs, and desires.

During the late 1930s and 1940s, the practices and persona of their photographers were constructed by Gannett management. This hegemonic process was illustrated in the pages of the *Bulletin*, a confidential publication circulated among Gannett executives. Produced at Gannett headquarters in Rochester, New York, the *Bulletin* began in 1926 and was first written by M.V. Atwood, associate editor of the group newspapers and head of the news and editorial office. Following his death in November 1941, Lafayette R. Blanchard became Director of the News and Editorial Department and took over primary responsibility for the publication.[13]

The *Bulletin* updated editors and publishers on the activities of their employer, Frank E. Gannett, and provided reactions of group newspaper editors and publishers to specific management policies. Each week Gannett executives received two to four single-spaced typed pages on a myriad of topics relating to the newspaper business. Reports on group meetings and significant conferences occasionally merited an increase in the size of the publication. The discussion was candid and open, and the publication was not to be circulated outside of the elite group.

If not revered for its journalistic excellence, Gannett is certainly recognized for its size. Currently the nation's largest newspaper chain with 87 daily newspapers and an average paid daily circulation of about 6.7 million, Gannett also owns 20 television stations and a cable division that services 478,000 subscribers in five states.[14] The humble beginning of this media conglomerate may be traced to 1906 when Frank E. Gannett became part owner of the Elmira *Star-Gazette*. By the late 1930s this emerging media empire already included 19 newspaper properties known then as the Gannett Group. Promoting the illusion of local autonomy, Gannett executives insisted that its newspaper properties must never be referred to as a chain. As Ben Bagdikian explains, "The word *chain*, with its implication of captivity, is shunned by the newspaper industry; the preferred term is *group*, with its appealing connotation of harmony and mutual aid."[15]

Photographs Introduced to Compete with Radio & TV

During the 1930s, the Gannett Group incorporated the use of photographs as a competitive strategy in a battle against newer communication technologies of radio and film. Group editors and publishers observed the usage of photo reportage frequently included in magazines such as *Look* and *Life,* and in executive meetings they began to discuss the potential impact television might have.

Patriarch Frank Gannett considered photographs an important aspect of the newspaper and recognized that the utilization of local pictures could provide a unique Group feature that other media properties could not compete with. During one Gannett editors' meeting, he explained, "You can't dispute a picture and you can't get pictures on radio."[16] Gannett was convinced that pictures could help the newspaper industry maintain its position as the premier media, and he challenged Group editors and publishers to focus on the use of local art.

To encourage the incorporation of photographs, for five years beginning in 1937, the *Bulletin* regularly printed statistics on the use of local photographs in Group papers. For example, Gannett executives were informed that: "During 1938 *The Knickerbocker News* printed 5,555 local pictures, in addition to several hundred pictures of national and world events, serviced by picture agencies. The 5,555 count is at the rate of about 14 a day, deducting Sundays and holidays."[17] Once each year a survey of the use of pictures in group papers, on one particular date, received extensive coverage in the *Bulletin.*

Statistics on the total number of photographs used by Group papers as well as charts comparing the amount of art included in individual papers were printed. Wednesday, March 12, 1941, was chosen as the arbitrary date of comparison for their fifth annual survey. The *Bulletin* reported that the use of local art was up once again. "Group papers printed 240 local pictures, as against 227 in 1940; 171 in 1939; 152 in 1938; and 148 in 1937."[18] The extensive inclusion of statistics may be seen to have reinforced an emphasis on the end product rather than on the creative process.

Good Pictures Add "Untold Value"

Frank Gannett believed that no paper was too small to benefit from the use of local pictures. Maintaining that many news stories simply weren't "complete" without a photograph,[19] Gannett explained "that

pictures, as with news, are best when they tell a story simply and directly" and don't confuse or tax the reader.[20] Even during World War II, when supplies and space were limited, Gannett repeatedly reminded Group editors and publishers to "use more pictures." He insisted that "one picture tells more than a column of type," and he saw photographs as a way of giving readers some relief from the flood of war news.[21]

Reinforcing Gannett's policy that good picture pages could have "untold value,"[22] the *Bulletin* routinely described full pages of photographs that ran in Group papers. There were frequent photo displays of prominent citizens, community events, and local elections along with pictures of storms, fires, and floods. Animal picture pages were well received, particularly one depicting dogs available from the city pound that "touched a lot of hearts and brought the greatest rush the pound ever experienced."[23] A Sunday picture page developed by the Utica *Observer-Dispatch* showing "people who work while the city sleeps," was also noted in one issue.[24]

Although many papers attempted to save money and resources by dropping picture pages during the war, the *Bulletin* did not support such a policy, and reported that papers that have eliminated "picture pages have made a great mistake. The day is not far distant when pictures will be taking up 50 percent of the space allotted the editorial department."[25]

Group editors and publishers were informed that effective cropping could improve the impact of photographs. Recalling Frank Gannett's position "that no picture should be shot through the engraving room until careful study has been made of every portion of it to see whether a more effective job can't be done by centering on one figure or one action,"[26] one issue of the *Bulletin* described a photograph run by a variety of newspapers depicting "two shorn trollops" who were being accosted by people in the street. The newsletter pointed out that only one publication "had thought to toss out the mob and concentrate on the gals. Thus it was able to enlarge the figures to a point where shame, disgrace and fear were clearly evident."[27]

While the usefulness of photographs as a competitive strategy was supported by Group editors and publishers during the 1930s and early 1940s, the concerns of photographers were for the most part absent from the pages of the *Bulletin*. Instead Gannett executives constructed the position of the photographer through discussions on the suitability of emerging new technologies and ethical dilemmas related to publishing news photographs. Yet, a concern with the absences and the people they represented is crucial to explaining the material conditions that photogra-

phers confronted during the late 1930s and 1940s at Gannett. An understanding of what the *Bulletin* did not, could not, say helps to illuminate that which has been missing, hidden, or concealed[28] and may also show how those absences furthered Gannett's specific ideological perspective.

Contested Role of Photographers

Considerable commentary in the *Bulletin* indicates that by the late 1930s Gannett Group management viewed photographs as an important component of its newspapers. However, during this era, the role of photographers was still being contested by Gannett editors and publishers. Barbie Zelizer suggests that early discourse about photojournalism in the United States "took on a distinctly disembodied character"[29] which lessened the value and authority of photographers. Photographs were evaluated and incorporated without much discussion of the photographers who created them.

Concerned with the role of photography in news reportage, editors resisted acknowledging the individuals who actually took the pictures. Focusing on the technological aspects of the photographic process, their "discourse appeared to presume that photography worked without human hands."[30] Zelizer explains that one way photographers became disembodied was through the use of reporters as photographers. On urban daily newspapers throughout the U.S., reporters were urged to "carry out photographic as well as reportorial responsibilities."[31]

Within Gannett, the value of photographers was also limited during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Local photographs were routinely run without any acknowledgment or identification of the individuals who created the images. It would not be until after the end of World War II that photographers would start to become accepted as integral members of the newspaper staff.

In the late 1930s, several of the Group newspapers employed no photographers and instead equipped their reporters with small, portable cameras. For example, at the *Newburgh News* eight reporter-photographers took the 534 local pictures printed during the month of July 1939. In publicizing their achievement, the *Bulletin* noted that "rivalry between the city and suburban departments resulted in publication of 120 pictures taken by Tom Yates of the city staff, who, a year ago didn't know anything about a Speed Graphic."[32] Of course, handing reporters cameras only added to their workload. Now, in addition to gathering the news and

crafting journalistic reports, they were required to supply Gannett papers with photographic images.

Yet, reporters were not the only Gannett employees who were required to take photographs. In 1939, the Olean *Times Herald* provided its suburban circulation truck drivers with a small camera retailing for $2.50 and instructed the drivers to take pictures that were of interest to them. Noting the success of the program, the February 6 issue of the *Times Herald* included a picture of an overturned automobile taken by driver Ray Macklin while delivering newspapers.[33] A picture of a car accident taken by Frank Whitman Jr., circulation motor-route manager for the *Hartford Times,* was also publicized as evidence of the effectiveness of requiring circulation drivers to carry cameras. The photograph, printed on the front page of the paper, supported management's belief that motor-route drivers had an "excellent sense of news value."[34] Such commentary helped create the perception that technology alone was responsible for the production of newsworthy images.

Even "Girls" Can Take Photographs

Reinforcing the devaluation of photographers while encouraging sexist stereotypes, the *Bulletin* paid little attention to the creative process involved in taking news photographs, and instead forwarded Frank Gannett's opinion that with the proper technology anyone could take pictures, even "girls."[35] While the voices of photographers themselves were absent, the newsletter did include information on the logistics of printing timely photographs and publicized superior efforts by Group papers.

After the Rochester *Democrat & Chronicle* used "extra-special methods" in obtaining its photographs for the Cornell-Dartmouth and Cornell-Penn games, a front page article detailed the paper's achievements to other Gannett executives. According to the *Bulletin*, the pictures of the Dartmouth game were taken by an Associated Press photographer who turned the plates over to a *Democrat & Chronicle* representative. The representative gave the plates to a Dartmouth student who drove them 150 miles to Albany in time to put them on a 6:21 train. A *D&C* copy boy picked up the plates at 10:20 p.m. and the plates were developed, printed and a cut was made in time for the mail edition. The *Democrat & Chronicle* ran a full page of the photographs in its final edition.

During the University of Pennsylvania game, a photographer, who

was not identified by the *Bulletin*, took pictures and delivered them to a messenger who caught the 3 p.m. train from Philadelphia to Newark, New Jersey. In Newark, the messenger had only 28 minutes to connect with a Rochester-bound plane. The flight arrived in Rochester at 7:20 p.m. and the plates were then taken to the *Democrat & Chronicle*. One picture was used in the 10 p.m. street edition and a full page of football photographs was used in the mail edition. Noting that it "took cooperation all along the line," Group executives were informed that such efforts were ultimately extremely worthwhile. Gannett management believed that the photographs were responsible for boosting the *Democrat & Chronicle's* circulation for an entire month.[36]

While both of these examples illustrate the extraordinary efforts taken to get pictures in the newspapers, in both cases neither of the photographers received recognition for his efforts. Adhering to Gannett's standard policy during this era, no bylines were run. Emphasizing the end product while refusing to recognize the workers involved, Gannett executives further diminished an understanding of the extra labor power that was required.

Photographers' Contributions Expanded

Group newspapers that did employ photographers valued them primarily for their ability to save money and not waste supplies. Gannett editors and publishers were cautioned against allowing their photographers to take too many pictures and were told to "have someone look over the negatives to avoid excessive waste of paper."[37]

The *Bulletin* included suggestions to eliminate dark-room personnel and subsequently require all photographers to develop and print their own pictures. The newsletter printed comments from *Hartford Times* mechanical chief Bernie Garrity, who maintained that when a photographer is "responsible for the picture from shot to press, the photographer has no chance of an alibi" and might "get better results because he is more interested in the particular picture than a darkroom worker would be."[38] In this example, discussion regarding the elimination of an "alibi" implicitly illustrates management's distrust and continuing devaluation of the contributions of photographers.

Encouraged that employees other than business managers were beginning to think about a war-time economy, in 1942 the *Bulletin* devoted two front page stories to *Times Union* photographer Claude

Brown's experiments saving "flashbulbs, film, and print paper."[39] The lead story of the February 5th issue notified Group executives that:

> Jobs undertaken voluntarily yield best results. This ancient rule is proved again by a Rochester photographer who, on his own initiative, set out to see how many bulbs he could save in a month. He saved 56 in 21 days. Multiply that by the number of camera men on your staff. Then multiply by the cost of the bulbs and see what it means. This young man oiled the joints of his long idle tripod and uses it to permit slower shots. When possible he gets his victims to leave dark interiors for outside light. On top of those practices he makes it a habit to check every shot carefully. Thus he avoids many re-takes. His self-imposed research led him to study substitutes for glossies, a product which the military is grabbing in increasing quantities. Photographers will know what he means in saying he has found Kodabrome N2 feasible. He may go to N3 which offers more contrast. Artists find his prints of good quality, retouching is easy and engravers haven't squawked. Softer than a glossy, this paper poses the problem of obtaining sharpness in features. But the young man has something.[40]

It is clear from these articles that Gannett management conflated photographic excellence with technical ability and thrift. While the achievements of photographers documenting the social and cultural conditions of urban and rural life in the U.S. were well known by this time, at Gannett there seemed to be no understanding of the subjective involvement of the photographer in the creative process.

However, when questionable practices of photographers came to Gannett's attention, the *Bulletin* publicized strategies to distance Group papers from those practices. For example, Gannett executives were informed that:

> The *Plainfield C-N* published a Page 1 box denying that one of its cameramen was taking pictures of high school girls smoking on the school grounds. High school girls had reported that cameramen had given them packs of cigarettes and bought them a cola drink while trying to pose them for photographs. The *C-N* said no photographer from its office had been assigned to take such pictures. It stated that frequently out-of-town photographers came to the city for pictures.[41]

The implication was that Gannett photographers were well-trained and would never do such questionable things; wayward photographers were a problem for other newspapers but not for the Group.

After the Associated Press suspended one of its photographers for staging war photos, the *Bulletin* insisted that: "Suspension is much too light a punishment for any faker whether he does his cheating with a typewriter or a camera. He should be blacklisted for all time."[42] Incensed that the "stirring battle scenes" were actually reenactments, the *Bulletin* concluded that the journalistic profession is "in for trouble if we reach a point where we have to question every photograph as well as every story that goes across the desk."[43] It seems clear that Gannett management believed that the only role of photographs was to depict reality. There was no understanding of the connotative role of photography or the creative labor of the photographer.

"Make the Picture Tell the Story"

Gannett emphasized the documentary role of photography over any interpretive function; group photographers were trained that they were "reporters getting their story in pictures rather than in the written word,"[44] while Gannett editors and publishers were regularly reminded to "make the picture tell the story." One issue of the *Bulletin* evaluated two photographs of Sir Tom Phillips, also known as Sir Tom Thumb. "One picture showed Sir Tom with two other British officials, emphasizing his shortness, while another was the same picture without the two tall officers. The one justified the nickname of 'Tom Thumb' while the other was just another portrait of a British Naval Officer."[45]

Gannett editors opined that exciting and interesting photographs were rarely available: "Anybody can get a picture from the White House. We want the train wreck, the feature, the tornado, the airplane crash in Pumpkin Center pictured with the story."[46] Here the absent photographer, referred to only as "anybody," was certainly devalued. Good pictures were lauded independent of any human agency.

On another occasion, four Rochester *Democrat & Chronicle* pictures were praised as outstanding storytellers. Once again focusing on photographs as a competitive strategy, the *Bulletin* maintained that photographs depicting an anti-noise campaign, an old debater, a nurse, and a Memorial Day parade were "pictures that talk, that make readers talk. They're the sort of thing which radio can't duplicate."[47] Determining that photo-

graphs of the [Normandy] fire were "unusually good," Gannett editors who ran undersized pictures were criticized for their "defective" editorial judgment and counseled that important art warranted a bigger display.[48] While the *Bulletin* maintained that most editors instinctively handled art properly, it advised those whose judgment was poor to carefully study the use of photographs in a variety of newspapers.[49]

Not surprisingly, pictures produced by individuals other than photographers received prominent attention. The June 11, 1942 issue of the *Bulletin* reported:

> One of the most appealing war pictures yet issued came, not from a newspaper camera, but from the U.S. Army signal corps. It was that shot of the dog and the truncated bodies of the girl and the soldier. There's a first class art lecture in that picture and its lessons must be obvious. It's simple, it's direct, it's appealing, it's free of all superfluities. It has — Oh well, dig it up and look at it again. It has everything![50]

While such articles strengthened the importance of the use of photographs, even in times of limited resources, they also reinforced the devaluation and marginalization of photographers. Anyone could take pictures; what mattered was proximity and economy.

Another way the position of photographers became disembodied was through the appropriation of their role by Gannett management. Group editors and publishers framed their understandings of photography around the usefulness of photographic images and enthusiastically accepted technological advances related to the production of photographs. Actively promoted in the pages of the *Bulletin*, this emphasis on the technical aspects of photojournalism helped further the perspective that the camera, not the photographer, was the more accurate recorder of the news.

Emphasis on Technology, Not Workers

The role of the photographer remained distanced and diminished in extensive discussions of new technologies, equipment, and supplies. For example, in 1939 the Utica papers purchased miniature speed graphics for their photographers in an effort "to obtain better pictures for their columns."[51] Both newspapers shared the acquisition with their readers and illustrated the usefulness of the new cameras by including a stop action

photograph of a man jumping over a chair.[52] When Kodak introduced its new Ektachrome process, Gannett editors and publishers were urged to enthusiastically greet "the dawn of a new era in pictorial journalism" and start their photographers on color photography immediately.[53]

Plans by the Elmira *Star-Gazette* to test the Acme service Telephoto in August 1945 were promoted in the *Bulletin* beginning in June. Calling the decision "an experiment of great importance to the Group,"[54] Gannett editors and publishers were informed that in addition to providing a "daily packet of prints," the Telephoto contract included a 30-minute daily transmission period that would insure the delivery of three photographs to the *Star-Gazette* .[55]

The lead page one story of the August 9, 1945 issue applauded the *Star-Gazette* for its good fortune in launching "its Telephoto service just as the fliers dropped the first atomic bomb on Japan." Suggesting that the *Star-Gazette* was probably "the only Group paper to carry spot art with the story," the *Bulletin* approved of the quality of it as obviously newsworthy photographs as well as their prominent page one usage. The newsletter also reported that along with the pictures, the *Star-Gazette* included a full description and explanation of its Telephoto operation.[56]

Responding in part to the successful Acme Telephoto test in Elmira, by the end of 1945 Group editors began negotiations with three photographic agencies on the feasibility and desirability of installing a Group telephoto service. The *Bulletin* actively chronicled the process in a series of page one articles, it reported first on attempts to get demonstrations of both "transmitting and receiving machines,"[57] followed by an article promoting the December 11 demonstration day, where group editors would "hear three sets of arguments from eager salesmen."[58]

The first 1946 issue of the *Bulletin* devoted an entire front page to the actual meeting during which Group editors chose Acme Telephoto because they were convinced it would be more flexible and "would be on the alert for pictures with local appeal."[59] Immediately prior to the installation of the Telephoto service, the lead story in the *Bulletin* reminded Group editors and publishers not to "expect to get pix of good quality, consistently, without exercise of thought and care. It's not like tearing a story off a news wire." Gannett executives were warned that instructions on the operation of the system "must be followed to the letter, and to the second."[60]

Extensive equipment discussions printed in the *Bulletin* emphasized the possibility of human error and reinforced the value of the technology of photography while diminishing the worth of the photographer.

Technical advancements were inherently valuable; concerns centered on the ability of anonymous workers to learn how to use the new equipment properly.

Management Debates Photo Ethics

Gannett management further appropriated the position of photographers in their considerations of ethical dilemmas related to the use of photographs. Group editors and publishers rather than the photographers themselves debated the larger moral issues involving the incorporation of visual images. For example, on one occasion the *Bulletin* appealed to Group editors and publishers to determine the suitability of a page one picture published in the *Newburgh News*. The *Bulletin* described the photograph as "a three-column picture of a wrecked automobile, showing plainly the faces of two persons killed in the accident. It was quite the most startling picture we have ever seen in any newspaper, because of the clearness of the faces and the blood oozing from the mouth of one."[61] In later issues several editors including Fred Keefe, of the *Newburgh News* debated the merits of the photograph. No commentary, however, was included from group photographers.

The acceptability of an Associated Press photograph showing a crying three-year-old child, with a bandaged head that had been gashed by a hatchet wielded by his four-year-old brother, was also discussed in the *Bulletin*. In a letter to the AP picture editor, *Hartford Times* photographer Ward Duffy wrote, "Hitting this kid in the head with a hatchet may or may not be a crime, but I am sure that publishing this picture would be one."[62]

In a subsequent articled headlined "Take That on Your Wrist, Ward Duffy!" the *Bulletin* printed the AP photo editor's rationale that editors always have the option of not running any offensive photos.[63] Duffy's comments represented one of the few occasions that the voice of a Group photographer was heard in the pages of the *Bulletin*. Unfortunately, Gannett management treated Duffy's concerns lightly; ultimately they agreed with the Associated Press that it was the role of senior level editors and publishers, rather than the photographers who created the images, to ultimately determine the suitability of press photographs.

Although the *Bulletin* addressed various ethical dilemmas relating to the usage of photographs, the role that photographers played in the creation of these images was for the most part absent from their discussions. In addition, ethical issues related to the use of photographs did not

extend to matters of race nor to issues of labor during the 1930s and early 1940s. This lack of commentary may be seen to have implicitly supported prevailing Group policies.

One *Bulletin* article explicitly reinforced Gannett's well-known anti-labor position, a position that may be seen to have affected their perceptions of the role of all Gannett newsworkers. The February 7, 1946 issue quoted an unnamed newspaper editor who questioned the inclusion of photographs depicting labor struggles in Group newspapers:

> Newspapers are suckers to print pictures of pickets and their placards. They give undue and unfair prominence to some crackpot who devises a smart or startling slogan. You will note that picket leaders are quick to emphasize the occasional veteran and his uniform, usually tied in with the placarded claim that all ex-soldiers are back of the strike. When we give Page 1 prominence to such guff we are encouraging strikers everywhere. Newspapers are much too eager to see peace restored industrially to give aid and comfort to the comparatively few radicals who live on the turmoil and enmity between workers and management.[64]

No additional discussion of this photographic policy made it to the pages of the *Bulletin* and no feedback from photographers, Group editors, or publishers was included in subsequent editions.

Photographic policies related to the issue of race were also rarely addressed in the *Bulletin*. However, in response to some Gannett editors apparently feeling "pestered by an Afro-American gang" and their white allies to include more photographs of African Americans, the lead front page story of the January 27, 1944 issue of the *Bulletin* attempted to explain the Group's inherently racist position by suggesting that not all pictures submitted could be used in newspapers. "Many are discarded because of the obscurity of the subject, poor photographic quality, lack of newsworthiness and other reasons. The Negro's picture most frequently possesses all the forbidding qualities, hence is left out, legitimately."[65]

The *Bulletin* noted that final decisions on the inclusion of specific photographs stayed, not with the photographer, but with each editor, and maintained that African Americans would be more likely to get over their disappointment over their lack of representation if it weren't for their "noisy white friends" who were "vocal and insistent" at the need to include photographs of African Americans.[66] This example may be seen to have reinforced the stereotypical depiction of African Americans as happy

with their oppression, or individuals who could be, if it weren't for "troublesome" outsiders putting ideas in their heads. It may also help to explain the absence of coverage on issues of race on Gannett papers and may suggest reasons why years later both Gannett papers in Rochester refused to print reports, conducted by the Urban League, of supermarket price discrimination in African American neighborhoods.[67]

Emphasis on Production and Economics

Denying human agency, during the late 1930s and early 1940s, the professional practices of photographers were constructed by Gannett management based on notions of production and economics. An emphasis on individual creativity was dismissed in favor of a technologically deterministic notion of the value of new technology as a competitive strategy. Frank Gannett was contemptuous of organized labor and he believed that closed shops which required union membership were akin to slavery.[68] He urged Group executives to reframe labor disputes to focus on the right of individuals to work rather than on the issue of union solidarity. Ultimately Gannett maintained that he, rather than his workers, knew what was best for them.[69] Given his overriding sense of paternalism, perhaps it is not surprising that Gannett maintained hegemonic control of the process of defining the function of photography, and constructed the role of photojournalism with little regard accorded to the position of the photographer.

Zelizer explains that initial attempts to limit the authority of the photographer began to unravel during World War II. Wirephotos transmitted graphic visual images thousands of miles, significantly altering the nature of war reportage.[70] Photojournalists documented the realities of the war and provided a more complete understanding than print journalists were able to offer.[71]

Issues of the *Bulletin* illustrate that an understanding began to emerge at Gannett by 1946 that the photographic process involved more than machines. By this time readers had become more demanding in their assessments of photographic images. A decade of extensive photographic coverage in magazines such as *Look* and *Life* had given readers a greater sophistication in their understandings of photographs. As Gannett began to realize that no longer would any picture suffice, the role of photographers in the creation of photographic images began to be acknowledged. With the realization that pictures had become an integral part of the newspaper, the *Bulletin* quoted Acme Telephoto President Fred Ferguson

to remind Group editors and Publishers that "no machine will ever take the place of ideas, ingenuity and craftsmanship."[72]

Ferguson urged newspapers to pursue excellence in creating and editing photographs and suggested to Gannett executives that they "stop and challenge the relative reader-interest" before they decide not to run pictures when space considerations are an issue.[73] The *Bulletin* reinforced Ferguson's message by reminding editors and publishers to play up exceptional art. "Giving a picture extra space or better position is just the same as playing up a news story and it's ten times as eye catching."[74]

Photographers' Skill Gives Value

By 1946 photographers were beginning to become central to the mission of the Gannett Group. Photographers became valued for their artistic as well as technical abilities and Gannett papers no longer routinely counted on reporters and circulation drivers to take local pictures. In one issue, the *Bulletin* tersely responded to a suggestion that groups of people "should be permitted to pose themselves," reminding Group editors and publishers that: "There is no substitute for skill and that's what the news photographer must possess. He is the fellow who must know exactly the instant that makes a news picture. He is the fellow who can pose a group so naturally that it won't look posed."[75]

Reflecting the Group's displeasure with Acme's photographic coverage of the presidential election conventions, the *Bulletin* reported that: "Apparently a boy was sent in to do a man's job. Picture choices were trite and the execution was pitiful. Only those papers fortunate enough to have their own camera men present turned out real jobs."[76] By 1946, the *Bulletin* now began to acknowledge the role of photographers in the photographic process. Gannett photographers were no longer viewed solely as expendable products and they began to become recognized for their individual creative labors. Yet, for Gannett photographers, full acceptance as rank and file members of the Group was not to come for several more years. It was not until the 1960s that Gannett Newspapers fully acknowledged the role of photographers in the news process and began to identify their work through the use of photographic bylines.

Endnotes

[1] Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds., *Newsworkers. Toward a History of the Rank and File* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), ix.

[2] I use this term to indicate Raymond Williams' theory of the "specificities of material cultural and literary production within historical materialism." For further explanation of this theoty see, Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford, 1988).

[3] Raymond Williams, *Keywords, A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford, 1983), 147-148.

[4] Hanno Hardt, "Without the Rank and File: Journalism History, Media Workers, and Problems of Representation," in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, eds. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 2-3.

[5] Bonnie Brennen, "Cultural Discourse of Journalists: The Material Conditions of Newsroom Labor," in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, eds. Hanno Hardt, and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 96.

[6] Richard Lacayo and George Russell, *Eyewitness: 150 Years of Photojournalism* (New York: Time Books, 1995), 11.

[7] William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 76.

[8] Hanno Hardt, "Sites of Reality. Constructing Photojournalism in Weimar Germany, 1928-33," *Communication Review*, 1:3, 1996, 373-402.

[9] Barbie Zelizer, "Words Against Images. Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography," in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, eds. Hanno Hardt, and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 146.

[10] Ibid., 143.

[11] Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 109-110.

[12] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 10.

[13] Donald J. Brandt, *A History of Gannett, 1906-1993* (Arlington: Gannett, 1993), 70, 129).

[14] *Gannett 1997 Annual Report* (online edition, see www.gannett.com).

[15] Ben H. Bagdikian, *The Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 68.

[16] "FEG Talk ," *Bulletin*, 11 January 1940, 8.

[17] "KN Printed 5,555 Local Pictures in 1938," *Bulletin*, 9 February 1939, 2.

[18] "Annual Survey on Group Use of Pictures," *Bulletin*, 24 April 1941, 2-3.

[19] "FEG Said," *Bulletin*, 15 July 1943, 1.

[20] "Simplicity in Art Yields Best Returns," *Bulletin*, 15 January 1942, 4.

[21] "FEG Closes Program," *Bulletin*, 8 October 1942, 6.

[22] "Dog Days," *Bulletin*, 3 July 1946, 2.

[23] Ibid.

[24] "Notes From the Group," *Bulletin*, 6 September 1945, 2.

[25] "Symposium Concerning Pictures," *Bulletin*, 20 July 1944, 4.

[26] "The Art in Good Art," *Bulletin*, 7 September 1944, 2.

[27] "Ibid.

[28] Macherey, Pierre, *A Theory of Literary Production* (London: Routledge, 1978/1989), 85.

[29] Zelizer, "Words Against Images," 149.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 150.

[32] "Pictures in Newburgh," *Bulletin*, 24 August 1939, 2.

[33] "Olean Circulation Drivers Take Pictures," *Bulletin*, 9 February 1939, 1-2.

[34] "They Know News, Too," *Bulletin*, 18 July 1940, 2.

[35] "FEG Closes Program," *Bulletin*, 8 October 1942, 6.

[36] "It Took Cooperation All Along the Line," *Bulletin*, 7 December 1939, 1.

[37] "The Picture Strip," *Bulletin*, 25 May 1939, 1-2.

[38] "Briefs," *Bulletin*, 4 June 1942, 4.

[39] "Here's a Photographer Interested in His Company," *Bulletin*, 15 January 1942, 1.

[40] "Photographer Shows Savings Can Be Made," *Bulletin*, 5 February 1942, 1.

[41] "Not Quite Brotherly of NYC Photogs," *Bulletin*, 8 February 1940, 2.

[42] "Photographic Fakery," *Bulletin*, 15 April 1943, 1.

[43] Ibid., 2.

[44] "Group Photographers and Radio Men Meet," *Bulletin*, 10 October 1940, 1.

[45] "Make the Picture Tell the Story," *Bulletin*, 11 December 1941, 3.

[46] "Wirephoto in Illinois," *Bulletin*, 15 August 1946, 2.

[47] "Photography: Some Bell Ringers," *Bulletin*, 4 June 1942, 2.

[48] "Play on [Normandy] Art Weak in Places," *Bulletin*, 12 February 1942, 2.

[49]Based on *Bulletin* commentary during this era, it seems unlikely that Group editors had any first-hand experience as photographers to draw upon. While many editors had previously worked as reporters, it is doubtful that during the 1930s and 1940s, any had worked as photographers. See "Photography," *Bulletin*, 9 July 1942, 1.

[50] "Photography: A Lesson From the Army," *Bulletin*, 11 June 1942, 2.

[51] "New Cameras for Utica," *Bulletin*, 27 July 1939, 1.

[52] Ibid.

[53] "Color Photography," *Bulletin*, 17 October 1946, 4.

[54] "Elmira Tries Telephoto," *Bulletin*, 14 June 1945, 1.

[55] Ibid.

[56] "Telephoto in Elmira," *Bulletin*, 9 August 1945, 1.

[57] See. "Wired Photo Study," *Bulletin*, 15 November 1945, 1 and "Pictures by Wire," *Bulletin*, 21 November 1945, 1.

[58] "Photographic Agencies to Show Wares," *Bulletin*, 6 December 1945, 1.

[59] "Editors Study Photo Transmission," *Bulletin*, 13 December 1945, 1.

[60] "A Word to the Wise," *Bulletin*, 11 April 1946, 1.

[61] "What Would You Have Done?" *Bulletin*, 11 April 1940, 1.

[62] "Properly Spanked," *Bulletin*, 3 April 1941, 1.

[63] "Take That on Your Wrist, Ward Duffy!" *Bulletin*, 10 April 1941, 2.

[64] "Picket Pictures," *Bulletin*, 7 February 1946, 3.

[65]Editors and Pressure Groups," *Bulletin*, 27 January 1944, 1.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Bagdikian, *Media Monopoly*, 76.

[68] "Right to Work," *Bulletin*, 3 April 1947, 1.

[69] Brandt, *History of Gannett*, 179.

[70] Barbie Zelizer, "Journalism's 'Last' Stand: Wirephoto and the Discourse of Resistance," *Journal of Communication* 45 no. 2 (Spring 1995): 81.

[71] Zelizer, "Words Against Images," 152.

[72] "Acme Lands, Secures Beachhead," *Bulletin*, 6 June 1946, 7.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "Smack It," *Bulletin*, 2 October 1947, 2.

[75] "Picture Problems" *Bulletin*, 15 May 1947, 3.

[76] "Regarding the Election Conventions," *Bulletin*, 5 September 1946, 2.

The American Hero and the Evolution of the Human Interest Story

By Betty Houchin Winfield and Janice Hume

As a type of news handle, the "hero" is a familiar human referent for headlines and sound bytes. This article demonstrates how the American "hero" evolved from early 19th century biographical accounts to feature stories.

Today, many journalists use the term "hero" loosely and, perhaps, too frequently. This article will demonstrate not only how the hero concept changed over time historically, but will show that the American press mediated such changes through its reporting methods as it became a more mass press.

Since the days of Homer's epic poetry, heroes are featured as god-like creatures with superhuman abilities or strength to perform great deeds. Historically, cultures designated such heroes in myths, epics, songs and story-telling rituals. The legends about such individuals, mostly male[1], emphasize similar characteristics: a special talent or a distinguishing physical skill, an exemplary response to a particular challenge, or set of challenges, and an admirable moral character. The historic hero's reputation transcends a lifetime. Still central to a society's storytelling are today's references to heroes and now heroines, yet now such feats are transmitted through the mass media.

If American culture includes the mass media, then the news context as one component of mass media becomes cultural, taking on the sym-

Betty Houchin Winfield is a Professor in the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri and Janice Hume is an Assistant Professor in the A. Q. Miller School of Journalism & Mass Communication at Kansas State University.

bols, myths and images of a civilization in a textual manner. The hero referent would be one textual device used by journalists for news and feature articles. The hero concept would serve not only as a way to frame a news feature, but also would fulfill a society's need for heroes.[2]

Is News "Storytelling"?

While some journalism academics argue that because of an ideal of objectivity, news is not and cannot be "storytelling," some media scholars claim otherwise. For a more cultural understanding of news, Michael Schudson and Robert Karl Manoff explain that "journalism, like any other storytelling activity, is a form of fiction operating out of its own conventions and understandings . . . ."[3] Peter Dahlgren describes the "storytelling continuum" in journalism which uses "narratological configurations which provide coherence via enplotment."[4] Moreover, John Hartley writes that news is "**cultural**; it is not exempt from features traditionally associated with the private . . . . Like other genres in that sphere, news is characterized by image, symbol, storytelling, fiction, fantasy, propaganda and myth — all the baggage of textuality and culture which is traditionally dismissed by journalists . . . ."[5] This study examines such a cultural aspect with the hero concept.

This article is but a beginning step in examining the connections between the mass media's coverage and the focus on individual citizens, mostly in the 19th century, when the press became more mass, more democratic. The references here into the 20th century will show the changing concept of a democratic hero. The argument is that in an effort to have a more mass audience, the American mass media, in particular magazines as well as large American daily newspapers, rely on the hero label as an easily identified referent, a way of distinguishing a newsworthy individual, along with spot and political news.

Heroes and Heroines as Elites

In a paradoxical way, the hero exists in an ideal egalitarian society. The unusual person noted in the press becomes an elite in a society that ideally values the "everyman," the common person. What would be the justification for such journalistic notice? The mass media content through newspapers and magazine articles would tell a type of story and indicate by the hero referents what values and which cultural icons were emphasized.

This article will demonstrate not only how the reference to a hero changed historically, especially in the 19th century, but how the American mass press mediated such coverage by its changing methods of news-gathering and writing, as noted by scholars and textbook authors. Thus, it is hypothesized that as the American press became more mass, individuals portrayed as "heroes" became more common, more the "every man," more filled with human fragility. Scholarly writings concerning the "hero" noted those changes. And, as American newspapers and magazines grew in circulation after the 1840s, journalists found a way to recognize a particular individual's talent, success or courage. The research here involves over 42 articles in various newspaper and periodical indices and numerous scholarly writings on the hero and the mass media. Obviously, by space limitations, this study is preliminary and points to the need for more scholarship to be completed on the topic, using more articles for a macro sweep, or one series in particular publications.

Heroes & Heroines Reinforce Values

Designated heroes serve a national purpose; they are necessary in nation-building. Those who stand the test of time build the folklore necessary for national pride and unity. Predominantly masculine since the country's beginnings,[6] the hero indicates shared public assumptions about one part of American life and emphasizes certain values which are publicly praiseworthy.

For women, early laudable attributes were to be quiet, unobtrusive and domestic — not public. Thus, national heroines were virtually nonexistent in the mainstream mass media throughout the 19th century.[7] Historically in America, the emphasis has typically been on masculine heroes. In death, perhaps more than in life, legendary figures such as George Washington or Davy Crockett became exemplars of American character and moral values.[8] The American press used and continues to use and reflect that assumption.[9]

The hero label is a useful journalistic reference. As a type of news handle, it is a familiar human referent for headlines and sound bytes, and as a way to tell a particular story. The representations are stereotypical, easily recognized, and the images immediate, the values consensual. For example, the military hero, by staking his life, puts a human face on a distant war. The athletic hero, by performing feats of bodily strength, represents not just unusual physical prowess, but is a public example of discipline and hard work. When a common person risks his or her life to

save a drowning stranger, the public knowledge of that "everyday hero" sets an example and helps audiences cope with tragic accidents and natural disasters.

The Hero's Evolution

In the long history of heroes in western societies, scholars have noted the theoretical changes in numerous ways.[10] In general, their works have indicated that the western hero has gone through various transitions to the common person, the nameless hero who emerges from obscurity in time of crisis. Marshall W. Fishwick summarizes the evolution: "In classical times heroes were god-men; in the Middle Ages they were God's men; in the Renaissance universal men; in the 18th century enlightened gentlemen; in the 19th century self-made men. In our own time we are seeing the common man become heroic."[11] As American society became more democratically inclusive, and the press more concerned with attracting mass audiences, the mass press reflected that hero designation, despite the society's egalitarian ideal.

While this study spans the earlier biographical accounts and growth of the feature story in the mass press in the 19th and into the early 20th centuries, several other mass media studies have focused on the hero and the hero concept. Yet none places the hero as part of the changing symbiotic relationship of the American press and the individual as a news topic, as an elongated time-span.[12]

Two major studies are close. Susan Drucker's and Robert Cathcart's well-edited *American Heroes in a Media Age* (1994), while examining many aspects of the mediated hero, contain nothing on the connection between the rise of biographical human interest news features and the kinds of American heroes in a democracy. Theodore Greene's *America's Heroes, The Changing Models of Success in American Magazines* (1970) points out that general interest magazines were the most significant hunting ground for heroes, which Greene defines as successful individuals. Yet Greene also does not examine the mass media story construction or, in particular, the evolving human interest news feature as a mode of story transmission.

With 20th century technology, the press' storytelling ability can make just about anyone famous instantaneously, or a celebrity, as Daniel Boorstin recounted in *The Image; Or What Happened to the American Dream* (1962). Boorstin wrote, "In the last half century, the old heroic mold has been broken" and points out that journalists create and sustain the hero mythology and make individuals well-known.[13]

The differences between the instant celebrity and the hero are clear. The famed, or celebrities, live and die in the mass media, unlike the longer-lasting hero. The hero is sustained and after death becomes immortal and more vital with the passage of time. Boorstin's definition is clear: heroes have shown greatness by achievement and are men and women of great deeds (note plural).[14] He writes, "the hero was distinguished by his achievement; the celebrity by his image or trademark. The hero created himself; the celebrity is created by the media. The hero was a big man, the celebrity is a big name." And a press agent would help.[15]

Today, many journalists use the term "hero" loosely and frequently. In fact, it can be argued that the mass media's seeking of a hero is purposeful, regardless of whether the person is actually a celebrity or a hero.

Follow-up studies inspired by Boorstin's *The Image* focus on the creation of the celebrity, such as Joshua Gamson in "The Assembly Line of Greatness: Celebrity in Twentieth-Century America" (1994). Gamson examines the role of the publicity apparatus in the entertainment industry, not necessarily the mass media's evolving story construction.[16]

To add to Boorstin's study, this article will point out that through biographical accounts in 19th century magazines and newspapers, from human interest bits to features and scholarly tracts and textbook references, there is a cultural and historical framework in the journalistic presentation of individuals as American heroes by the early 20th century. The mass media's references to hero may have existed longer than Boorstin's placement of it, "during the last half of the century."[17]

Nation-Building Needs Heroes

During the national period, those important nation-building years just after the Revolution, America's early magazines published "biographies," emphasizing exemplary patriots, gentlemen and scholars who claimed "duty and social obligation," but discounted personal ambition. As posthumous tributes to citizens instrumental to the country's founding, articles exemplified persons of genius, learning, honor, virtue and piety who created the nation.

For example, in *The Monthly Anthology* (1808) the designation was biography, a particular kind of biography: "The design of biography is to celebrate useful talents, to record patriotick [sic] labours, and to exhibit characteristic traits of virtue."[18] Traits of virtue, along with patriotic labors, fill that more elite era, before the advent of the mass press. The heroes were men of rank and status, who came from at least "respectable

families" with dignified stations in the society, "a designation assigned by divine providence."[19]

From 1810 to 1820, magazines published biographies as a story-telling method more frequently than any other type of news story; only book reviews and poetry exceeded the emphasis. Focusing mainly on soldiers and ministers, this biographical form was widespread, used by nearly every magazine of the period, according to Neal Eager.[20] Editors often used such biographies to promote nationalism,[21] as in September of 1812 in a series called "American Gallantry — for the *Port Folio*." These articles included Revolutionary War heroes and remembered accounts of previous "American heroism."[22] They focused on the founding fathers, especially in the years following their deaths, and presented them as brave, flawless heroes responsible for the birth of the republic.

The past looked better than the present in those early nation-building, turbulent years. By emphasizing the founders as heroic, the articles not only gave testimony to the caliber of the American with moral virtues, but they also served as a bulwark against encroaching egalitarianism.[23] In fact, *Columbian Magazine* called one series "The American Plutarch: Or a Biographical Account of the Heroic and Virtuous Man, Who Have, At Any Time, Been Instrumental to the Foundation and Prosperity of the United States."[24] While these early national magazines were for an audience of American "aristocracy," a small but growing middle class also read them.[25]

Emphasizing Founding "Fathers" and "Mothers"

The National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., constructed in the 1830s, emphasized noteworthy American figures. The gallery opening was not just a spot news event, but it served as a justification for printing more biographical sketches of noteworthy Americans: the founding fathers and "founding mothers."

Women's magazines featured the founding "mothers." *American Magazine of Useful Knowledge* had "Lady Washington" and *The Iris or Library Messenger* gave a "Sketch of Mrs. John Adams."[26] By the 1850s, the first names of these women were used in biographical sketches and in the series, "Illustrious Characters."[27]

When the multi-volume *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* published biographical sketches beginning in 1834, the press also published such sketches.[28] These articles preached unabashed nationalism and emphasized what it meant to be an American as the

country was striving toward a special identity. Articles on the lives of eminent Americans served a national purpose: to give testimony to the Americans as a separate nation and to quell self-doubts about the quality of a new people.

Such biographical features continued to focus on the new society's values during the mid-19th century. The democratic paradox troubled some scholars. Barry Schwartz, who examined 19th-century writings on heroes in "Emerson, Cooley and the American Heroic Vision," found that Ralph Waldo Emerson (1836-1850) and sociologist Charles Horton Cooley (1890-1902) referred to Americans in general as being uneasy with the idea of heroes in a democracy.

Americans were uncomfortable with the notion of deference, even though from the beginning, the nation produced heroes who sacrificed. For example, those Revolutionary War leaders, revered as heroes, became known for their selfless public service in magazine articles.[29] By mid-century the question was whether such national service would continue to be valued enough for a hero designation. The mass press would help.

Finding the Local "Everyman"

The early penny press owners knew that the unusual local stories heard in the coffee houses, bars, theaters, hotels and streets could be the staple of successful news publications.[30] As the mass press garnered a larger readership in the middle and later 19th century, their news stories highlighted less about an icon, at an unreachable state, and less about traditional heroic characteristics needed to sustain a news value. The individual, who became known through the mass press, had his more human attributes told. For example, when the New York *Sun* featured the young inventor Thomas Edison in 1878, the feature included a description of Edison's fondness for chewing tobacco.[31]

By mentioning that person's flaws, "everyman" could fit the democratic hero possibility and be admired. For example, a would-be political reformer from a successful family who, in the words of the *Sun's* editor Charles Dana, was a man "who thinks of himself as important...the Washington expression Swellhead."[32] These new forms of heroes could, in fact, explain values, lifestyles as well as social trends. To be newsworthy at any given time, a news story must be interesting, and a hero could make any news story more engaging.

The 19th century's growing emphasis upon the every man did not mean that the press ignored past heroes. *The New York Times'* earliest

index, 1851-52, had over a dozen articles on the first president. They focused on Washington's physical description, his home, his grave, his delivery of the farewell address, the author of it, his general views, his opinion of the French foreign minister Talleyrand, his Stuart portrait, the anniversary of his masonic initiation, his statue at Union Square, his statue in Richmond, his inaugurations, and lastly his placement on a pedestal.[33]

The addition was not universally welcomed. Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing during the shadow of the Jacksonian democracy and the beginning of mid-century commercial expansion, deplored what he thought was the rampant commercial vulgarity of the era, with its highlighting of undeserving individuals. As part of the New England literary aristocracy, Emerson stressed in 1841 that heroes should be instruments to elevate morality and nationalism over commercial interests.[34] The emphasis on elitism had already begun to relax substantially. In fact, as Hazel Dicken-Garcia wrote in *Nineteenth Century Journalistic Values*, the news story "unabashedly celebrated individuals, ordinary and not-so ordinary."[35]

Press Recognition Offers "the Highest Public Honor"

In fact, the human interest article about the unusual and not-so-ordinary became part of the mass press by the mid-19th century. In his first issue of the New York *Herald*, May 6, 1835, James Gordon Bennett had given his front page over almost entirely to a lengthy "Biographical Sketch of Mathias the Prophet," who was an evangelistic crusader against the evils of alcohol.[36] The *New York Review* began its biographical series with "Biography of Great Men" in 1842.[37]

Dicken-Garcia quotes one 1858 newspaper editor who said recognition in the public press had become "the highest public honor." Samuel Bowles II, editor of the *Springfield Republican*, explained, "The ribbons and orders bestowed by royalty are of small account compared with the fame created by the newspaper press for him who conceives a great thought, or does a brave or noble deed. The press carries his name on the wings of the wind to every land, and makes it a household word."[38]

After the Civil War, editor Charles Dana published stories which were written for emotional impact, sometimes about events with little significance, yet the stories told of the unusual, including unusual individuals.[39] He said in his first editorial (1868) that the *Sun* would present "a daily photograph of the whole world's doings in the most luminous and lively manner" and that the staff would try to present that photograph of

life of the people of New York.[40] This penny newspaper thus began giving public attention to persons lacking in social standing[41] in a society diverse in social composition as well as ideas.[42]

Heroes Grow from Humble Roots

At the same time, news features recognized and emphasized a person's ascendancy from nothing to an acknowledged successful status, as illustrated in articles about of the "log cabin" campaign of 1840, when both William Henry Harrison, campaigning for president, and Abraham Lincoln for the Illinois House of Representatives, had public images of humble underdogs and outsiders.

Elitism was no longer heroic; meritocracy was highlighted, despite human fragilities. *The New York Times*, for example, published a 1851 feature that quoted an "original letter of Daniel Boone," which pointed out its defective spelling and said "and that is a small matter in regard to one who was the pioneer in winning the rich domain of Kentucky."[43] And while Horace Greeley wrote that "fame is a vapor; popularity an accident,"[44] he, like so many subsequent penny press publishers, emphasized those who rose from humble beginnings because of hard work, rather than their genius.

By the latter half of the 19th century, the human interest article began telling about romantic incidents and treating them symbolically. In a "Portrait of Pocahontas," a reference to the donation of a portrait of Pocahontas to the State Library of Virginia, the article points out an elitism in connection with this woman, "many of the leading Virginia families trace their origin" to the "Indian Princess Pocahontas."[45]

By the end of the century, public reenactments took place of historical heroic events, such as Paul Revere's ride. As *The New York Times* promised, "along the route illuminations and fireworks will light up the road...salutes will be fired."[46] The stories became accounts not just of particular individuals, but referred to the lives and manners of the rising commercial class in a Victorian era in contrast.[47] By emphasizing ordinary people, a type of egalitarian hero was created. Even in references to former luminaries, such as Paul Revere, the late century interpretation and emphasis was not on the courageous patriot, but on Revere as a businessman, "he had an organizing brain, ... unfailing energy and remarkable executive ability," explained *The New York Times.*[48]

The critics of the era argued that the press was too quick to "lavish printed praises" on those individuals who might not be worthy of such

praise, thus insulting society by making heroes and geniuses out of ordinary people.[49] An example of such an emphasis is found in the March 1899 issue of *Century Magazine*, which elevated the status of railroad worker to hero. "The heroic acts of railroad men can best be understood and appreciated by showing their analogy to the heroism of soldiers," the article explained. "There are performed in the yards and on the roads every day quiet, unconscious acts of heroism that are never known to the outside."[50]

During the century's last decades, news features in Joseph Pulitzer's newspapers about individual political candidates focused on "details the average man would have noticed."[51] *Century Magazine* published "Everyday Heroism."[52] As one anonymous author ruminated critically in the *North American Review* in 1890, heroes were not "born as poets and warriors," but were "made to order" to "electrify the unreasoning and irresponsible mob."[53]

Heroes could also "electrify" the imagination about America's wilderness, as did one 1879 feature on the Lewis and Clark expedition. The *Times* feature appeared upon the death of York, the former slave who accompanied the group. This *Times* account uses anecdotes about the explorers to point out their ruggedness and resourcefulness, as when Captain Lewis was chased by a grizzly bear to a river.[54]

Personal Interviews Add Human Interest

The news technique of the personal interview also enriched the impact of the increasingly popular human interest article. With an increasing reliance on the interview technique after the Civil War, individuals' "conversations" became insightful news features. Yet, as Michael Schudson points out, the interview as a form of social interaction and an egalitarian relationship balanced the interviewee's vulnerability to public exposure with his need for public recognition, thereby increasing the journalist's control over both.[55]

For example, Horace Greeley printed in the New York *Tribune* his conversation with Brigham Young, and the New York *Herald* printed a conversation with John Brown from his jail.[56] The interview technique gave news features direct quotations from "public men" and highlighted individual Americans based on their own words and their own views about themselves.[57]

By the century's end, heroes could be created, not just discovered. The storytelling far outweighed the virtues of the hero, as Cooley noticed.

It was not that the hero's exploits and actions were newsworthy, but the motivations became important. The press now included what drove these individuals as well as other aspects ignored by the earlier biographical accounts.

Heroes became not only performers of great, courageous acts and shining examples of ideal societal values,[58] but they became symbols of society's tendencies. Drawing heavily on Emerson's ideas about self improvement, Cooley pointed out that heroes could not only be exploited by their admirers as moral examples, but they might also be a mirror through which society grows more conscious of itself.[59]

The press helped. By the 1890s, the mass media had become much more conscious of then-existing society.[60] Dicken-Garcia noted that the "personals," those tidbits about the rich and famous, appeared right along with the significant space in newspapers devoted to financial news and in magazines.[61] Heroes were spontaneous products of the psyche, according to Otto Rank in 1909.[62] Forty years later, Joseph Campbell placed heroes as public moral exemplars, as examples of struggle and then success.

Using religion, folktale and mythology, from varied cultures throughout the ages, Campbell paralleled the myth stages during the heroes' lives and his "monomyth" gave a series of commonalities in the adventure of the hero to victory:

> The standard path of the mythological adventure of the hero is a magnification of the formula represented in the rites of passage: separation — initiation — return.[63]

By returning, the hero becomes an example as well as a symbol of possible success for others. The news feature could recount that heroic separation, that unusual struggle and those many possibilities in the story-telling saga.

The Horatio Alger theme, an American well-known myth of rugged individualism and moral fiber found in dime novels, appeared in human interest verbal portraits of successful business leaders as heroes, even if some were flawed.[64] The everyman could become a hero via business success.[65] This pattern created endless democratic possibilities for white males decades later. For example, when Bruce Barton died in 1967, his obituary recounted his life as "legendary in the best Horatio Alger sense."[66]

Magazines Emphasize Individualism

As magazine numbers grew from 575 periodicals in 1860 to 5,100 by 1895, their features emphasized staunch individuals, for the most part men of power and personal fame. These were men who used their talents and dominant personality traits to succeed in America. The articles told of individuals who mastered the new technologies, created the industries, and explored uncharted regions.[67]

Feature articles became more important to the daily newspaper space-wise and offered newspapers a chance for an individual stamp of identity.[68] While the spread of the wire services gave a uniform quality to the news columns, the features became an important distinguishing factor among American newspapers. In addition, as America gave up its traditional rural lifestyle and looked to the cities for leadership in every aspect of society, newspaper features filled the gap after "the passing of... quiet habits, leisurely pace and elevated standards," according to Simon Michael Bessie.[69] In the major cities, "yellow journalism," what H.L. Mencken called "ignorant, partisan and puerile,"[70] had taken hold.

Part of Joseph Pulitzer's New York City commercial success was not just his emphasis on sensational stories, but also human interest features. Writers such as Elizabeth Cochrane, known as Nellie Bly, became journalism celebrities, a type of adventure hero, by doing the unusual, such as feigning insanity in order to write about asylum conditions or attempting to beat Jules Verne's fictional *Around the World in 80 Days*. Other newspapers copied Pulitzer's formulas and published more reader-pulling types of features, which increased circulations to unprecedented heights.[71]

Muckrakers Uncover Anti-Heroes

Journalism by the dawn of the 20th century was not lacking in serious content. The muckrakers "saw a nation that would have sorely shocked the founding fathers" and went about the business of exposing corruption.[72] They wrote human interest portraits, but emphasized anti-heroes who failed the public trust through greed and selfishness. Louis Filler called muckraking a "literary" form of news story telling, rather than "yellow." In fact, many of the muckrakers began as novelists, scholars or politicians who were drawn to the task because of the "public's lust for information."[73]

McClure's, *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's* and others crusaded against big business corruption and urged social reform. They put human faces and

names on capitalist evils. In *McClure's,* Ida Tarbell wrote about the business practices of John D. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Company, while in his Chicago *American* editorial column, Charles Edward Russell decried the Rockefeller "monster" trust as "the dominating force in the United States." Russell called Rockefeller a genius, but argued that the workers should own the country's "natural wealth.[74]

In *Cosmopolitan,* David Graham Phillips denounced those "bought" senators in his "Treason of the Senate"[75] and Wallace Irwin exposed higher education in his series, "The Shame of the Colleges."[76] Newspapers headlined the muckrakers' allegations.[77] News features now pointed out the flaws of contemporary man and institutions—true heroes were those who brought collective societal action and justice, such as reformer politicians, victims and survivors.

During this century's early decades the hero was the ordinary individual, many times previously unknown, but exemplary by deeds in many professions and in many regions. The "label" of hero was used extensively. Professions, not just the railway engineers,[78] were singled out as heroic: the engine room operator, the school teacher, the telegraph operator, the sailor.[79] Regions had their own designated heroes, and one writer specialized in such features from Spirit Lake, Iowa, and Lake Shetek, Minnesota.[80]

One businessman helped with monetary awards. From 1905 to 1968, the Andrew Carnegie Hero Fund called attention to those North Americans who saved a human life in peaceful pursuits. Over 100 individuals were rewarded yearly for courage and rescue in drowning, shipwreck, coal mine, fire and runaway horse accidents. The criteria was that a person voluntarily risk his or her life.[81] The stories about these previously unknown individuals merited journalism features. Magazines featured the Carnegie "accidental" heroes,[82] whether on the Titanic, for saving a friend, for stopping forest fires, or from rescuing someone who was drowning.[83]

A Nation Teeming With Heroes

So many people were being designated as heroes that by 1913, *Living Age* magazine asked, "Is Heroism Increasing?" and pointed out that the "papers lately teemed with accidents .. . A dramatic demand has been made upon human daring, and it has been satisfied in measure which makes it difficult to deny that heroism is on the increase."[84] Another feature asked in 1912, "Is War Essential to Heroism?"[85] During World War I, the mass media highlighted those ordinary soldiers who performed

extraordinary, courageous feats, not necessarily the generals, as highlighted during the Civil War and afterwards.[86]

By the 1920s, the organizational man was among the heroic figures.[87] Reflecting upon a noblesse oblige of the early 20th century, historian Dixon Wecter wrote that Americans still required unselfish service of heroes, but refused to take too seriously any living heroes. A strong man became suspect in a democratic society, where there was so much respect for the underdog.[88]

Societal values became news feature values. While the earliest journalism textbooks recognized the news feature as "semi-news or a wholly imaginative production, devoted to a subject of popular interests," early journalism professors Walter Williams and Frank L. Martin wrote about the mass allure for the human interest connection as "those incidents, sayings or doings of persons which arouse a common interest in people as a whole."[89] They defined those stories with audience interest: "No matter how commonplace the incident or happening on which the story is based may be, if it contains human interest, it will have a particular hold on the readers."[90] The appeal would be to the readers' emotions, sympathy and sense of humor and would offer "an opportunity for comment that [did] not exist in an ordinary news story."[91]

Tabloids Foster Celebrity Journalism

The tabloid press in the 1920s continued the trend toward democratization of the hero. The news was tailored to fit mass tastes with increasing emphasis on sensationalism, features and sports.[92] This "Golden Era of Sports" included Grantland Rice writing features about Jim Thorpe, Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey, who became types of heroes with all the weaknesses of the common man, but with unusual physical talents.

The amusement-driven press emphasized personalities, including now many women, including film stars Mary Pickford and the sensational beauty Peaches Browning.[93] Media historian Simon Bessie referred to survival as making a short-term hero. He noted that for two weeks in 1925, the saga of Floyd Collins, a man imprisoned during a landslide in a Kentucky cave, made the front page in virtually every major newspaper in the nation. Collins helped to sustain a news story. Later, when more than 50 men were killed in a North Carolina mine, the Collins incident was barely mentioned in the press.[94] Collins' feat was newsworthy, but bumped by more newsworthy events.

By the end of the jazz era, the hero was Charles Lindbergh. His daring air flight captured the country's imagination through hundreds of news features about an "ordinary" midwest lad who defied physical endurance by completing a solo flight to Paris in 1927. Later, the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby in the 1930s served as "material for thousands of pages of features."[95] The known, the famed, remained newsworthy. In fact, the *New Yorker* began carrying definitive character sketches, known as "profiles," by the early 1930s.[96]

The tabloid press demonstrated to the mainstream newspapers that it was profitable to concentrate on a single story, "playing it up until the last drop of interest had been drained," according to historian Frank Luther Mott.[97] A trivial story, if it contained strong human elements and certainly the "hero" label, could bump more substantive news, even spot news, off the front page.[98] The designation of a hero meant a series of stories to explain not only how that person was distinguished from others, but the person's background, motivations, and impact. The use of illustrations, photographs, rotogravure sections with the accompanying features, personality profiles and "brights" all competed with radio broadcasting in the 1930s.

Journalism textbooks, such as Curtis MacDougall's *Interpretative Reporting* (1938), asked for features with "human interest" and "personality interviews" of those celebrities and persons prominent in the news. Such interpretation melted the differences between people who became known by the mere fact of being covered and the people who were traditional heroes.[99] And, decades later, reporting guides, such as *Fundamentals of News Reporting*, had chapters called "Humanizing the News" which suggested and even urged topics to interest people, such as "hero-worship."[100]

Contemporary Hero Worship

Today, the mass media offer human interest features with the term "hero" applied rather loosely. News magazines such as *Time* have long-running "newsmaker" features. *People* and *Sports Illustrated* include snippets about the knowns of the week.[101] Gender is important and *The New York Times Magazine* devoted its November 24, 1996, edition to "Heroine Worship" and defined heroine as an "icon," an individual reduced to a name, a face and an idea."[102] In a snippet, the *Times* pointed out that American presidents have become antiheroes but that South Africa President Nelson Mandela is "not just an awesome hero on a

pedestal."[103] Television features, such as "20-20," create instances of becoming known immediately, instant celebrities. *Mother Jones* asked for nominations for "Unsung Heroes," the "unknowns" who should be recognized.[104]

With so much news coverage, the "known" and the genuine hero have meshed and belittle the hero designation. The mass media still tell about the "every person," who shows startling genius, or remarkable courage, or who takes unimagined risks and meets unusual challenges. The business person who conquers new technologies or saves a major industry garners public admiration because of a societal need for role models who cope with life's complexities.

In an era of instant or "live" broadcast coverage, an unknown may also truly be an instant hero for a single deed: a firefighter carries out a dying baby, an airline passenger saves the injured after a plane crash, or a nurse races through a falling building to comfort a bomb victim. Rather than "deeds," their one deed is enough.

Unlike Boorstin's argument, no publicity agent builds their reputations. Their exemplary responses to such unusual challenges startle and fascinate as the public watch on international television. Without being identified so much by name as by deed, their heroic actions linger and they are revered. This type of hero represents goodness and the possibility of greatness for "every person."

Creating the Nation's Mythology

The American hero as part of the nation's myth and ritual proves the likelihood of a democratic hero, more inclusive by race and gender. In the paradox of ideal egalitarianism, the democratic hero is admired despite being less than perfect, despite being as flawed as the Greek gods and goddesses. A democratic society needs to recognize the unusual among the usual, needs to believe in heroic possibilities. Such a hero holds the promise for "everyman," for every doer of great deeds, hard work, and significant talent. The news article as a human interest story helps make it possible. To be of human interest, there has to be hype, a story told about the hero. While the early biographical accounts gave the nation an identity, the late 19th century's mass media hero reports offered possible identification, as well as comfort in a complex and anxious society. A hero designation was useful to both society at large as well as a mass media becoming more mass through its feature articles.

Endnotes

[1] Joan Fayer. "Are Heroes Always Men?" *American Heroes in a Media Age*, (Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press Inc., 1994), 24. Fayer explains that the hero is predominately a male domain, the female heroine is not functionally equivalent and the female hero has received little attention. And the change in non sexist language has done little to change the situation. See Miller and Swift, *The Handbook of Nonsexist Language* (1980). See pages 24, 35.

[2] This article argues that the "story," i.e., news story, means story telling as a type of news feature and recognizes the argument to the contrary among journalists and journalism professors. Frederic Hudson points to how James Gordon Bennett "made each article and each paragraph tell its own story." Hudson, *Journalism in America, From 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1872), 467.

[3] Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson, *Reading the News: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 6.

[4] Peter Dahlgren is quoted in chapter 5, "newspaper and Magazines," in *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*, Theories and Methods, John Storey, ed. (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 75-92.

[5] John Hartley, *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture* (London, et al.: Arnold, 1996), 83.

[6] The lack of women heroes was pointed. Right after the Revolution Ladies Magazine made their public status all too clear," We have no occasion for the service of the ladies at present... . I would not look upon them as warriors and heroines; but as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters." See Ladies Magazine (April 1793): 216, as quoted by Karen List, "The Media and the Depiction of Women," in *The Significance of the Media in American History* (1994), James D. Starrt and William David Sloan, eds.

[7] For discussions about the women and hero status and worship in America, see in addition to Joan Fayer, "Are Heroes Always Men?" in *American Heroes in a Media Age*, 24, see Dixon Wecter, The Hero in America (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1941), 476 + and Janice Hume, "Defining the Historic American Heroine: Changing Characteristics of Heroic Women in Nineteenth Century Media," *Journal of Popular Culture* 31:1 (Summer 1997, 1-23.)

[8] See Richard Brookhiser, "A Man on Horseback," based upon his new book, *Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington* (New York: the Free Press, 1996), *Atlantic Monthly* 277: 1 (January 1996): 50 64.

[9] See, for example, the 1997 responses to *John Wayne's America: The Politics of Celebrity* by Garry Wills (1997). Wills tries to combine the hero with the celebrity (Boorstin's The Image) with a larger meaning based upon the myth of the frontier and the politics of gender (masculine), of ideology (patriotism), of character (self-reliance), and of responsibility. See too "The Making of a Myth Who Rode Into the Sunset" by Michiko Katutani, 25 February 1997, *The New York Times*. Also, "The First Action Hero, John Wayne's America," by Molly Haskell in *New York Times Book Review*, 23 March 1997, 13-14.

[10] For a discussion of the evolution of the European hero as "great man," see 19th century Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: On Heroes, Hero Worship and The Heroic in History* (University of California at Berkeley, 1933 reprint of 1840), a compilation of Carlyle's 1840 lectures in London. Carlyle argued that every advance of humanity has been due to individuals gifted in mind and character. He traced hero worship back to paganism and the personification of nature into hero gods and followed through history as the hero became a god-inspired prophet, a poet, a reformer, a man of letters and a king/ ruler.

Leo Lowenthal's "Biographies in Popular Magazines," in *American Social Problems*, ed. William Peterson (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1956), 1, examines biographies the first forty years of the twentieth century to see the kinds of professional heroes featured.

Other scholars include Orrin E. Klapp's *Symbolic Leaders, Public Dramas and Public Men* (1964); "Hero Worship in America," *American Sociological Review* XIV (February 1949): 53-62; Sidney Hook's *The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility* (New York: John Davy Co., 1943); and Gerald W. Johnson's *America-Watching: Perspectives on the Course of An Incredible Century* (Owing Mills, MD: Stemmer House Publishers, 1976). See too Everette E. Dennis's "The Popular Culture Perspective, Images and heroes in Popular Culture" in *The Media Society* (1978), 54-58.

[11] Marshall Fishwick, *American Heroes: Myth and Reality* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954), 4.

[12] As a micro-study, see Everette E. Dennis on one intellectual "hero" in "Post-Mortem on McLuhan: A Public Figure's Emergence and Decline As Seen in Popular Magazines," *Mass Communication Review* (April 1974): 31-40.

[13] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image; Or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Athenaeum, 1962), 48.

[14] Ibid., 49.

[15] Ibid., 61.

[16] Joshua Gamson, "The Assembly Line of Greatness: Celebrity in Twentieth Century America," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 9 (1992): 1-24.

[17] Boorstin, *The Image*, 47.

[18] See Theodore P. Greene's reference in *America's Heroes, The Changing Models of Success in American Magazines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 38.

[19] Ibid, 41.

[20] Neal L. Edgar, *A History and Bibliography of American Magazines, 1810 1820*,(Metuchen, N.J.:, 1975), 31.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, 46.

[23] Ibid, 42.

[24] *Columbia Magazine* II, 3, as found in Green, 39.

[25] William David Sloan, James D. Startt, *Media in America: A History* 2nd Ed.(Northport, AL: Vision Press, 1992), p. 264.

[26] n.a. "Lady Washington," *American Magazine of Useful Knowledge* I (January 1835):227; n.a., "Sketch of Mrs. John Adams," *The Iris or Library Messenger* I: 1 (December 1840): 88-92.

[27] Catherine Allan, "Martha Washington," *Peterson's Magazine* XVIII (July 1850): 17-19; n.a., "Mrs. Abigail Adams," *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book* XLV (December 1852): 504-505.

[28] Ibid. and fn 22. As an example, see Charles Francis Adams, "Mrs. Abigail Adams," *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans with Biographical Sketches in Four Volumes*, Vol. IV (Philadelphia, James B. Longacre, New York, James Herring, 1839), 31 - 40 as well as Volume I (1834) with "Mrs. Martha Washington," 29-38.

[29] See, for example, n.a. "Heroes of the American Revolution," *Pioneer* 4 (1854): 321.

[30] Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 427.

[31] Frank M. O'Brien, *The Story of The Sun* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918), 322.

[32] Janet E. Steele, *The Sun Shines for All* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 222-223.

[33] *New York Times Index*, September 1851 - September 1852 (New York Times Company, 1967), 266.

[34] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Heroism," in Essays, First Series, reprinted in *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1971).

[35] Hazel Dicken Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 91.

[36] Oliver Carlson, *The Man Who Made News, A Biography of James Gordon Bennett*, 1795 1872 (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942), 126.

[37] n.a., "Biography of Great men," *New York Review* (October 1842): 348.

[38] Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in the Nineteenth-Century*, 46.

[39] Sloan and Startt, *Media in America*, p. 212.

[40] Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America, An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 8th ed. (Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), 148.

[41] Dicken Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, 45.

[42] Ibid, 23.

[43] "Original Letter of Daniel Boone," *The New York Times* (28 November 1851), 1.

[44] Horace Greeley, *The Autobiography of Horace Greeley or Recollections of a Busy Life to Which Are Added Miscellaneous Essays and Papers* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1872), 143.

[45] n.a., "Portrait of Pocahontas," *The New York Times* (9 May 1874): 6.

[46] n.a., "Paul Revere's Ride Over Again," *The New York Times* (17 April 1894): 1.

[47] Ibid, 84.

[48] n.a., "Paul Revere's Bell Foundry," *The New York Times* (30 April 1881), 2.

[49] Dicken Garcia, *Journalistic Standards,* 189.

[50] Charles De Lano Hine and G. Kobbe, "Heroes of the Railway Service," *The Century Magazine* 57:35 (March 1899), 653.

[51] George Juergens, *Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World,* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), 60.

[52] G. Kobbe, "Every-day Heroism" *Century Magazine* 55:33 (January 1898): 400-406.

[53] "Heroes to Order," *The North American Review* 144 (1890), 507.

[54] "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," *The New York Times* (5 January 1879): 8.

[55] Michael Schudson, "Question Authority: A History of the News Interview in American Journalism, 1860s - 1930s," *Media, Culture & Society* 16 (1994): 568.

[56] F.B. Marbut, *News from the Capital: The Story of Washington Reporting* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 134.

[57] Schudson, "Question Authority," 570.

[58] Barry Schwartz, "Emerson, Cooley and the American Heroic Vision," in *Symbolic Interaction,* 8:1 (Spring 1985), 103 119.

[59] Ibid.

[60] n.a., "American Millionaires," *Electic Magazine* 100 (1886): 252.

[61] Dicken Garcia, *Journalistic Standards,* 91.

[62] Otto Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero and Other Writings* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964 reprint of the 1909 ed).

[63] Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With A Thousand Faces* (New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc., 1949), 30.

[64] J. Randolph Cox, "The Heyday of the Dime Novel," *Wilson Library Bulletin* 55 (December 1980): 262-266. Cox wrote about those paper cover books published between 1860 and 1915, "The earliest dime novels were tales of frontier American, but as the cities grew, the frontier hero gave way to the urban detective... . Of whatever genre, the stories themselves were generally patriotic, promoted rugged individualism, and praised moral fiber," 262.

[65] See the series, n.a., "Captain of Industry," *Cosmopolitan* 33, (1902): 33-61; 153-72; 284-304; 407-423; 526-544; 641-656. Vol. 34 (1903): 85-00; 163-179; 339-345; 368-376; 589-596; 699-704. Vol. 35 (1904): 85-61; 207-216; 333-340; 408-413; 589-591; 644-650. Vol. 36 (1905): 59-64; 176-183; 189-298; 479-487; 532-558.

[66] Warren I. Sussman, "Culture Heroes: Ford, Barton, Ruth," in *Culture as History, the Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 123.

[67] Greene points out that the business professionals and those leaders in the fine arts led the pack, see America's Heroes, 59 168.

[68] Simon Michael Bessie. *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspapers,* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1938), 46.

[69] Ibid, 29.

[70] Fenwick Anderson, ed., *Quotations from Chairman Mencken* (Urbana, Ill., 1974), 16.

[71] Emery and Emery, *The Press and America,* 174-6.

[72] Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers: New and Enlarged Edition of Crusaders for American Liberalism.* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1950 reprint from 1939), 31.

[73] Ibid, 111.

[74] Robert Miraldi, "Charles Edward Russell: `Chief of the Muckrakers,'" *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs* 150 (April 1995): 5.

[75] Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, 225.

76. Wallace Irwin, "The Shame of the Colleges: Harvard," *Saturday Evening Post* 179:5 (4 August 1906): 4-5, 21.

[77] Miraldi, "Charles Edward Russell," 11.

[78] n.a., "Railway Heroism" *Outlook* 107 (20 August 1914): 1036-7; C.F. Carter, "Railroad Heroes and Such," *Collier's Magazine* 41 (January 2, 1909): 10-11.

[79] Jack Binns, "Hero in the Engine Room," *Outlook* 91 (February 20, 1909): 374-5; E.M. Colson, "Stories of Heroic School-Teachers," *Women's Home Companion* 31: (March 1904): 16; A.W. Rolker, "Heroes of the Telegraph Key," *Everybody's* 21 (December 1909): 759-69; n.a., "Heroes of the Sea," *Harper's Weekly* 54 (15 October 1910): 26.

[80] A.C. Laut, " Heroines of Spirit Lake, Iowa," *Outing Magazine* 51 (March 1908): 686-98; A.C. Laut, "Heroines of Lake Shetak, Minnesota," *Outing Magazine* 51 (June 1908): 271-286.

[81] *Carnegie Hero Fund Trust Annual Report* 1920 (Journal Printing Works, Dunfermline, 1920), 14. The Fund mostly went to men or their widows, with awards amounting from $50 to $10,000. The funding source were U.S. Steel Corporation bonds, set up in 1903.

[82] H.K. Webster, "Just Heroes: How the Carnegie Hero Fund Works in Practice," *American Magazine* 60 (September 1905): 569-75; "Carnegie Hero Fund, First Awards from the Hero Fund," *Independent* 58 (1 June 1905): 1209-1210.

[83] n.a., " Titanic and Its Heroes," *World's Work* 24 (June 1912): 140-143; H. Watterson, "Willing to Die for a Friend," *Century* 82 (July 1911): 454; G. W. Ogden, "World Afire: Heroes in the Burning of the Northwestern Forests," *Everybody's* 23 (December 1910): 754-66; E.M. Colson, "Patient Heroism of the Johnstown Flood," *Women's Home Companion* 31 (June 1904): 8.

[84]"Is Heroism Increasing?" *Living Age* 279 (December 20, 1913): 750-52.

[85] "Is War Essential to Heroism," *Review of Reviews, America* 45 (March 1912): 349-350.

[86] For example, John S.C. Abbott, "Heroic Deed of Heroic Men Series," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* XXX (December 1864):2 on Ambrose Burnside and others; "Heroice Deed of Heroice Men: Seige of Vicksburg," 150-166; Sheridan's Victory of Middletown, 353-360; "Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men: Military Adventures Beyond the Mississippi: Benjamin Bulter," 575-593.

[87] Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America, A Chronicle of Hero Worship* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1941, reprint 1963), 285 338.

[88] Ibid, 13.

[89] Walter Williams and Frank L. Martin, *The Practice of Journalism: A Treatise on Newspaper Making* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens Publishing Co., 1911), 218.

[90] Ibid., 222.

[91] Ibid., 24.

[92] Bessie, *Jazz Journalism*, 47.

[93] Ibid, 232, 235.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid, 703.

[96] William L. Rivers and Alison R. Work, *Free-Lancer and Staff Writer*, Newspaper Features and *Magazine Articles*, 4th ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1986), 247.

[97] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1942), 231.

[98] Ibid., 695 696.

[99] Curtis D. MacDougall, *Interpretative Reporting* 4th ed. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1963 of 1938 ed.): 73, 213, 232 3. MacDougall changed the title of his 1933 text, *Reporting for Beginners*, to *Interpretative Reporting* by 1938. See Betty Houchin Winfield, "FDR Wins and Loses Journalistic Friends in the Rising Age of News Interpretation," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1987): 698-706.

[100] Ralph S. Izard, Hugh N. Culbertson, Donald A. Lambert, *Fundamentals of News Reporting*, 2nd ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1973), 167.

[101] They have successfully increased their circulations to more than 3 million by 1990. Emery and Emery, *The Press and America,* 585.

[102] Holly Brubach, "Heroine Worship, The Age of the Female Icon," *The New York Times Magazine* (24 Nov. 1996), 55.

[103] "Sunday, March 23, 1997, `Executive Mendacity,'" and Anthony Lewis, "Mandela the Pol," *New York Times Magazine* (23 March 1997), pp. 23, 40-45, 52-54, 73, 79.

[104] See 1994 *Mother Jones* issues with pull out tabs, "? Do you know an unsung hero or heroine?" A T shirt will be given and nominees will be "featured" in "Outfront."

Great Ideas

Extra! Extra! Pennsylvania's Tim Hughes Offers Old and Rare Newspapers for Sale

By Michael R. Smith

Yesterday's newspapers tend to stack up at Tim Hughes' North-central Pennsylvania home.

A lot.

He filled his entire basement and a nearby warehouse with stock for his Rare & Early Newspapers business that includes inventory that exceeds half a million newspapers, all genuine, dating from 1537 through 1995.

A hobby that began in 1976 has provided Hughes a spacious home in an exclusive hilltop section of the home of national Little League Baseball— Williamsport, Pennsylvania.

"I thought early newspapers were an undiscovered hobby with prices extremely low, and believing I was entering the market on the ground floor, I started buying newspapers wherever I could find them—mostly through antique-related magazines," said Hughes from his basement office, decorated with photographs from his days as an executive with Little League Baseball. Pictures of Bob Hope and George Bush gaze on the floor-to-ceiling stacks of newspapers, including the full run of the *London Gazette*, the oldest continually published newspaper in the world.

In 1995, he purchased the *London Gazette*, from 1665 to 1985, read the accounts of the Revolutionary War, the Stamp Act, the capture of Captain Kidd, Blackbeard, the coronation and death of every king or queen of Great Britain and the Great Plague.

Holding a copy of the leather-bound copy of the *Gazette*, missing

Michael R. Smith is Associate Professor of Communication Arts at Taylor University in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

the issues that have sold, Hughes explained his philosophy of selling old newspapers.

"I try not to turn over inventory quickly, but rather sell issues more slowly over a long period of time," he said. "I suspect I will have *London Gazettes* still in inventory for another 30 years or so. I know I still have inventory I purchased 15 years ago. This allows me to maximize my profits on each issue."

Pennsylvania Packet worth $50,000

His most valuable newspaper is the *Pennsylvania Packet* from July 8, 1776, a twice-weekly newspaper published in Philadelphia by John Dunlap. This issue, worth about $50,000 to collectors, has the Declaration of Independence printed on page one. Hughes bought the newspaper from Walter Doughtery, a collector who is considered the father of newspaper collecting.

Newspaper collector Tim Hughes shows a copy of the Pennsylvania Packet from July 8, 1776. The issue is worth $50,000 and has the Declaration of Independence printed on page one.

To protect this and other treasures, Hughes had a vault approximately the size of a small bedroom built in his basement. Its walls are masonry block; the ceiling is built of steel and the door is fireproof.

Collectors have tried to buy the *Pennsylvania Packet* newspaper from Hughes but he wouldn't sell. He did, however, part with a July 10, 1776 issue of *The Pennsylvania Journal* with the Declaration of Independence printed on the front page. It sold for $28,500.

Hughes checked on buying insurance for his stock from Lloyd's of London but found the premium too expensive.

1776 Paper Published the Declaration of Independence

While his wife, Christine, wonders about the growing inventory, Hughes said he has had his share of good fortune.

"About 15 years ago I bid on a South Carolina newspaper dated 1776 from a Sotheby's auction," said Hughes. "Not being able to see it in advance, I depended on the lengthy description of the newspaper in the catalog—reference to a few minor battle skirmishes, various ads and so on. The content was rather unexciting, but I won the bid and when I received the newspaper I found page 2 contained a period printing of the Declaration of Independence. To this day I cannot understand how the cataloger could have missed this content. Must never have looked inside!"

Hughes has sold newspapers to more than 3,000 people, but his hard-core customers number about 700. Among them is Herb Pape of Warrenton, Mo., who buys and sells rare papers.

"I think Tim and I are the only ones that do papers full time," Pape said, adding that he sells maps, autographs and letters, including those from Napoleon, Lewis & Clark and Daniel Boone.

"Tim is the best out there in the profession of putting out newspapers," Pape said. "He has some of the best material in the country."

Pape began his business of selling rare papers in the 1960s and sells mostly to institutions, which is Hughes' number one source for collections of old newspapers. As libraries create microfilm copies, they sell their newspaper collections. Despite the shrinking library collections, Hughes said he sells Civil War newspapers for as little as $13 and newspapers from the 1600s for $26.

Collector Newspapers Offer Context

For journalism historians, Hughes said his period collection ac-

counts often provide an oppositional perspective to standard history accounts. Using his 21-inch computer monitor, Hughes can quickly access his inventory. In addition, in 1997 he began a web site: www.rarenewspapers.com. In addition to the Internet, Hughes issues six catalogues a year.

Tim's brother, Brian, is one of two full-time people who organize the inventory and fill orders. The newspapers may be yellow and worn, but Brian Hughes says surprises can be common. "I was searching through some *New York Times* that we received and I found confederate newspapers from toward the end of the war in March 1865," he said, adding that this addition made the purchase more profitable.

For diversion, Hughes enjoys spending time with his wife and son, Ben, 11. He plays a little golf and maintains his connection with Little League as a member of its board of directors. Nonetheless, he says, "Rare newspapers are very much an all-consuming passion."

Great Ideas is designed to showcase new approaches and information about the teaching of media history. Authors of *Great Ideas* should first query the editor with their ideas.

Book Reviews

David Spencer, Book Review Editor

Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content
By David A. Copeland. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997. 388 pp. Cloth, $49.50.

A skeletal history of the pre–Revolutionary War press in the United States: 1) Benjamin Harris publishes a single issue of *Publick Occurrences* 2) John Peter Zenger attacks Governor William Cosby and is acquitted of seditious libel in 1735; 3) the colonial press flourishes by reaching across the Atlantic and bringing back overripe but relevant news; and 4) the press, still flush with the new sense of freedom that Zenger instilled, moves the colonists to revolution, forging in their minds and hearts a new American identity. That done, the press simmered in its staid partisan pot until James Gordon Bennett and his penny press confréres added equal parts of sensationalism, nonpartisanship, and local news, and brought the mixture to a boil.

Anyone who has actually read newspapers between 1690 and 1775 knows that there is more to the period than the above thumbnail, but many historians have difficulty departing from it. Enter David A. Copeland, who has written a detailed and thoughtful revision of the perceived narrative. His *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content* gives flesh to the skeleton like no other book before it. Copeland's thesis is that the standard histories follow a predictable path, leaving out more than they put in, and making assumptions that are incorrect.

To address this dearth of accurate information, Copeland has conducted a massive study, reading and classifying more than 7,000 issues of colonial newspapers. He divides his book into nine chapters, each corresponding to a different theme of news: ships, Native Americans, sensationalism (yes, Bennett did not invent it), crime (ditto), slaves, women, disease, religion, and sundry items. As the author admits, this format is a bit forced, with overlap inevitable between the categories. But the advantage of this method is that it gives readers a detailed discussion of each type of news.

Copeland's chapters on slavery, Native Americans and sensationalism break new ground. His chapter on slavery, a rare examination of race

coverage in the colonial press, gives historians of 19th century abolition examples of 18th century precedents: Like William Lloyd Garrison, his 18th century counterparts used appeals to morality and religion to combat the law of the land. In the chapter on Native Americans, Copeland gives us a rare look into the coverage of Indians, including a fascinating section on a New Hampshire tribe's Declaration of Independence. The Declaration could be read as a parody of Jefferson's but for the fact that it was written in 1775. When Copeland turns his attention to sensationalism, he helpfully reminds us that it did exist in the colonial press. Copeland's news stories record tales of monstrous births, beheaded children, and a woman trying to kill her husband by biting his testicles.

While Copeland's book will be required reading for anyone doing graduate or post-graduate work on the period, its wider use is questionable. First, this is a long book, very text-based, and with less–than–friendly chapter and sub-chapter headings. Second, it is a book for journalism historians, with phrases like, "as Warren Francke pointed out," laced throughout with a clear contrarian agenda: Because the author seeks to redress the historian's emphasis on Zenger and the Revolution, he avoids some topics, which limits the book's usefulness for undergraduates and a wider audience. A discussion of Zenger and how the colonial press became revolutionary could have made the book stronger .

Nonetheless, attention to detail is the book's greatest strength. His discussion of news stories about "Interfeiting," for example, offers readers not only the coverage itself, but a richly detailed backdrop of 18th century crime and society. One wishes, however, that Copeland, one of the leading experts in 18th century journalism, would have cleared away some of the detail to make way for more analysis. For example, Copeland's chapter on disease lists many diseases and the papers' coverage of them, but it does not attempt to find a compelling organizing principle behind this coverage. In the "Cholera Years," Charles Rosenberg looks at the cultural and scientific assumptions underscoring coverage in the 19th century; more of this type of work would have been helpful in explaining Copeland's period. Copeland's best analysis comes in his chapter on religion (one of Copeland's areas of expertise), particularly in his extensive coverage of George Whitefield, a preacher.

Copeland's bibliography is one of the many gems of the book, reflecting his wide reading and concern with cultural, sexual, and racial histories of the period. Scholars conducting research in colonial journalism will find it a valuable resource.

>David T. Z. Mindich, Saint Michael's College

From Grunts to Gigabytes: Communications and Society
By Dan Lacy. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. 193 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

For most historians, the divinity of history is in the details. A writer who offers a survey of communication history from the dawn of speech and language to the computer age in less than 200 pages had better have an ulterior motive. Dan Lacy's intention with this book is to provide a wide public audience with the basics for a discussion on the future of communication policy in this country. With this slim but focused volume, he is saying that history matters in the deliberation of government involvement with the media. Historical insight culled from academic scholarship can be presented in a public forum to help shape the political and administrative decisions on communication for the next century.

For such a purpose the themes of his book are necessarily broad and familiar. The communication system of a society is framed, if not determined, by technology. Communication acts upon both the aggregation and distribution of power in a society. Forms of communication affect our experience of reality and ultimately our sense of withdrawal or participation in the world. Given these conditions, what is the appropriate response of a democratic society to revolutionary change in its communication system?

Lacy looks for direction in the general currents of communication history. The inherent political nature of communication has attracted the intervention of officialdom since the earliest organization of human rule. Much of the history of communication and public policy deals with the issue of control and its circumvention, almost cyclical in terms of political regimes and their societies adjusting to each new technological innovation. In Lacy's view, the rise of democracy shifted the role of government from overt oppression of communication to a more benign strategy of regulation which, Lacy contends, in its ideal form aims at providing ways of achieving equality in a communication system. He draws upon Thomas Jefferson for the goals of the appropriate governmental program: "to keep the flow of information free, to make it available to everyone, and to have the citizenry generally capable of using it."

From these goals the framework of a policy can be forged. Key to the policy is the need to provide citizens access to the resources of communication in society. Where necessary, government should contribute to the superstructure of the communication system, such as supporting the

maintenance of the Worldwide Web, or continuing support for public broadcasting. Perhaps Jefferson's greatest insight, Lacy suggests, was to comprehend the connection between the nation's press and other institutions needed to help it serve a democratic society, such as public education. A comprehensive communication policy involves a concern for the quality of other governmental services, from schools and libraries to post offices.

While history seems to call for some measure of government involvement with the media to develop the potential of a democratic society, there are warnings to be heeded. Some attempts at intervention have been counterproductive, such as the equal-time provision in broadcasting, or short-lived, such as the Fairness Doctrine. Apparently government has been only moderately more successful at engineering virtue into the system than it has been historically in controlling information by suppression.

If the lessons of history are modest, they are nevertheless realistic and thus all the more compelling. No reconfiguration of public policy can match the revolutions that periodically occur in technology. No radical change in the relationship of government to the media is likely to bring forth the democratic millennium. To the contrary, the relative stability of government policy is probably a factor in society's orderly adjustment to change. Lacy argues for amelioration. Perhaps the wisest lesson from the past is that in our quest for a truly enlightened communication system, we are in for the long haul.

>Douglas Birkhead, University of Utah

Great Editorials: Masterpieces of Opinion Writing (2nd edition)

By Wm. David Sloan, Cheryl Watts, and Joanne Sloan, Northport, AL: Vision Press, 1997; xii + 310 pp.; $21.95.

Great Editorials provides a concise introduction to some of the best editorial writing in the history of American journalism. Beginning with the work of Benjamin Franklin in the 1750s and continuing through the work of Paul Greenberg in the 1980s and 1990s, this book contains the best editorials of all types and varieties published in the United States.

The authors have divided the book into three sections: the Partisan Era, 1690-1833; the Popular Era, 1833-1900; and the Professional Era, 1900-Present. Each section contains numerous individual examples by

various people that have won recognition either through their lasting impact or through being recognized by awards such as the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Writing. Individual pieces that are presented include examples such as Thomas Paine's first essay in the *Crisis* series, William Lloyd Garrison's prospectus for *The Liberator*, Frank O'Brien's discussion of the burial of the "Unknown Soldier" in Arlington National Cemetery, and Hazel Brannon Smith's fight against racism in Mississippi.

Besides the individual noteworthy editorials, *Great Editorials* also contains a series of pieces by several writers labeled as "Masters of the Editorial." Included in this list are William Cobbett, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, E. L. Godkin, Lafcadio Hearn, Charles Dana and the staff of the *New York Sun*, Joseph Pulitzer, Henry Watterson, Arthur Brisbane, Frank Cobb, William Allen White, Ben Hur Lampman, and Paul Greenberg. Through these sections, readers are introduced to a group of people who consistently wrote good editorials on a variety of subjects and issues and approached their work from a particular style that distinguished their efforts above the work of others. For example, William Cobbett is described as the master of political attack and several of his criticisms of the Jeffersonian Republicans during the 1790s are included. Charles Dana and his staff at the *New York Sun* are praised for being expert at the "casual essay." Probably one of the most famous editorials ever produced, "Is There a Santa Claus?", is included as one of the examples of their efforts.

Joseph Pulitzer's success came in the area of "editorial crusades," including his leadership in the effort to raise the money for the base for the Statue of Liberty. William Allen White is included because of his use of the "narrative style," shown so beautifully in his salute to his young daughter, "Mary White," who died as the result of a riding accident. Ben Hur Lampman receives praise for writing "editorial poetry" when he dealt with such common topics as the death of personal pets in "Where to Bury a Dog" and "The Cat Can't Come Back."

Along with the wonderful examples of editorial writing which are included in *Great Editorials*, the authors have also furnished well-written introductions which provide a setting for the materials presented. The book begins with a discussion of what constitutes an editorial and what makes a masterful editorial. Each historical section is introduced by a short essay which discusses the overall development of editorial writing in the period being considered. The "Master(s) of the Editorial" are all introduced with a discussion of their journalistic careers as well as their style of editorial writing. And each individual editorial includes a brief

introduction which supplies a context for that particular piece. All of this material helps to create a historical setting for the specific editorials included in the book and thus makes the volume even more useful for readers. *Great Editorials* is an interesting book for anyone interested in the development of editorials or the history of journalism in the United States.

Although primarily designed for classes in editorial writing, the book would be useful in a variety of courses because it provides a good introduction to the history of editorial writing in the United States and the overall context in which it developed. However, beyond the field of journalism history, *Great Editorials* could also be used in other classes. For example, it would be a useful text in English Composition because it introduces the student to a variety of viewpoints, perspectives, and approaches to writing. A United States history survey course would also benefit because the book provides an interesting overview of the day-to-day concerns of people throughout American history. *Great Editorials* is a good introduction to an important subject in journalism history, but it also provides beneficial insight for anyone interested in the historical development of good writing.

>Carol Sue Humphrey, Oklahoma Baptist University

Mass Media and Environmental Conflict: America's Green Crusades

By Mark Neuzil and William Kovarik. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1996. 224 pp. Cloth, $45.95. Paper, $21.95.

Since 1996 the field of environmental communication has burgeoned with new anthologies, new collections and new books. One of the signs of growth is the emergence of histories examining the relationship between the environment and print, telecommunication, and visual journalism. These books include Philip Shabecoff's *A Fierce Green Fire* and Robert Gottlieb's *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement,* both written from a journalistic perspective. In this nascent tradition comes the Neuzil-Kovarik book.

The book resembles Gottlieb's in elevating the story of public health in the United States from an ancillary concern imbedded in the history of labor rights to a central theme in environmental policy. Three of its seven chapters describe the effect of environmental pollutants in the first half of this century. The remainder of the chapters rehearse wildlife and land

issues commonly addressed in earlier histories of the environmental movement. But this book offers a new angle on these old stories, including a discussion of the earliest conflicts and events of environmental history as they have been shaped, formed, related to, reflected, and accelerated by the forces of mass media. As a result the two authors fill a considerable gap by providing a part of the story that conventional historians have either ignored or taken for granted.

In their introduction Neuzil and Kovarik take a theoretical position located midway in that range of social scientific theory, bordered on one hand by consensus theorists and on the other hand by neo-Marxists. They see their intellectual predecessors as comprising such familiar names as Max Weber, Neil Smelser, John Dewey, and more recently, Michael Schudson. Thus their concern is with public opinion, social climate, and the idealogies which emerge from, or influence, that climate. The result often is illuminating, but at times seems simply a reiteration of what we already know: that the media provide for the context of social issues, consolidate opinions, collaborate in power plays, accelerate change, but do not in and of themselves play a powerful, distinctive role that produces unique results. In terms of theory, Neuzil and Koverick's middle road both honors and devalues their subject, and to some degree moderates the effectiveness of their argument.

Each of the chapters of the body of the book, however, presents a different kind of case history, and the virtues of the cases are numerous. Some derive their research base from original sources provided by the authors, while others reference such standard and familiar histories as that of Roderick Nash or William Cronon. A typical chapter tells a complete story from the initial appearance of an issue upon the public scene, such as that of the discovery and exploration of the Yosemite Valley region, to its expected termination, in this case the nationalization of Yosemite as a national park. Within the context of such storytelling appear background sections which illuminate the more material antecedents of the event being described. For example, in the chapter on leaded gasoline a portion of the text is set aside to describe the history of lead poisoning back to Roman times.

Another attractive feature of these chapters is that they build brief explicit links both to the theories which provide their foundations, and to the contemporary issues that are most immediate. The discussion, for instance, over the controversy on nationalizing Western regions includes an incidental reference to more recent sagebrush rebellions and the Wise Use movement.

Other chapters are notable for the "insider" slant upon the issues. The discussion of the Great Alaskan Land Fraud, a controversy that took place during the Taft Administration among Gifford Pinchot, Richard Ballinger, and James Garfield, is told in bewildering detail and with bureaucratic exactitude; yet tucked away within its pages is a discussion of muckraking journalism, in particular the effect of *Collier's*, upon the outcome of the controversy. Such narrative interplay and sophistication makes this book surprisingly interesting to read.

The three most intriguing studies — the ones that show the most involvement by the authors — have to do with early threats from industrial pollution. The first of these exposes the treatment of the women labeled the "radium girls," after the paint they used to illuminate dials and watches, and examines the involvement of Walter Lippmann in collusion with Alice Hamilton (trained in the slums of Hull House under Jane Adams) in bringing media attention to their plight. Another chapter is illuminating for its reproduction of various rationalizations that have recurred since the '20s and into the '80s over the impact of lead on the atmosphere and the citizenry, a controversy in which Walter Lippmann also played an important role. Finally, the story of the disaster at Denora, Pennsylvania, in which several citizens were killed by an inversion over the Monongahela River, leads to a comprehensive study of smoke abatement and pollution efforts during the 1930s in such cities as St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New York, Chicago, and, more recently, Los Angeles. These three chapters provide the most original and gripping of the research narratives in the book.

In several ways, Neuzil and Kovarik's book is a surprise. At first glance it promises what seems to be too much, with a title too encompassing to represent its content. Some of the material has already been worked over, and its ideas about how journalism functions are standard fare. Yet the surprise lies in the obvious devotion and sincere involvement of its authors in bringing the reader's attention to the interplay of environmental conflict and the mass media. Such books can but consolidate the foundation of a relatively new area of research and add to the growing body of knowledge which will eventually produce a mature conception of the relationship between communication, environmental issues, and the public good.

>Christine Oravec, University of Utah

The Mass Media in Canada (2nd edition)

By Mary Vipond. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1992. 206 pp.

Early in 1997, the Canadian government convened a major conference that brought to Ottawa representatives of arts and culture groups concerned about the impact of a recent decision by the World Trade Organization. A preliminary ruling by the world body went against Ottawa's attempt to keep out U.S. split-run magazines which are Canadian versions of American magazines, that include both Canadian content and advertising. The WTO decision was an obvious setback for cultural nationalists who want Canadian advertising dollars to support homegrown publications. The Ottawa conference, a pre-election undertaking by the federal government, was intended to revisit the country's protectionist, cultural initiatives in an age of globalization.

Given the ongoing reappraisal of federal cultural policies as manifested by the Ottawa round table, the second edition of Mary Vipond's book, *The Mass Media in Canada,* published in 1992, remains a highly relevant and useful study. Vipond, a professor of history at Concordia University in Montreal, has relied mainly on secondary sources in her historical assessment of daily newspapers, magazines, movies, radio, and television. In no way has the methodology diminished the importance of her study. Canadian media history has been in great need of a recent, lucid account of the origins and growth of all facets of the communications industry. Vipond has produced a crossover study for scholars, students, and the general reader.

The seven chapters beginning with the opener, "The Rise of the Mass Media", and closing with "The Government and the Mass Media," cover a broad spectrum of salient issues relating to the development of communications in Canada: the role of advertising, the impact of technological change, the effects of American media on Canadian identity, and concentration of ownership. Along the way, the book explains the impact of landmark media studies in Canada including the *Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media* (Davey Committee) in 1970 and the *Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Kent Commission) in 1981.

The final chapter is a thorough examination of the measures that the federal government has taken to protect Canada's cultural industries: ownership regulations, subsidies, tax concessions, and regulation. The publicly-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, whose mandate is to explain Canada to Canadians, has suffered major financial reductions in

its parliamentary appropriation since 1984. Indeed the future role of the CBC, in an age of Death Star satellites, has been brought into question.

Still, Prof. Vipond has explained: "The CBC is Canada's major broadcaster, both in terms of budget and of program development. It is also the greatest factor distinguishing our broadcasting system from the American one." At the same time, "Given the great and complex responsibilities with which it is charged, it is not surprising that the CBC has been subject to numerous criticisms over the years, which have tended to make successive governments cautious and sensitive about its role." In its programming, the CBC "has been faulted simultaneously for both elitism and pandering to the masses."

Contrary to repeated assurances given by the Conservative government at the time, the Free Trade Agreement with the United States which came into effect in 1989 had considerable impact on Canadian culture. Vipond writes that "the FTA contains a clause specifying that the United States may take retaliatory measures in any industry equal to the losses caused by continued Canadian protectionism in cultural industries." Following the WTO ruling on split-run magazines, Canadian nationalists have reason to be somewhat anxious about possible future U.S. initiatives towards Canada.

Vipond's study contains a somewhat pessimistic conclusion: "For those who believe it is important that the Canadian mass media serve mainly as vehicles by which Canadians can share information, attitudes, and ideas with one another, a study of their historical development is discouraging. Whenever economic and technological goals are in conflict with cultural ones, it seems, the former triumph." This backdrop presents a sobering reminder as Canada revisits established practices aimed at cultural protection prior to the next millennium.

>Michael Nolan, University of Western Ontario

Political Commentators in the United States in the 20th Century: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook

By Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997, 424 pp.

Dan Nimmo, visiting scholar at the Department of Political Science, Baylor University, and Chevelle Newsome, Assistant Professor of Communication Studies at California State University, Sacramento, combined their considerable talents to create *Political Commentators in the United*

States in the 20th Century: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook. The book's purpose "is to portray the careers of key political commentators of the era and, through their lives and works, to illustrate the rise and decline of political commentary across the century." Nimmo and Newsome argue that the evolution of political commentary in the 20th century passed through four overlapping phases; a process "of accretion rather than replacement."

The first phase covered approximately 1914 to 1928 and manifested itself in newspapers, then radio and newsreel opinion columns. The essence of this phase was an elite-driven, didactic approach in which both political leaders and columnists "talked down to audiences in a didactic manner." Practitioners included Walter Lippmann, H. V. Kaltenborn and Lowell Thomas.

Phase two ranged roughly from 1929 to 1948. As radio flowered and television began to bud, first-hand, eyewitness reports and commentary established a populist-driven, interpretive approach to the columnist's art, exemplified by Edward R. Murrow and Eric Sevareid.

Nimmo and Newsome's third phase of political commentary evolved from 1949 to 1980 when commentators, especially television commentators, realized they must not only be didactic and interpretive, but also entertaining. They needed "to project an appealing dramatic persona." In other words, performance values counted.

Since 1980, technology, economics, and deregulation have created the opportunistic fourth phase, "an era less of opinion commentary that informs, interprets, even entertains, than opinionated commentary that incites expressive behavior among audiences." Commentators range from the sublime (William F. Buckley, Jr.) to the adversarial (David Brinkley, Ted Koppel) to the stroking (Larry King) to the competitive (John McLaughlin) to the Falstaffian (Rush Limbaugh) to the public floggers (Phil Donahue). Nimmo and Newsome also categorize the different styles political commentators employed, styles dependent upon their purpose. Some, such as George F. Will and Dorothy Thompson, are elites who bestow(ed) their priestly absolutions upon the uninformed masses. Others "wrap[ped] themselves in the cloaks of sages," as exemplified by Walter Lippmann and James Reston. Many commentators claim(ed) insider information from the politically powerful, as did Drew Pearson and as does Cokie Roberts. Still others are "one of us" who gained power and influence by representing the masses, which Lowell Thomas, Walter Winchell and Phil Donahue exploited.

Due to space limitations, Nimmo and Newsome focused on 42 commentators they believed made key contributions "to the development

of political commentary during the 20 century." Each bio-critical essay situates the commentator in his/her historical communication environment, describes the commentator's life, and analyzes the commentator's contributions to political commentary. They suggest, however, reading the entries chronologically according to their four defined evolutionary phases so readers will ascertain for themselves the development of U. S. political commentary.

Political Commentators is indeed a useful source book. Nimmo and Newsome's carefully researched essays present a strong cross-section of some of the most influential commentators of their eras. The well-written essays, while providing critical insights on their subjects' place and role in the evolution of political commentary, are also enjoyable to read. In effect political commentators themselves, Nimmo and Newsome engage the entertainment values they detected in their third and fourth phase subjects and deliver strong storylines in their 8-12 page chapters. Ah, a chance to exploit our students' entertainment-oriented enculturation. I consider this a serious plus, for the book is ideally suited as a lead text or supplemental text for communication classes ranging from history and cultural studies to political reporting, civic journalism, and editorial/media writing.

While Nimmo and Newsome invite readers to absorb the chronological development of political commentary by reading the essays according to the authors' four evolutionary phases, the alphabetical organization of subjects can make this approach a bit irritating. Organizing the entries according to the authors' four phases might perhaps lead readers toward the authors' apparent conclusion that political commentary in the U. S. is suffering a downward spiral. This perspective even led Nimmo and Newsome to declare a *caveat emptor* for contemporary consumers of political commentary: "Heed not only what a commentator says but also what is not said, indeed is impossible to say in light of the commentator's interpretation." But I suspect the authors are more concerned with providing material for readers to engage and discuss than in proving their own position. Thus, the alphabetical presentation of political commentators. Such organization, however, does produce a perhaps unintentional strength. Alphabetizing the subjects juxtaposes commentators from different eras. Thus reading the essays in printed order actually enhances the comparative values of the four evolutionary phases while offering some striking combinations to consider.

Public relations icon Edward L. Bernays, for instance, leads immediately to David Brinkley. Brinkley's post-retirement forays into product

advocacy, though unavailable to Nimmo and Newsome, offer enticing comparisons between two commentators who are perhaps chronologically and idealistically the most distant in the book. Another alphabetical comparison pits Noam Chomsky's Propaganda Model, which claims the media systematically distort the news in the interests of the powerful, against the succeeding essay on George Creel, considered the father of American propaganda commentary and the man whom President Wilson tapped to, in fact, systematically distort the news in the interests of the United States' war efforts. Delightful. Other examples of alphabetical juxtapositioning include John Dewey followed by Phil Donahue, H. V. Kaltenborn succeeded by Larry King, and Rush Limbaugh preceding Walter Lippmann. And what better way to conclude than George Will introducing Walter Winchell.

Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome offer a well-documented, well-written book that fills a useful niche for communication, political science, and cultural studies teachers and scholars. Nicely done.

>David J. Vergobbi, University of Utah

The Reportage of Urban Culture: Robert Park and the Chicago School

By Rolf Lindner, Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 237 pp. Cloth, $54.95.

This book, which appeared originally in German in 1990, is an exploration of the origins of the empirical urban sociology of the famed Chicago School in its Golden Age between 1918 and 1933. It is published in Cambridge University Press' prestigious "Ideas in Context" series, whose purpose is to explore the emergence of intellectual traditions and related new disciplines in the context of their times. Rolf Lindner argues that the theory that the ethnographic approach characteristic of Chicago School sociology was "adopted" from the sister discipline of anthropology is inadequate. Instead, Lindner suggests, its origins are to be found in the urban journalism practiced in late 19th century American cities.

To make this point, he highlights the central role of Robert E. Park in creating urban sociology at the University of Chicago, and attributes Park's unique approach to the years he spent (1887-1898) working as a journalist and editor on big-city newspapers.

On one level, Lindner argues that the field research techniques Park

taught his students were identical to those used by journalists of the day: curiosity, observation, interviewing, notetaking — generally, "seeing life" by "going into the district" and "nosing around." Just as a city editor assigned reporters to "beats," Park had his students examine specific areas of Chicago, or distinctive occupations or ethnic groups. His seminars became in effect editorial meetings, with Park himself as the master craftsman teaching his apprentices (cub reporters) how to do the job. Lindner goes much beyond these rather obvious parallels, however.

The heart of his argument is that the reporter of the late 19th century was a symbol of the transformation of American life. Those who gravitated to the increasingly professionalized calling of journalism were "cultural dissidents," young men (and a few women) of middle-class Anglo-Saxon heritage who were alienated from the moralistic "genteel tradition" of their parents. Their priority was to liberate themselves by experiencing the "Other" by observing, studying and embracing the ever more visible variety of American urban life.

Lindner argues that prior to Park's arrival at Chicago, the sociology department was dominated by a social gospel approach which, while introducing scientific methods to the study of society, did so for the purpose of reform and acculturation. The main focus was on studying the "Big D" problems of urban life — drink, disease, drugs, desertion, delinquency, and disorganization — in order to cure them. Park, however, was not interested in changing the varied groups of people who made up early 20th century American cities; he simply wanted to understand them and their place in society. Thus, Lindner declares that Park's most significant legacy was his anti-reformer attitude, his insistence that reality must be viewed without the moralistic blinkers of the "damn do-gooders."

Lindner believes that the journalistic origins of empirical American sociology have been downplayed in favor of the adoption-from-anthropology thesis because journalism has been viewed by historians of sociology, and even by Park himself, as unscientific and unprestigious. Much of Lindner's emphasis, then, is on the positive qualities of turn-of-the-century journalism, and especially on its characteristics of detached empathy or "disinterested interest," and its appreciation of irony, ambiguity and overlaps. For him, the most important contribution of journalism to Chicago sociology, via Park, was that it broke free from conventional ways of looking at things; it taught ways of seeing behind "the curtain of preconceived opinions." Far from being unsystematic and imprecise, Park's approach — while admittedly more descriptive than theoretical —

was close to our current understanding of scientific objectivity in its emphasis on detachment. This was essential not only for the development of a more scientific sociology but also for a more creative one.

I have some difficulties with the book. Lindner's style of argument is rather circular and repetitive, and some of his references to German social theorists past and present are obscure to the uninitiated. More importantly, he has adopted, apparently unquestioningly, Park's extremely negative view of social-reform-oriented sociologists. His representation of their position, and of their significance to the Chicago School (and subsequent American sociology) is one-sided, and the dichotomy of reformer versus reporter over-exaggerated.

He also misses a rather obvious point in not critically analyzing his own observation that reform-oriented sociology was a more "female" endeavor, often conducted in alliance with women running settlement houses and charitable organizations. Park's strong rejection of this approach in favor of the tougher and more masculine world of the city desk was clearly rooted in gender assumptions which deserve at least some examination.

Although this book is primarily intended as a contribution to the history of sociology, it also offers an exploration and defense of late 19th century urban journalism and its significance in the emergence of intellectual traditions and new disciplines. Lindner's analysis should therefore be of interest to all historians of American journalism.

>Mary Vipond, Concordia University

Street Smarts and Critical Theory: Listening to the Vernacular

By Thomas McLaughlin, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. 182 pp. Cloth, $45. Paper, $17.95.

This volume is a welcome contribution to current debates about the role of cultural criticism in the public sphere. Within the academy these debates have been central to the field of what has come to be known as cultural studies, but the questions raised by these debates have been part of cultural and, specifically, literary-minded criticism for much of this century, both in North America and Europe.

The current version of these questions frequently involves a consideration of the ways in which academic "theory," or rigorously skeptical cultural criticism, might be applied to texts outside the traditional canons

of academic culture, and of the ways in which theory might be used to forge a link between academic criticism and the wider non-academic public discourse on cultural matters. The latter project is very much Thomas McLaughlin's concern in this book, and his discussion of its possibilities is well informed by the many other issues at stake here, specifically the aims of "academic theory" and its situation in a network of institutional and social power from which, in one sense, it can never hope to escape.

The first chapter of McLaughlin's book is an excellent guide to these issues and to the position that he would like to develop. For McLaughlin, following in the footsteps of Raymond Williams, the task of theory or cultural analysis is to uncover the dominant cultural assumptions of a society. Academic criticism, particularly contemporary literary and cultural theory, has often asserted a special privilege in this regard, but this claim has recently come under attack as critics, both sympathetic and hostile, have acknowledged that academic theory often bears a distinctly elitist stamp, even when it is used to address cultural phenomena far removed from mainstream academic curricula. McLaughlin, for his part, does not want to refute this charge; instead, he wants to stand it on its head. If all criticism is enmeshed in a particular social context, then, McLaughlin argues, academic theory might best be thought of as a specific institutional form of cultural criticism, different from but continuous with other forms of cultural criticism in many of its assumptions and methods.

Drawing upon Houston Baker's notion of a vernacular theory as that form of critical discourse which is locally situated, strategic in its aims, and which draws upon the language of the community in which it is grounded, McLaughlin asserts that all cultural criticism, including academic criticism, is vernacular theory, and that academic criticism might learn much from attending to the myriad forms of vernacular theory in the wider culture. Much of the rest of McLaughlin's book is devoted to examining instances of vernacular theory outside the academy.

In the anti-pornography campaigns of the Mississippi Methodist minister Donald Wildmon, for example, McLaughlin finds that, although Wildmon is often regarded in academic discussions as a "redneck, an ignorant provincial," his critique of media culture and the pornography industry is based upon questions about the relations of texts to readers and about the systems of textual circulation that are familiar to any savvy academic theorist. McLaughlin also finds this concern with textual circulation and identity construction in several other fields of vernacular

culture. Chapter 3, for example, is devoted to, 'zines and their wrestling with issues of subcultural formations and their relation to the dominant culture industry, while chapter 5 considers the rhetorical self-awareness of advertising professionals and their often conflicted understandings of consumption and the subject.

Other chapters look at the ways in which non-academic vernacular criticisms address issues often pursued quite differently in academic theory. Chapter 4 of McLaughlin's book is concerned with New Age narratives and the New Age concern with narrative itself while chapter 6 considers the whole language movement in schooling and its affiliation of private language with powerful ideological notions of private ownership. In each of these chapters, McLaughlin's argument is to insist upon the ways that nonacademic vernacular critics "do" theory, and this insistence is essential for the conclusion McLaughlin draws about the ways in which academics, teachers, and theorists need to recognize that students come equipped with considerable powers of cultural analysis, which the academy too often fails to draw upon or develop.

McLaughlin's book is important for everyone who would consider the serious roles that popular culture and popular discourse play in the construction of public attitudes about cultural representation and circulation, but it is also an outstanding demonstration of the ways in which vernacular theory of the academic sort has an important role to play in nonacademic culture.

>Thomas Carmichael, University of Western Ontario

Women in Communication: A Biographical Sourcebook

By Nancy Signorielli, (ed.). Westport, CT. and London: Greenwood Press, 1996, 528 pages, $79.50.

Nancy Signorielli, a Professor of Communication at the University of Delaware, is the intrepid editor of this collection of biographical essays on women who have excelled in the fields of journalism and communication. I write "intrepid" because it must have been no small task to pull together a collection as broad and varied as this one.

It covers the lives and work of women as different and interesting as Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931), African American writer, editor and indomitable champion of racial and sexual equality; Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962), First Lady and self-identified journalist, who was her own best public relations officer; Connie Chung (1946-) and several other

prominent, capable and glamorous TV journalists; Ellen Wartella (1949-), a mass communication expert on media effects on children; Judee K. Burgoon (1948-), a scholar of nonverbal and relational communication; and Sara Miller McCune (1941), who founded Sage Publications, Inc. while still in her twenties. Near the end of the book are briefer entries on other women of note, such as Maurine H. Beasley (1936-), a journalism historian; Lana Rakow (1952-), a scholar of communication, gender and technology; and Karen Tracy (1951-), an expert on discourse in institutions. Most of these women are either American, or have been influential in the communication field in the United States.

If the profiles vary widely, Signorielli's editorial approach to each is consistent, which is to her credit. The main contributors generally address their subject's family background, education, marriage and career, major achievements, the critical response to their subjects' work, and the ways in which these women were able to integrate their personal and professional lives. Those are, Signorielli writes in her introduction, the kinds of questions students often ask when they are assigned to do biographical studies of prominent women in communication. It's an approach that's also very useful for assessing how their subjects juggled their home and work lives.

There are several entries that stand out, and each reader will choose favorites according to her or his own area of interest. As a media historian, I particularly enjoyed, among other contributions, Carol Sue Humphrey's deft treatment of Anne Newport Royall (1769-1854), pioneer travel journalist and acerbic champion of free speech, who was once convicted of being a "common scold" in a Washington, D.C. court. I also appreciated K. Viswanath's solid entry on Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1916-), a pioneer mass communication scholar from Germany, who is well-known internationally for her "spiral of silence" theory, which concerns public opinion and the news media.

These and similar contributions notwithstanding, it is inevitable that there will be gaps and weaknesses in a collection as ambitious as this one, especially since the expertise of the contributors varies as widely as the lives of the women about whom they write. Some entries are uncritical narratives, while others are more scholarly. Several academically immature scholars are too quick to defend their heroines, and some of the more mature ones, while more even-handed, are still more admiring of former mentors than other contributors might be. There are also the inevitable gaps in archival sources in some entries, and in a few others, superficial treatment or even silence about issues in their subject's private

lives, including lesbian relationships, that might help us understand their work a little better.

There will be critics who also will question Signorielli's judgment in her choice of women to include, and, especially, those to omit, regardless of her careful attempts to consult with colleagues in various fields. I found that *Women in Communication* casts too wide a net, or, perhaps, could have been organized differently. Signorielli might better have concentrated on communication scholars, broadly defined, since other editors have already compiled several historical and contemporary studies of prominent women in journalism. Or, failing that, perhaps the entries should have been organized by communication categories under appropriate headings and dates, rather than in strict alphabetical order.

Still, a sourcebook that covers the interests of many different kinds of scholars, one that can provide an initial, one-stop reference for their students, can be very useful in today's academic environment. In recent years, as universities streamline their resources, more and more educators have found themselves in the same departments as colleagues whose expertise has little to do with the media, but concerns interpersonal communication or other areas of academic inquiry. This sourcebook, with all its strengths and weaknesses, will be a useful addition to their resource centers, and to university libraries everywhere.

>Barbara M. Freeman, Carleton University

American Journalism
Department of Communication Studies
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, CA 95819-6070

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 02572
Sacramento, CA

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Summer 1998
Volume 15, Number 3

American Journalism

A Special Issue Devoted to Labor and Newswork 9
Bonnie Brennen, Guest Editor

A Collective Biography of Editors of U.S. Workers' Papers: 1913 & 1925 19
Jon Bekken

Constructing History: Artists, Urban Culture and the Image of Newspapers in 1930s America 41
Hanno Hardt

Bringing Down Giants: Thomas Nast, John Wilson Bengough and the Maturing of Political Cartooning 61
David R. Spencer

Stories of Quitting: Why Did Women Journalists Leave the Newsroom? 89
Linda Steiner

Book Reviews 117

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Summer 1998
Volume 15, Number 3

American Journalism

Editor . . . . . Shirley Biagi
California State University, Sacramento

Book Review Editor . . . . . David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Assistant Editor . . . . . Timi Ross Poeppelman
California State University, Sacramento

Design . . . . . Gwen Amos
California State University, Sacramento

Former Editors . . . . . William David Sloan
University of Alabama

Gary Whitby
East Texas State

John Pauly
Saint Louis University

Wallace B. Eberhard
University of Georgia

1998 American Journalism Historians Association Officers

President	James Startt Valparaiso University
1st Vice President	Eugenia Palmegiano Saint Peter's College
2nd Vice President	William David Sloan University of Alabama
Secretary	Barbara Straus Reed Rutgers University
Treasurer	Dick Scheidenhelm Colorado State University
Historian	Alf Pratte Brigham Young University
Board of Directors	Elizabeth Burt David Copeland John Coward Wallace Eberhard Kathleen Endres John Ferré Tracy Gottlieb Eugenia Palmegiano William David Sloan Jim Startt Rodger Streitmatter Pat Washburn

Definition of History

For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing *but not* necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed NOT in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a unique, significant and time-conditioned human past. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews. The narrative element (with a logical beginning, ending, and thematic unity) should be the core of written, historical submissions offered to create meaning in our lives.

Editorial Purpose

American Journalism publishes articles, book reviews and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history; and new ideas and methods for the teaching of media history.

Copyright

© American Journalism Historians Association 1998. Articles in the journal may be photocopied for use in teaching, research, criticism and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U. S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, including electronic reproduction and/or distribution, users must obtain written permission from the editor.

Submission Guidelines

Authors submitting research manuscripts for publication as articles should send five manuscript copies (including an abstract with each). Manuscripts should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th Edition, and should not exceed the recommended maximum length of 20 pages. Research manuscripts are blind refereed.

Great Ideas is designed to showcase new approaches and information about the teaching of media history. Great Ideas are typically three to six manuscript pages. Authors of Great Ideas should first query the editor.

American Journalism is produced on Macintosh computers using Microsoft Word 6.0.1. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication are asked to submit their work on PC or Macintosh disk, formatted in Microsoft Word 5.0 or 6.0.1.

Send Submissions to . . . . . Professor Shirley Biagi
American Journalism
Communication
Studies Department
6000 J Street
Mendocino 5014
Sacramento, CA
95819-6070
Telephone: (916) 278-5323
E-mail: ajha@csus.edu

Book Reviews . . . . . To review or propose a book review contact:
Professor David Spencer
Graduate School of
Journalism
University of Western
Ontario
London, Ontario
Canada N6A 5B7
E-mail:
dspencer@julian.uwo.ca

Advertising Rates . . . . . Contact the Editor

AJHA Membership & Subscription Rates (yearly) . . . . . AJHA Members: $30
AJHA Student
Members: $15
AJHA Retired Faculty
Members: $15
Libraries
(US & Canada): $30
Libraries (All other
countries): $40
Single copies: $8.50 each

Send AJHA membership and subscription dues and single copy orders to . . . . . Dick Scheidenhelm
AJHA Treasurer
4185 Corriente Place
Boulder, Colorado
80301-1626

A Publication of the American
Journalism Historians Association

Spring 1998
Volumn 15, Number 2

American Journalism

Editor's Note: A Special Issue Devoted to
Labor and Newswork 8

Journalists As Workers: An Introduction 9
Bonnie Brennen, Guest Editor

Call for Manuscripts on Conservative Media 13

A Collective Biography of Editors of U.S. Workers' Papers:
1913 & 1925 19
Jon Bekken

The author systematically explores the relationship between 255 editors of working-class newspapers and rank and file workers.

Constructing History: Artists, Urban Culture and
the Image of Newspapers in 1930s America 41
Hanno Hardt

In an attempt to understand the relationship between art and society, the author examines the visual representations of newspapers in all art mediums and argues that the artistic representation of newspapers demonstrates the role the press played in society.

Bringing Down Giants: Thomas Nast, John Wilson Bengough and the Maturing of Political Cartooning 61
David R. Spencer

The author chronicles how two political cartoonists, Thomas Nast and John Wilson Bengough, were instrumental in exposing corrupt political figures.

Stories of Quitting: Why Did Women Journalists Leave the Newsroom? 89
Linda Steiner

The author investigates the discrimination and poor working conditions that female reporters encountered.

Book Reviews 117

Book Review Editor's Note 117

AM Stereo and the FCC: Case Study of a Marketplace Shibboleth 117
By Mark J. Braun
Reviewed by Bill Knowles

Andrew Olle: A Tribute 119
By Annette Olle and Paul Lyneham
Reviewed by John Tebbutt

The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture and Steel 121
By Paul Krause
Reviewed by Gene Costain

Eye On The Future: Popular Culture Scholarship Into The 21st Century in Honor of Ray B. Browne 123
By Marilyn F. Motz, John G. Nachbar, Michael T. Marsden & Ronald J. Ambrosetti (eds.)
Reviewed by William G. Covington, Jr.

The Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age 124
By Paulette D. Kilmer
Reviewed by Charles E. Clark

Journalistic Advocates and Muckrakers: Three Centuries of Crusading Writers 126
By Edd Applegate
Reviewed by Brian Thornton

Standing Before the Shouting Mob: Lenoir Chambers and Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public-School Integration 128
By Alexander S. Leidholdt
Reviewed by David R. Davies

To Strike at a King: The Turning Point in the McCarthy Witch-Hunts 130
By Michael Ranville
Reviewed by Ross Collins

WCFL: Chicago's Voice of Labor 1926-78 131
By Nathan Godfried
Reviewed by Gene Costain

We Called Each Other Comrade: Charles H. Kerr and Company 133
By Allen Ruff
Editor's Choice
Reviewed by David R. Spencer

Editor's Note

A Special Issue Devoted to Labor and Newswork

This Summer Issue of *American Journalism* offers a special focus on labor and newsworkers, edited by Bonnie Brennen, Assistant Professor at Virginia Commonwealth University. As co-editor, with Hanno Hardt, of *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, Brennen brings valuable expertise to the concept of looking at media history by focusing on media workers as well as media organizations. Brennen's introduction to the Summer Issue follows this brief Editor's Note.

Also, please give your attention to the Call for Papers on Conservative Media on page 13. Articles on conservative media will form the basis for a future special edition of *American Journalism*, to be edited by Rodger Streitmatter. The deadline for submitting manuscripts is February 1, 1999.

As always, I hope you will respond to the contents of the journal, by commenting on topics in this issue or suggesting new ideas and writing to me at the journal's address.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

Journalists As Workers: An Introduction

By Bonnie Brennen, Guest Editor

> History is not inevitably useful. It can bind us or free us. It can destroy compassion by showing us the world through the eyes of the comfortable ... It can oppress any resolve to act by mountains of trivia, by diverting us into intellectual games ... But history can untie our minds, our bodies, our disposition to move ... It can do this by widening our view to include the silent voices of the past, so that we look behind the silence of the present.[1]
>
> Howard Zinn

Assessing the state of historical scholarship in 1970, Howard Zinn laments the adherence to disinterested, objective, and unemotional scholarship, which observes rigid disciplinary boundaries and extends the myth of scientific neutrality. Zinn, who insists that these guidelines are all misdirected, suggests that historians must become socially responsible and do work that is useful and relevant in solving current "critical human problems."

Four years later, James Carey found media historiography an "embarrassment," and called for the creation of cultural history as an alternative to the reigning Whig approach to journalism history. Carey maintained that this progressive approach is an exhausted genre and suggested the recovery of a specific historical consciousness based on the attitudes, emotions, motivations, and expectations of individuals who are involved in historical events.[2]

In the intervening 25 years, social history, labor history, and cultural history have become central to general historiography. Discussions of theory and history abound, and historians not only debate notions of objectivity and scientific neutrality, as well as issues of power and domination, they also discuss the nature of knowledge and the role of the scholar in the production of institutional memory. Oral history has become a

respectable approach for doing history from the bottom up, spawning case studies and life histories, as well as methodological strategies that are explored in books, monographs, articles, and at scholarly conferences.

While some media scholars have begun to address theoretical and conceptual issues related to history, and others now focus on cultural aspects of the communication process, most traditional presentations of journalism history thus far have lagged behind the larger realm of United States historiography. As the new millennium quickly approaches, many press histories that are published, critiqued, and advertised still do not address fundamental questions regarding power, domination, or ideology. The majority of journalism historians continue to frame their inquiries from a progressive (Whig) view of the role of the press in contemporary society. Media historians continue to adhere to rigid disciplinary boundaries and produce institutional press histories that are often augmented with narrowly drawn biographical treatments of famous editors and publishers. These treatments generally are used to support, maintain, and reinforce the status quo, and may be seen to emphasize property and ownership rather than assessing production in terms of labor and newswork.[3]

Michael Schudson's critique of journalism history, in the Autumn 1997 issue of *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly,* is a pointed example of the predominance of traditional constructions of journalism history, as well as the lack of recognition that alternative voices are given in this field. Showcased as the lead article in a special section on journalism history, Schudson describes common troublesome assumptions among contemporary journalism historians, including a belief that the media are always central to the historical process; a fear that commercial economic forces corrupt journalistic practices; and a concern that the end of journalism, as it is now known, is near.[4]

While Schudson's perspective may be critiqued on a variety of levels, what is most relevant to the concerns of this special issue of *American Journalism* is that nowhere in his article is newsworker, or labor history mentioned. It is not that scholars working in labor history are doing it right, or wrong. It is simply that for Schudson (and, unfortunately, too many others) newsworker history does not exist as a meaningful aspect of journalism history. Schudson's slight of labor history is particularly disturbing given that he urges journalism historians to go beyond disciplinary boundaries to embrace larger issues of historical research.

The purpose of this theme issue is not merely to point out the weaknesses of current journalism history scholarship, but instead to bring concerns related to labor and newswork to the forefront. Recognizing that

issues surrounding the uses of technology historically mask persistent underlying questions of power, this issue of *American Journalism* showcases some of the research that is currently being done in media history on issues of labor and newswork.

In the first article of this theme issue, "A Collective Biography of Editors of U.S. Workers' Papers: 1913 &1925," Jon Bekken systematically studies 255 editors of working-class publications. Bekken's research explores the relationship between workers and editors and suggests that, while most editors of working class publications have extensive experience in working-class organizations and are more educated than their rank and file comrades, they maintain regular contact with workers through business meetings and community activities. Overall, Bekken finds that the workers' press not only provides information on labor issues but also reflects the consciousness, activities and experiences of workers.

In "Constructing History: Artists, Urban Culture, and the Image of Newspapers in 1930s America," Hanno Hardt privileges the artistic gaze in an understanding of the relationship between art and society. Hardt, who uses creative thought and artistic expression as documentary evidence, suggests that artists, like newsworkers, record social and cultural practices of modern life and may be seen as critics of cultural change and a burgeoning communication industry. Visual representations of newspapers address the role of the press in contemporary society and ultimately contribute to a cultural history of the media.

David Spencer chronicles the careers of two crusading journalists, Thomas Nast and John Wilson Bengough, whose political cartoons helped to depose corrupt political administrations. In "Bringing Down Giants: Thomas Nast, John Wilson Bengough and the Maturing of Political Cartooning," Spencer suggests that, while the satire of these newsworkers alerts the public to political scandal, Nast and Bengough did not seek personal glory but instead saw their work as integral to the responsibility of the Fourth Estate.

Linda Steiner debunks traditional newsroom folklore, which maintains that women enter journalism primarily for the excitement and social opportunities. In her article "Stories of Quitting: Why Did Women Journalists Leave the Newsroom?" Steiner addresses gender and racial discrimination, poor working conditions, low pay, and other pressures and tensions female newsworkers face in the newsroom. She finds a level of commitment and devotion to the newspaper business which results in their anguish and turmoil when, for a variety of reasons, newspaperwomen are forced to leave their jobs.

Overall, the articles in this theme issue of *American Journalism* represent some of the topics, methodologies, and philosophical perspectives currently being used to explore labor and newswork. What connects them is an emphasis on workers rather than on institutions and a concern with the actual attitudes, expectations, motivations and experiences of the rank and file, whose labor is based upon professional practices primarily created and manufactured by owners and publishers of media institutions.

Endnotes

[1] Howard Zinn, *The Politics of History.* Second Edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970/1990), xi.

[2] James Carey. "The Problem of Journalism History", *Journalism History 1* (Spring 1974): 1, 3-5, 27.

[3] Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds. *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

[4] Michael Schudson. "Toward a Troubleshooting Manual for Journalism History, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74 no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 463-476.

Call for Manuscripts on Conservative Media

American Journalism announces a call for manuscripts on a theme issue focusing on Conservative Media.

The issue will explore the history and achievements of newspapers, magazines, and electronic media that have sought to communicate an overtly conservative point of view.

Media historians have, in recent years, broadened their research agendas to celebrate diversity. Consequently, the body of knowledge that wears the label "media history" has expanded to include studies of the communication networks that have been created by such groups as abolitionists, African Americans, suffragists, gay men and lesbians, Chicanos, Jews, and Native Americans.

One form of diversity that has not been fully explored, however, attempts to maintain the status quo or return to an earlier status. This theme issue seeks to broaden the diversity agenda by encouraging and showcasing scholarship related to the conservative media.

Examples of topics that would be appropriate for publication in this theme issue would be: the history of Know Nothing publications of the mid-19th century, the nativist publications of the late 19th century, or newspapers that sought to uphold segregation in the mid-20th century. Appropriate topics of study related to the electronic media would include Father Charles E. Coughlin or the development of the Christian Broadcasting Network.

Manuscripts, which should follow the *American Journalism* guidelines for submissions, should be sent to Rodger Streitmatter, editor of the theme issue, at the School of Communication, American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave. , NW, Washington, D. C. 20015.

If potential contributors have questions, they may telephone Streitmatter at (202) 885-2057 or contact him by e-mail at rstreit@American.edu.

The deadline for submissions for this theme issue on the conservative media is February 1, 1999.

American Journalism Reviewers

David Abrahamson
Northwestern University

June Adamson
University of Tennessee

Donna Allen
Women's Institute for
Freedom of the Press

Perry Ashley
University of South Carolina

Donald Avery
Penn State University

Gerald Baldasty
University of Washington

Warren "Sandy" Barnard
Indiana State University

Maurine Beasley
University of Maryland

Louise Benjamin
University of Georgia

Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

Douglas Birkhead
University of Utah

Roy Blackwood
Bemidji State University

Margaret Blanchard
University of North Carolina

Patricia Bradley
Temple University

Bonnie Brennen
Virginia Commonwealth University

Michael Bromley
City University, United Kingdom

Joshua Brown
American Social History Project

Pam Brown
Rider University

Elizabeth Burt
University of Hartford

Flora Caldwell
University of Mississippi

James Carey
Columbia University

Jean Chance
University of Florida

Ann Colbert
Indiana-Purdue University

John Coward
University of Tulsa

David Copeland
Emory & Henry College

Ed Cray
University of Southern California

David Davies
University of Southern Mississippi

Donna Dickerson
University of South Florida

Pat Dooley
University of Maine

Ferrell Ervin
Southeast Missouri State University

Fred Fedler
University of Central Florida

Tony Fellow
California State University,
Fullerton

John Ferré
University of Louisville

Jean Folkerts
George Washington University

Robert Fortner
Calvin College

Jim Foust
Bowling Green University

Ralph Frasca
Hofstra University

Brooks Garner
Oklahoma State University

Tracy Gottlieb
Seton Hall University

Karla Gower
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

Paul Grosswiler
University of Maine

Susan Henry
California State University, Northridge

Louise Hermanson
University of South Alabama

Tom Heuterman
Washington State University

Glenn Himebaugh
Middle Tennessee State University

Nathaniel Hong
University of Washington

Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist University

Bill Huntzicker
University of Minnesota

Frankie Hutton
Lehigh University

Terry Hynes
University of Florida

Yung-Ho Im
Pussan University, Korea

Jay Jernigan
Eastern Michigan University

Phil Jeter
Florida A & M University

Tom Johnson
Southern Illinois University

Paula Kassell
New Directions for Women

Beverly Deepe Keever
University of Hawaii

Richard Lentz
Arizona State University

Lawrence Lichty
Northwestern University

Larry Lorenz
Loyola University

Charles Marler
Abilene Christian University

John Marrs
Everett Community College

Maclyn McClary
Humboldt State University

Sheila McIntyre
Harvard University

Floyd McKay
Western Washington University

Joe McKerns
Ohio State University

James McPherson
Washington State University

Beverly Merrick
New Mexico State University

Karen Miller
University of Georgia

David Mindich
Saint Michael's College

Catherine Mitchell
University of North Carolina

James Mooney
East Tennessee State University

Meg Moritz
University of Colorado

Michael Murray
University of Missouri, St. Louis

Orayb Najjar
Northern Illinois University

Richard Nelson
Louisiana State University

Doug Newsom
Texas Christian University

Ron Ostman
Cornell University

Oscar Patterson
Pembroke State University

Daniel Pfaff
Penn State University

Alf Pratte
Brigham Young University

Chuck Rankin
Montana Historical Society

Barbara Reed
Rutgers University

Ford Risley
Penn State University

Kitt Rushing
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

Dick Scheidenhelm
Colorado State University

Michael Schudson
UC San Diego

Norm Sims
University of Massachusetts

David Sloan
University of Alabama

C. Zoe Smith
University of Missouri

F. Leslie Smith
University of Florida

Ted Smythe
California State University, Fullerton

David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Andris Straumanis
University of Minnesota

Rodger Streitmatter
American University

Victoria Sturgeon
Tennessee State University

Leonard Teel
Georgia State University

Joe Trahan
University of Tennessee

Tom Volek
University of Kansas

Pat Washburn
Ohio University

Mary Weston
Northwestern University

Jan Whitt
University of Colorado

Julie Williams
Samford University

Quintus Wilson
University of Utah

Betty Winfield
University of Missouri

A Collective Biography of Editors of U. S. Workers' Papers: 1913 & 1925

by Jon Bekken

This paper presents a collective biography of 255 editors of working-class newspapers from 1913 and 1925. Editors were largely drawn from working-class backgrounds, though tending towards relatively high levels of formal education and long removed from the workplace through union office and substantial editorial careers. However, both institutional and social arrangements helped editors stay in close touch with the lives of the readers they served.

> There are many advantages accruing to the editor of the labor paper which do not fall to the lot of the editor of the capitalistic sheet. The greatest of these is that he is given so much time in which to "edit." No society functions drag him from his desk, and he is rarely placed on the committee which receives the distinguished guest of the city. When John D. decides to make another donation, and then finds it necessary to boost the price of gasoline another cent, it fails to disturb the serenity of the labor editor, because he uses the street car—when he has the price. Another magnificent feature of the life of the labor editor is the beautiful regularity of the irregularity of his income. The editor of the capitalistic sheet must find it

Jon Bekken is a Professor in the Communication and Journalism Department at Suffolk University.

very monotonous going to the self-same window every Saturday night and drawing his two dollars per diem. He is given no opportunity to enjoy the expectant thrills the labor editor feels when he goes to draw his envelope. The odds being ten to one he does not get it, just think how he enjoys that tenth experience. But welcome to the field brother! The life certainly has its compensations. No safety deposit boxes to pay for. Neither gout nor indigestion to fear, and if you do not get into jail there is no reason why you should not have a good time.[1]

George Hodge, editor of Chicago's *Union Labor Advocate,* welcomed a new labor paper with these words. Hodge's *Advocate* was an independent organ–endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor and other labor organizations but privately owned and dependent upon advertising income and individual subscribers to pay the bills.

Ultimately, Hodge lost his labor endorsements when he insisted on publishing advertisements for politicians and non-union firms that violated federation policies. Such an arrangement was typical of many union organs. Union locals and federations endorsed these (usually) privately published newspapers, sometimes subscribing in bulk for their members, leaving control of the business and editorial operations in the publisher's hands.

Some publishers found that labor newspapers could be quite profitable enterprises, particularly for the less scrupulous. Illinois State Federation leader William Pomeroy developed a booming business in the 1890s publishing "official" labor directories, selling the same front-cover advertising space to several different firms.[2] The Chicago labor movement devoted substantial attention over the next three decades to combating "grafting publications." One resolution noted that the privately published *Union Labor Advocate,*

> has been condemned and repudiated by the Chicago Federation of Labor previously for accepting advertisements from enemies of organized labor. A. A. Allen, editor and publisher, has never belonged to any labor union. He is responsible to no organization.[3]

Yet despite their prominence, such grafters were hardly representative of labor editors, few of whom eked out more than the barest living from their

papers, if that. Most labor editors were drawn from the movement's ranks and were closely tied to movement organizations and working-class communities.

Labor Newspapers Unite the Rank-and-File

Labor movements have a long history of efforts to establish their own communications and cultural institutions, dating back some 200 years to William Manning's proposal to found a workers' society. Since the mid-1800s unions and other working-class organizations have established hundreds of newspapers in English, German and other languages to meet their internal communication needs and to bring their views–largely excluded from the commercially sponsored newspapers that even then dominated–before broader publics. During the high tide of American labor radicalism in the early 20th century, hundreds of labor newspapers provided much of the cohesion for labor movements. One American Federation of Labor convention saw "support of the labor press [a]s one of the chief duties of workingmen."[4]

Labor newspapers provided much of the cohesion for working-class movements at the turn of the century, carrying news, ideas and values to the rank and file and to sympathetic readers outside of the movements' ranks. Especially vital were the many weekly and daily newspapers established by immigrant workers' unions, socialist parties and mutual aid societies.

The *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung,* for example, played a central role in sustaining a radical German working-class community and culture in the face of strong resistance. It was seen as a vital community institution which unions willingly taxed themselves to support. John Jentz describes the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the Bakers' Mutual Benefit Society as the central institutions in supporting unionization of bakery workers in the 1880s. Its editors spoke at countless organizing meetings while the paper publicized union meetings, printed inspirational articles about successful unionization efforts in other cities and encouraged other workers to support the bakers' struggles. When the paper faced bankruptcy in 1910, German-speaking unions took formal control and continued daily publication until 1919.[5]

By 1925, a directory of labor newspapers listed 311 labor-related papers: 88 were published by the AFL and its affiliated internationals, 99 by affiliated locals or central labor councils, 34 by independent unions (including the IWW), and the rest by working-class parties and mutual aid societies. (These figures are, of course, incomplete–hundreds of

additional papers were almost certainly issued by union locals and other groupings.)[6]

Although there now exists a growing literature on working-class newspapers, the "dearth of solid research into the operation, content and influence of labor publications" noted 40 years ago largely remains. Studies on the working-class press tend to focus on individual papers and their struggles for survival, neglecting their location within the working class and labor movements, as well as the relationship between individual labor newspapers and the broader media ecologies in which they operated.[7]

Documenting the Labor Press

We have little information about those who wrote for and produced the workers' press, and the extent to which they reflected the backgrounds, situations and ideas of their readers. Biographies exist only for a handful of labor editors,[8] with some additional information available in histories of the immigrant press and the movements of which they were a part.[9] For many workers' papers, even the most basic bibliographic data [editor(s), publisher, circulation, frequency, and dates of publication] remain unavailable or unreliable.

In an effort to illuminate the relationship between editors and the movement rank and file, I have gathered systematic data on a cross-section of editors of working-class publications issued in 1913 and in 1925.[10] These years were selected both for the availability of source materials and because the first three decades of this century marked the high point of labor movement efforts to establish and maintain its own organs of communication.

Because there might well have been substantial differences between editors of local and national publications, a list of Illinois workers' papers (including papers intended for either a local or statewide audience) was also compiled for both years.[11] Illinois was selected as a state with a relatively high concentration of industry and union membership, and with substantial populations of both English- and foreign-language speaking workers that also included a wide variety of industrial settings ranging from mining towns to one of the largest urban centers in the country. Census data confirm that Illinois was a major industrial center during this period, and that nearly half the state's population was either foreign-born or of foreign-born parentage.[12] As such, Illinois is representative of the broader working-class population and its papers.

Two broad categories of working-class newspapers–those issued by unions and by working-class political organizations–were identified and analyzed separately. Editors' names for each paper were compiled from the sources cited above, supplemented by a review of the publications themselves (where available) and by organizational histories and other secondary sources. It proved impossible, however, to identify the editors of 33 papers (of 217) published in 1913 and 29 papers (of 249) published in 1925. Biographical information was compiled on each editor, including date and

TABLE I. All Editors (Combined Years)

Born in US		51%	
Born Abroad (inc. Canada)		49%	(n=183)
Father:	Worker	52%	
	Farmer	15%	
	Middle Class	26%	(n=117)
	Upper	7%	
Education:	0-8 years	40%	
	Secondary	13%	
	Corr. or Night	18%	(n=136)
	College	29%	
Party Aff.:	Socialist	45%	
	Communist	14%	
	Anarchist	8%	
	Democrat	8%	
	Republican	4%	(n=167)
	Socialist Labor	4%	
	Independent & Gen.	10%	
	Other	7%	
Prior Journ. Experience Noted		87	
Prior Office Noted		107	
Present Office Noted		116	
Average Tenure (years)		14	(n=240)
Average Age (years)		41	(n=144)
Starting Age as Editor		32	(n=132)
	Total Editors	255	

Notes: 1) Tables include only editors for whom at least three categories of data were available, and exclude IWW editors because so few could be identified. 2) Education reflects attendance only; many did not graduate. 3) Prior Office and Present Office are raw tallies. This information was not available for many editors. The *n* refers to the number of editors for whom there was an indication of whether they held office. 4) Average tenure represents length of service on that particular paper, not total editorial career.

place of birth, father's occupation, educational and occupational background, political affiliation, prior journalistic experience and length of service.[13] Biographical information was not available for 87 of the 342 editors identified. For many other editors, data were available for only a few categories, most notably length of service.[14]

Who Were the Labor Editors?

Editors of nationally-distributed English-language union papers for both years were primarily men (this study identified just ten women editors, three of whom edited union papers) from working-class families.[15] Their ages ranged from 30 to 72, though most were in their late forties or early fifties. They had little formal education by today's standards (only half ever attended high school), but were better educated than the norm. At a time when only one in 20 U.S. men in their age bracket were high school graduates, nearly a fifth of these labor editors had attended college for a time (often in night schools, after they had begun working).[16] Few were professional journalists, although they had edited their newspapers for an average of nine years, and would edit them, on average, for another nine. Instead, these labor editors were union members with years of experience on the shop floor and in local and national union office.

Typical Labor Editor Began as a Union Worker

Thomas McMahon, editor of the United Textile Workers of America's *Textile Worker,* was in many ways typical of English-language national union editors. Born in Ireland in 1870, he attended school until age 17 (when most of his counterparts in the labor press had already entered the workforce). He then emigrated to the United States, where he found work as a cloth folder. McMahon joined the Knights of Labor in 1889, later becoming active in United Textile Workers (UTWA) local 505. He served as the union's business agent from 1904 until 1912, when he became a national organizer. After nine years in national office, McMahon was elected UTWA president and assumed the editorship of the union's newspaper, a position in which he served for the next 15-1/2 years. A Democrat, McMahon later retired from union office to serve as Rhode Island's Labor Director.[17]

Like McMahon, few editors of the national labor press reported any journalistic experience before becoming editor of their union's paper,

while most had worked in the trade, some for many years. The overwhelming majority of labor editors simultaneously held national office in their unions (usually General Secretary), and a variety of local and/or national positions before becoming editor of their union's newspaper (and the union office that usually accompanied the editorship). Several had held full-time union office for so many years that they identified themselves as "formerly a...," referring to their trades. Nor was their tenure as editor likely to be brief. Although many editors served short terms, the average tenure was still 18 years–a term more likely to end by death in office than by a return to the shop floor. One long-lived editor served for 44 years.

Professional newspapermen such as Ellis Searles of the *United Mine Workers' Journal,* who never worked in a mine or served as a union officer, were rarities. More typical was Lawrence Bland, one of the founders of the streetcar workers union, who served as editor of its newspaper, the *Union Leader,* for 30 years.[18] Even where unions employed full-time editors, they were usually chosen out of the union's ranks and had long experience in the trade. Often they were elected, as was D. Douglas Wilson, a socialist who edited the Machinists' monthly magazine for 20 years, "carefully balancing the *Journal's* function as mouthpiece for the [conservative] national administration and the voice of the rank-and-file."[19]

Local Labor Editors Share Many Characteristics

Editors of local labor papers had similar characteristics. Most had working-class fathers, half were immigrants, several had held union office and were apparently chosen on the basis of their labor movement activities. Others were professional editors with little or no experience in the labor movement, though they had often begun their careers as typographers, with membership in the Typographical Union. These were, by and large, printers who arranged with local unions and trades councils to secure their endorsement (and, sometimes, block subscriptions). Once selected, these printers, like their counterparts in the national labor press, could look forward to an average tenure of 18 years.

This figure may be skewed upward by the inclusion of relatively long-lived papers published by professional newspapermen on behalf of local trades councils, but which sometimes continued years after their official connection with the labor movement had ended. Such arrangements could prove troublesome. During Henry Distelhorst's 27 years as editor and publisher of Quincy's *Labor Advocate,* a competing labor paper

was established and secured the Trades and Labor Assembly endorsement. His *Labor Advocate* became the *Farmer-Labor Journal,* and eventually the Republican *Record.*[20]

Other labor federations owned their own papers and kept them and their editors accountable. Thus, the Chicago Federation of Labor initially established its paper, *The New Majority,* to support efforts to build a labor party; when the CFL changed policies, Robert Buck was forced out as editor. His successor, James Bruck, was a veteran union activist and former editor of the *Butcher Workman.*[21]

Only a handful of unions published foreign-language papers–most notably the Industrial Workers of the World, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, other needle trades unions and the Typographers.[22] These unions had a high proportion of immigrant members and many were under strong socialist influence, reflecting the role socialists played in organizing them and the traditions of the immigrant groups predominant in the clothing and textile industries.

It is not surprising, then, that 93 percent of editors for whom such information is available reported affiliation either with the Socialist (overwhelmingly) or Workers' (Communist) parties.[23] Editors of foreign-language union papers were slightly younger, and their tenure somewhat shorter, than their English-language counterparts, perhaps because many of these papers had been published for only a few years, giving their editors little time to grow old in office. Average tenure for foreign-language editors was also held down by the fact that the needle trades unions discontinued many of these papers during the Depression.

Yet there were significant differences between foreign-language and English-language editors. Editors of the foreign-language press were more likely to come from middle-class or wealthy backgrounds, to have attended college, and to have prior experience as journalists. All were immigrants, and less than half reported having held union office prior to, or while serving as, editor. Very few editors of the needle trades unions' foreign-language press held union office.

Stanislawa Kucharska is representative of these editors. Born in Poland of middle-class parents, he completed college in the United States and worked as a teacher and editor before his activities as a lecturer for the Polish Socialist Alliance brought him to the attention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACWA), who hired him to edit their Polish-language fortnightly *Przemyslowa Democracia* (Industrial Democracy), one of six foreign-language papers published by the ACWA in 1925.[24] In many

cases, particularly for local union organs, these editors continued to work in their trade, as did John Jelinek, editor of the Typographers' Czech-language monthly. Jelinek was a working typographer and an activist in several Czech free-thought societies.[25]

Political Organizations Often Chose Experienced Journalists

Editors chosen by working-class political organizations to edit their publications also were much more likely to be experienced journalists, though ones with proven credentials in the movement. These editors were younger, in their early forties, and better educated than their counterparts in the labor press. Editors of the national English-language working-class political press served shorter tenures, averaging just eight (for 1913) to 12 (for 1925) years, though this may well be a consequence of the higher mortality rate for radical publications. Editors of the more stable foreign-language political press served nearly as long as editors of English-language union papers, and substantially longer than their compatriots editing foreign-language union papers. However, both English- and foreign-language editors carried out a wide range of non-journalistic duties, ranging from speaking at movement events to running the business side of the operation. As one editor lamented,

> The editor of a Croatian immigrants' paper must do everything himself: editing, proofreading, keeping the records of subscribers, procuring advertisers... and attending to hundreds of other things that have no direct bearing on the editing of a newspaper.[26]

Ivan Molek, editor of the Slovene National Benefit Society's daily *Prosveta* (Enlightenment) for 15 years, was in many ways typical of editors of foreign-language political papers. After emigrating to the United States in 1900 to escape unemployment and impending military conscription, Molek labored in factories and mines, studied English and submitted articles on local happenings to the U.S. Slovene press. While working as a miner in Michigan, Molek began publishing satirical sketches in a local Slovene weekly, later becoming editor when his predecessor was discharged for drunkenness. As editor, Molek translated the advertisements (which filled half of the 8-page weekly) into Slovenian, edited the exchanges, proofread the paper, wrote the weekly editorial and assembled two pages of news. He became acquainted with socialism by reading the

Appeal to Reason, which sent copies to editors, hoping that socialist ideas would find their way into the exchange columns, and was soon forced to relinquish his editorship.[27]

TABLE II. Editors Of English-Language Union Papers

		1913		1925	
Born in US		36%		62%	
Born Abroad (inc. Canada)		64%	(n=28)	39%	(n=74)
Father:	Worker	53%		60%	
	Farmer	18%		12%	
	Middle Class	29%	(n=17)	25%	(n=60)
	Upper	–		3%	
Education:	0-8 years	52%		50%	
	Secondary	10%		16%	
	Corr./Night	24%	(n=21)	16%	(n=70)
	College	14%		19%	
Worked in Trade or Industry		30	(n=32)	67	(n=76)
Party Aff.:	Socialist	18%		21%	
	Communist	–		2%	
	Anarchist	–		2%	
	Democrat	24%	(n=17)	25%	(n=44)
	Republican	29%		11%	
	Indep./NonPart.	29%		32%	
	Other	–		7%	
Held Prior Union Office		22	(n=23)	58	(n=64)
Present National Office		32	(n=33)	69	(n=75)
Prior Journ. Exp. Noted		2		14	
Tenure as Editor (years)		18	(n=67)	18	(n=98)
Average Age (years)		47	(n=25)	50	(n=70)
Starting Age as Editor		38	(n=25)	41	(n=66)
	Total	69		105	

Molek went on to work as a Socialist Party organizer and as a subscription agent for a socialist free-thought paper published in Chicago, *Glas Svobode* (Voice of Liberty). He was later hired for $12 a week by the Jugoslav Workmen's Company to edit *Proletarec* until finances forced him and the business manager to forego their salaries. Molek then worked as an English teacher and translator, editing the weekly on the side.

When the Slovene National Benefit Society converted its monthly magazine into a daily newspaper Molek was hired as assistant editor, translating novels for serialization, writing up the foreign news and alternating reading proofs at the print shop and writing the daily editorial with the chief editor (and only other editorial worker). Molek was elected editor-in-chief in 1929, after his predecessor retired, and was repeatedly re-elected even after leaving the Jugoslav Socialist Federation in 1936. When Molek criticized Tito, however, the Society ordered him to open *Prosveta's* columns to those "who consider Russia as the most successful fighter in the battle for humanity... Let there be no longer criticism and bias... against the people's fighters." The struggle continued for several months until Molek resigned after another official rebuke.[28]

Like other editors, Molek was active in community cultural, political and mutual benefit institutions, living out his life largely within the socialist Slovene community. But while his position as editor was influential, Molek learned that he could not impose his views upon the Society through its official organ. The Society demanded that its editor present the majority's views, and enforced its position when necessary.

Most Political Editors Were U. S. Born

Despite popular misconceptions of socialist movements as foreign transplants without roots in American society, some two-thirds of the editors of English-language political papers were born in this country (significantly more than their labor press counterparts). Far fewer were born of working-class parents; more than 40 percent of editors of the national English-language political press had middle or upper class parents. They, too, were overwhelmingly men, but seven of the ten women editors identified fell into this category. In 1913, half the editors of English-language papers published by working-class political organizations had attended college–a figure that rose to 62 percent by 1925 (although many enrolled in college after beginning their movement activities). During the same period, the number who had never attended high school dropped from 33 to 15 percent.

Few English-language socialist papers were under party control in 1913, creating a lack of formal accountability that many found troubling. Daniel DeLeon, editor of the Socialist Labor Party's *Daily People,* denounced privately-published party organs on the grounds that "however well the individual may mean, the cause of the masses is not safe in one man's hands."[29] Yet even so, these papers relied on support from the party and its members to sustain publication. Local papers, in particular, were often formally owned by cooperatives in which party members and local working-class organizations held stock. Formal party control was much more prevalent, though by no means universal, for the foreign-language press. And parties and party-affiliated publishing cooperatives often elected their editors and established formal oversight bodies to hold them accountable.

Immigrant Editors Staff Foreign Language Labor Papers

Editors of foreign-language political papers were, predictably, immigrants, often imported especially for the job. Giuseppe Bertelli, for example, was called from Italy to Philadelphia in 1906 to assume direction of *Il Proletario,* the oldest left-wing Italian-language newspaper in the U.S. Born in 1870 of upper-class parents, Bertelli held a degree in mathematics but had edited Italian socialist newspapers since 1893 alongside his activities as professor and lecturer. Soon after arriving in the U.S. he came into conflict with the syndicalists who controlled *Il Proletario.* Bertelli then moved to Chicago, where he organized Italian socialist sections and launched the weekly *La Parola Dei Socialisti* (later *Parola Del Popolo*). In its early years he wrote almost all the articles while he worked to build a national audience.

Bertelli owned the printing press on which *Parola* was printed, supporting himself by printing the paper and other Italian-language publications. Then in 1913 the Italian Socialist Federation opened its own cooperative printing company and replaced Bertelli as editor. He moved to New York where he started a short-lived socialist daily, returning in 1925 to edit *Parola* for 14 more years.[30] Similarly, Milan Glumac, who edited the Chicago-based *Radnicka Straza,* was sent to the U.S. by the Serbian Social Democratic Party. Glumac's years of experience editing socialist papers were quickly put to use by the Yugoslav Socialist Federation.[31]

While few foreign-language editors owned their own presses, most had attended high school and about a fourth had some college. Most had

worked as manual laborers, but the majority also had prior (and often extensive) journalistic experience. Bertelli was far from alone in being imported to edit workers' publications. It was common practice, particularly among the Finns and Italians, for immigrant socialist federations to bring in editors from the old country to edit their papers.

TABLE III. Editors Of Foreign-Language Union Papers (Combined Years)

		National		State	
Born in US		–		–	
Born Abroad (inc. Canada)		100%	(n=14)	100%	(n=6)
Father:	Worker	46%		33%	
	Farmer	15%		–	
	Middle Class	23%		33%	
	Upper	15%	(n=13)	33%	(n=3)
Education:	0-8 years	36%		80%	
	Secondary	21%		–	
	Corr. or Night	7%		–	
	College	36%	(n=14)	20%	(n=5)
Worked in Trade or Industry		8	(n=12)	3	(n=6)
Party Aff.:	Socialist	86%		–	
	Communist	7%		–	
	Democrat	7%	(n=15)	–	
Held Prior Union Office		8	(n=8)	5	(n=5)
Present National Office		8	(n=8)	5	(n=5)
Prior Journ. Exp. Noted		8	(n=8)	5	(n=5)
Tenure as Editor (years)		16	(n=15)	11	(n=8)
Average Age (years)		46	(n=11)	48	(n=3)
Starting Age as Editor		35	(n=ll)	36	(n=3)
	Total Sample	19		8	

If the papers remained solvent, and if the editors avoided deportation and backed the winning side in factional struggles, these editors could look forward to tenures averaging 16 (1913) to 18 (1925) years. These figures are held down by the large numbers of failed papers, but

still higher than the overall average for all editors who were 14 years in office. Many editors of left-wing foreign-language papers worked for several different papers over the years, such as Carlo Tresca, a prominent figure in the Italian labor and socialist movement. He put in at least 29 years editing various socialist and anarchist papers after emigrating to the U.S. before his career was ended by assassination.[32]

TABLE IV. Editors Of National Foreign-Language Political Papers

		1913		1925	
Born in US		–		–	
Born Abroad (inc. Canada)		100%	(n=17)	100%	(n=30)
Father:	Worker	40%		42%	
	Farmer	–		33%	
	Middle Class	40%		17%	
	Upper	20%	(n=5)	8%	(n=12)
Education:	0-8 years	43%		44%	
	Secondary	7%		13%	
	Corr. or Night	14%		25%	
	College	36%	(n=14)	19%	(n=16)
Worker Prior to Editing		4	(n=7)	11	(n=15)
Party Aff.:	Socialist	59%		32%	
	Communist	–		38%	
	Anarchist	14%		5%	
	Socialist Labor	9%	(n=22)	11%	(n=37)
	General Labor	9%		5%	
	Other	9%		8%	
Held Prior Party Office		6	(n=7)	6	(n=6)
Hold Present Party Office		6	(n=7)	7	(n=8)
Prior Journ. Exp. Noted		16	(n=16)	18	(n=19)
Tenure as Editor (years)		16	(n=22)	18	(n=30)
Average Age (years)		40	(n=14)	40	(n=21)
Starting Age as Editor		30	(n=10)	34	(n=12)
	Total	22		37	

Working-Class Editors Differ From Mainstream Editors

Thus, working-class editors come from backgrounds quite different than editors of weekly reform and mainstream papers published at the

turn of the century. A recent study of these editors found no significant differences between reform and mainstream editors, concluding that "the average 1900 weekly editor in these 21 states... (was) a middle-class American... a white, late (in that day) middle-aged male, who was neither wealthy nor poor..." and identified himself as a newspaper professional.[33] Nearly all were born in the U.S., and only 18 percent were born of immigrant parents (though their sample excludes most urban states where immigrant populations were more prevalent). Their average age was 42 years, nearly identical to the 41 years averaged by labor editors in this study.

A similar study of 141 Chicago journalists found that just 21.3 percent were immigrants, averaged 37 years of age, and had modest incomes comparable to those of other white collar workers.[34] Comparable data on the economic status of editors of workers' papers are not available. It is clear that (at least by 1913) editors of workers' papers were far less likely than their mainstream counterparts to identify themselves primarily as newspaper professionals (as indicated in the self-reported biographical listings in contemporary directories), and far less likely to have been born in the U.S. Anecdotal information indicates that many working-class editors eked out a meager living at best, receiving their modest paychecks only when funds were available.[35]

Three studies of union leaders[36] and leaders of labor and radical movements[37] are somewhat comparable. Sorokin, *et al.*, base their analysis on listings in *The American Labor Who's Who,* also an important source for this study, concluding that 32.7 percent of labor leaders (defined somewhat broadly) were foreign-born – a figure they find "exceedingly high" but which is substantially less than the 49 percent found here. Their analysis indicates similar age and educational distribution, and a somewhat larger proportion of working-class leaders drawn from middle- and upper-class backgrounds (particularly for "nationally prominent" leaders).

Mills and Atkinson's study found that nearly two-thirds of labor leaders were born to working-class parents. A 1948 study found that national labor leaders had only modest formal educations (though editors had more education than their counterparts on executive boards) and had left the shop floor after ten years or so to take full-time positions with their union. Although most national officers served relatively brief terms, Secretary-Treasurers (the officer most likely to oversee the union newspaper) averaged 29 years on their union's executive board.[38] And Licht and Barron's collective biography of a systematic sample of AFL and CIO

union officers profiled in the 1946 *Who's Who in Labor* found that New Deal labor leaders were predominantly male, white and middle-aged. These labor leaders were more likely than most workers to have been born to fathers who were skilled workers or professionals, but nearly three-fourths were the sons and daughters of manual workers.[39]

Only one study has specifically addressed editors of foreign-language working-class publications, Hartmut Keil's profile of editors of the German-American radical press between 1850 and 1910. The papers' German-born editors were held accountable to the movement through structures that guaranteed readers the opportunity to elect editors and set editorial policy. Most had served as journalists or party activists in Germany before emigrating to the United States at a median age of 32, though some joined the labor movement only after emigrating to the United States. A slim majority of these editors had working-class backgrounds, and all played a major role in union and socialist movements as an expected adjunct to their editorial duties. But all were overworked and received relatively little pay–substantially less than a skilled worker would earn in his trade.[40]

Labor Press Reflects Workers' Point of View

The limitations of the data upon which this research is based require caution in interpreting the findings. Although every effort was made to compile a comprehensive list of workers' papers published during 1913 and 1925, several additional papers were discovered during the course of this research (and were added to the sample). Moreover, the reliability of some sources proved questionable.[41] It was possible to identify editors for the overwhelming majority of papers (82 percent for 1913, 90 percent for 1925), but editors of IWW and independent union papers proved difficult to identify or to obtain the necessary biographical information.[42] Information on editors of local and foreign-language workers' papers also proved elusive.

The data are more complete for the 1925 sample (benefiting greatly from the publication of both the Labor Research Department's *Labor Press Directory* and Solon DeLeon's *American Labor Who's Who* in that year), yet even here there are substantial gaps in the data. Nonetheless, this study of 255 editors[43] of working-class publications represents the most comprehensive study to date.

Herbert Brand has argued that the expansion and development of the labor press (which he dates to the 1930s, a period in which the

number of union-sponsored publications may have increased but which saw a dramatic decline in the number of working-class dailies and foreign-language labor papers) was characterized by the entry of large numbers of professional newspapermen with the skills to produce the "intelligently and expertly edited publications" needed to "communicate with suddenly expanded memberships and those whom unions were seeking to organize."[44] This thesis remains untested. But professionalization had not yet affected English-language labor publications in 1925. Editors of foreign-language papers, and of the English-language working-class political press, were likely to have prior journalistic experience, but with rare exceptions this experience was with other movement organs and few had any formal journalistic training.

Editors of workers' papers were broadly representative of their readership in most regards. They largely were drawn from working-class families, had worked themselves (with some notable exceptions), and had long experience in working-class organizations. While census reports do not provide data for workers separately (instead, these are collapsed into tables for the "economically active" population), figures for mining and manufacturing (predominantly working-class labor forces) indicate that the bulk of the workforce was between 25 and 44 years of age.[45] Similarly, some 40 percent of the urban population was foreign-born or of foreign-born parentage, while more than 40 percent of those employed in manufacturing were of foreign birth. These figures were significantly higher for the large manufacturing centers where union strength was concentrated.[46] Thus, editors of working-class publications appear demographically similar to the working-class audiences they served.

Yet in certain important regards they could be considered removed from the rank and file. Editors tended to be relatively well-educated and to have left the workplace years before to take up union or political office, or for long editorial tenures averaging 14 years. Typically, their editorial tenure ended either when they (or their paper) died in office or with retirement. It seems relatively rare for a working-class editor to return to the shop floor. Yet these long tenures were not the norm in all organizations. The handful of IWW editors identified in this research averaged only three years in office.

These tenures do not necessarily indicate that editors of workers' papers were isolated from the rank and file. Union officers presumably came into regular contact with their members through correspondence and in the course of union business–and perhaps in their communities and social spheres as well. And these officers must have remained close

enough to the members to secure periodic reelection.

Editors of working-class political newspapers are similarly brought into contact with their working-class readers through the political organizations that sponsor their papers and in their communities. For example, Christian Botker, editor of Chicago's Danish-language independent socialist weekly, *Revyen,* "went to Dania Hall Friday nights to play Lhombre," where he seems sure to have encountered at least some readers, if only on a social basis, "after finishing the week's paper on Thursday for its Saturday delivery."[47] Art Shields found, while editing the IWW's *Industrial Solidarity,* that his most popular copy came from workers who submitted short reports on working conditions, organizing tactics and direct action victories.[48] Similarly, Reuben Borough recalled, decades later, how his work as a reporter with the *Chicago Daily Socialist* brought him into regular contact with the party rank and file.[49]

Although further research on this question is necessary, particularly on editors of local workers' papers, based upon this research it seems reasonable to conclude that, to a significant extent the workers' press reflected workers' experiences and consciousness, rather than merely serving as a conveyer belt for information from movement leaders. Editors of workers' papers, while they may have been long removed from the job floor and the daily experiences of the rank and file, shared a working-class background and many of the characteristics of their readers. Their readers' activities often filled the news columns, and many saw their articles printed in both the news and opinion columns. Readers were able to hold editors accountable through a variety of mechanisms, ranging from formal oversight boards to periodic elections. Thus, the labor press was not merely a means of meeting the informational needs of movement supporters. In large part the labor press was written, edited, owned and controlled by the working class.

Endnotes

[1]"A New Labor Paper" (Editorial), *Union Labor Advocate,* May 1910, p. 24..

[2]Alvah Staley, "The History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928. William Pomeroy was the subject of letters from Illinois Federation of Labor President John Walker (3 Aug. 1921) and Chicago Federation of Labor President John Fitzpatrick (17 Jan. 1922 — both in Fitzpatrick Papers box 11 folder 79, Chicago Historical Society). Walker described Pomeroy, then editing the *Illinois Journal of Labor,* "a grafter, blackmailer,

extortionist and black-leg of the worst type." Fitzpatrick noted that Pomeroy had been expelled from the AFL, and relied upon business interests for his financing. Similarly, the Secretary of the Rockford Central Labor Union wrote Fitzpatrick (1 Dec. 1921, Fitzpatrick Papers box 11 folder 78) for information to assist in combating Wm. Castleman's *Unionist* in his area.

[3]*Chicago Evening World*, "Brand Hearst Newspapers Unfair," 7 October 1912, p. 2.

[4]C.K. McFarland and Robert Thistlewaite, "20 Years of a Successful Labor Paper: The Working Man's Advocate, 1829-49," *Journalism Quarterly* 60(1), Spring 1983, pp. 35-40; Wm. Roberts, ed., *American Federation of Labor: History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book*, Reprint: Westport 1977, vol. 1 p. 276; Donald Myers, "Birth and Establishment of the Labor Press in the United States," M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1950. For an overview of research on the labor press, see: Jon Bekken, "'No Weapon So Powerful': Working-Class Newspapers in the United States," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 12(2), pp. 104-19; and "The Working-Class Press at the Turn of the Century," in: Robert McChesney and William Solomon, eds., *Rough Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*, Minneapolis 1993.

[5]John Jentz, "Bread and Labor: Chicago's German Bakers Organize," *Chicago History* 12(2), Summer 1983, pp. 29-31; *Chicago Daily Socialist*, "Arbeiter-Zeitung Becomes Daily Socialist Newspaper," 1 June 1910, p. 1.

[6]Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, *American Labor Press Directory*, New York 1925; Dirk Hoerder, ed., *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America*, Westport 1987.

[7]Richard Garver, "The Labor Press: A Study of Selected Union Publications for 1956," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957.

[8]e.g., Paul Buhle, "Paul Novick and the *Morgn Freiheit*: Their Place in History," *Morning Freiheit*, 5 and 12 April1987; John Quint, "Julius A. Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 35, March 1949; Warren Van Tine, "Ben H. Williams, Wobbly Editor," Ph.D. Dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1967.

[9]e.g., Dirk Hoerder and Christiane Harzig, eds., *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s* 3 volumes, Westport 1987; Thomas Capek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, Boston 1920; Auvo Kostiainen, *The Forging of Finnish-American Communism, 1917-1924*, Turku 1978; Mordecai Soltes, *The Yiddish Press: An Americanizing Influence*, New York 1950.

[10]Names of 353 nationally-distributed newspapers published by labor unions and working-class political organizations in 1913 and 1925 were compiled from contemporary directories and subsequent bibliographies. Bibliographic data on workers' papers was drawn from: American Federation of Labor, *Labor Press and Official Journals Received*, Washington 1913; Hoerder and Harzig, *The Immigrant Labor Press*; Labor Research Dept., *American Labor Press Directory*, New York 1925; Dione Miles, *Something in Common: An IWW Bibliography*, Detroit 1986; Lloyd Reynolds and Charles Killingsworth, *Trade Union Publications, 1850-1941*, Baltimore 1944; and James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America*, New York 1967. One hundred and fifty-nine such papers (of which 63 were foreign-language or bilingual) were identified for 1913; two hundred and eight (61 foreign-language or bilingual) for 1925. Fourteen papers were subsequently dropped from consideration – two because they had ceased publication prior to 1913, the other twelve because it was determined that they were local papers.

[11]N.W. Ayer & Son, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, Philadelphia, annual. The 1914 and 1926 editions, published at the end of each preceding year, were used to obtain data for 1913 and 1925. Thirty-six local papers were identified for 1913 (18 of which were foreign-language or bilingual); thirty-eight (14 foreign-language) for 1925.

Several newspapers (and hence editors) certainly remain unidentified – particularly those issued by independent (non-AFL) unions and smaller organizations. Cooperative, fraternal, mutual benefit and news service publications were excluded unless they explicitly identified themselves as labor papers. Some foreign-language newspapers identifying themselves as labor papers (and often endorsed by local unions or other workers' organizations) but not formally affiliated to any union or political party were tabulated as political papers.

[12]Yaroslav Chyz, *225 Years of the U.S. Foreign Language Press*, New York 1959, p. 8; Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Washington 1921.

[13]Major sources for biographical information were: Solon DeLeon, ed., *The American Labor Who's Who*, New York 1925; Marion Dickerman and Ruth Taylor, eds., *Who's Who in American Labor*, New York 1946; Gary Fink, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor Leaders*, Westport 1974; and Bernard Johnpoll and Harvey Klehr, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the American Left*, Westport

1986. Other sources, including union histories, obituaries, etc., were consulted as available.

[14]1913 editors proved particularly elusive, with fewer identified and information on those identified often impossible to locate. Editors of foreign-language local papers proved more difficult to identify for both years – once identified, little information was available for them or for their English-language counterparts.

[15]Workers being broadly defined to include clerical workers and teachers (as well as blue-collar occupations), but not salesmen, lawyers or college professors.

[16]Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Part I*, Washington 1975, p. 379.

[17]DeLeon, *American Labor Who's Who*, p. 156; Fink, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 223.

[18]"Lawrence Bland, U.S. Labor Leader, Dies Suddenly," *Chicago Tribune*, 17 April 1934, p. 16.

[19]Fink, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 377.

[20]Ayer, *American Newspaper Annual.*

[21]"A New Editor," *The New Majority*, 28 June 1924, p. 1; "James Bruck" (Obituary), *Chicago Tribune*, 11 May 1929, p. 21.

[22]Labor Research Dept., *American Labor Press Directory.* Information on the IWW's foreign-language editors was largely unavailable, so they are not covered by the discussion that follows. Nomura's collective biography of IWW defendants in the Chicago trial, however, while incorporating editors into its broader findings, would seem to indicate that IWW editors were, if anything, more likely to come from working-class backgrounds than their counterparts in other unions. Tatsuro Nomura, "Who Were the Wobblies?," *Journal of Aichi Prefectural University* 20, (1985), 135-50.

[23]To some extent party affiliation was extrapolated from other reported affiliations. For example, some editors identified themselves in DeLeon, *American Labor Who's Who*, as members of the Forward Association, membership in which was at the time restricted to members of the Socialist Party. Clearly affiliation data was less likely to be available for editors with no strong party ties.

[24]DeLeon, *American Labor Who's Who*; Labor Research Dept., *American Labor Press Directory.*

[25]John Jelinek (ed.), *Padesatilete Jubileum ceskeho narodniho hrbitova v Chicagu Illinois* [The fifty year jubilee of the Bohemian National Cemetery Association in Chicago], Chicago 1927. An English-language translation is available at the Chicago Historical Society.

[26]Peter Stankovic, editor of *Hrvatski Glas*, quoted in Nada Kestercanek: *Croatian Newspapers and Calendars in the United States*, Scranton 1952, p. ii.

[27]Ivan Molek, *Slovene Immigrant History 1900-1950: Autobiographical Sketches*, translated and edited by Mary Molek, Dover 1979.

[28]Molek, *op cit.*, p. 287; J. Mahlon Barnes to John Molek, 24 July 1908, Ivan Molek papers box 8 folder 49, Chicago Historical Society.

[29]Daniel DeLeon, "The Party Press," *Daily People*, 20 September 1903. Reprinted in DeLeon, *Party Ownership of the Press*, New York 1931.

[30]Humbert Nelli, *Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930: A Study in Ethnic Mobility*, New York 1970, p. 161-63.

[31]Sally Miller, ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States*, Westport 1987, p. 349.

[32]Dorothy Gallagher, *All The Right Enemies*, New Brunswick 1988.

[33]Jean Folkerts and Stephen Lacy, "Weekly Editors in 1900," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (2/3), 1987, p. 433. They caution that these twenty-one states may not be representative of the country as a whole, and that their sample size may be too small. Two hundred and sixty-two editors (from a sample of 300 papers, representing a population of 9,986 weeklies in the 21 states) were identified, and demographic data (primarily on financial standing) was compiled for the 188 found in census manuscripts.

[34]Norma Green, Stephen Lacy and Jean Folkerts, "Journalists at the Turn of the Century: Chicago Journalists Compared to their Rural Counterparts," Unpublished paper presented at Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1988.

[35]See, for example, John Kolehmainen, *Sow the Golden Seed*, New York 1955.

[36]C. Wright Mills and Mildred Atkinson, "The Trade Union Leader: A Collective Portrait," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 9, Summer 1945, pp. 158-75; Walter Licht and Hal Barron, "Labor's Men: A Collective Biography of Union Officialdom During the New Deal Years," *Labor History* 19(4), Fall

1978, pp. 532-45.

[37]Pitirim Sorokin, *et al.*, "Leaders of Labor and Radical Movements in the United States and Foreign Countries," *American Journal of Sociology* 33, November 1927, pp. 382-411.

[38]Eli Ginzberg and Joseph Carwell, *The Labor Leader: An Exploratory Study*, New York 1948, pp. 49-65.

[39]Licht and Barron, "Labor's Men..." pp. 533-35. The main emphasis of this study is a comparison of the backgrounds of officers of AFL and CIO affiliated unions, which found few significant demographic differences though their CIO officers did tend to be somewhat more progressive in political preference.

[40]Hartmut Keil, "A Profile of Editors of the German-American Radical Press, 1850-1910," in Elliott Shore *et al.* (editors), *The German-American Radical Press; The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940*, Urbana 1992, pp. 15-28.

[41]In particular the Chicago Public Library Omnibus Project, Works Progress Administration, *Bibliography of Foreign-Language Newspapers and Periodicals Published in Chicago*, Chicago 1942; and Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*.

[42]This task was particularly difficult for the 1913 list. The directory compiled by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science proved nearly comprehensive, and listed editors for most of the listed publications. No such directory was available for 1913. Ayer's directories are primarily concerned with the needs of advertisers, and therefore omit several workers' papers (particularly those that do not accept advertising) and rarely include the names of their editors.

[43]Data was compiled on 137 editors for 1913 and 180 editors for 1925. However, 31 editors appear twice – either because they edited papers in two different categories simultaneously or served as an editor (for the same or different papers) in both years.

[44]Herbert Brand, "The Labor Press," in: Jack Schuyler, ed., *International Labor Directory and Handbook*, New York 1955, p. 89.

[45]Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Washington 1921, vol. V p. 376.

[46]Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census, Thirteenth Census.*

[47]Marion Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, New York 1979, p. 102.

[48]Art Shields, *On the Battle Lines*, New York 1986, pp. 39-41.

[49]Reuben Borough, "The Chicago I Remember, 1907," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 59, 1966, pp. 117-30.

Constructing History: Artists, Urban Culture, and the Image of Newspapers in 1930s America

By Hanno Hardt

Visual artists are critical observers of society. Their views on the press constitute a historical record hitherto completely ignored by media historians. This article identifies selected works of urban realists who incorporated newspapers into their renditions of 1930s urban America and suggests the potential of art as a source of historical insight into the uses of newspapers in modern society.

The documentation of everyday life as a visual experience—beginning with painting and continuing through photography and film—fixes people, objects, and events in time and place and responds to expectations about the image in the discourse of society. In fact, vision occupies a central role in the narratives of Western culture[1] and the emphasis on the eye in the process of communication constitutes the site for making meaning and producing knowledge in the presence of other texts. Its importance in constructing social and cultural histories provides the context for this essay which provokes a visual encounter with artistic representations of newspapers to enhance the received histories of

Hanno Hardt is the John F. Murray Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication and a Professor in the Communication Studies Department of the University of Iowa. He also holds an appointment as a Professor of Communication on the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

the press by reproducing insights into perceptions of the modern newspaper in an urban environment.

Despite the fact that the study of the press has occupied several academic disciplines for well over a century,[2] inquiries by media studies into the physical existence of newspapers and the consequences of their presence in modern society are rare.[3] Yet newspapers are portable objects; they penetrate private and public spaces, define real and imagined distances of time and place, and affect human relations with their appearance in people's daily lives. A record of their presence exists in the narratives of society—especially in novels, but also in film, photography, painting and printmaking—where newspapers are visible in the domain of culture and provide an opportunity for observation and, therefore, for assessing the memories of a particular era. They are the fragments of a cultural history.

Artists, like journalists, are engaged in the subjective transformation of experience and produce images of reality that contribute to an explanation of society. This essay acknowledges the importance of the long-standing and detailed discussions of the relations between art and society and proposes that the visual narrative of the arts may contribute profoundly to the construction of a cultural history of the press.

Visual artists and their relations to society offer a rich opportunity for critical observations about the location of media in the social landscape. Engaging the gaze of the artist to explore the presence of newspapers in the social and cultural record of everyday life challenges traditional boundaries of historical inquiry—by raising creative thought and artistic expressions to the level of documentary evidence with promises of enriching the comprehension of societal practices. It also legitimizes the role of individual expression in advancing the idea of a cultural history of journalism.

Journalists and Artists Define the Urban Experience

As forms of social communication, both history and art—at their best—raise social consciousness, contribute to an appreciation of the discursive in conceptualizing the social, cultural and political practices of society, and shape the discourse of society by reproducing the tendencies of the times. Like the potential of newsworkers as the locus of a reconstructed media history,[4] artists also provide opportunities for challenging dominant interpretations of history. By reconceptualizing traditional visions of newspapers, both journalists and artists—as workers in their respective communities—contribute a socially different perspective on the

press as a constituting source of the urban experience.

Recent examples of scholarly work that privilege art as a source of insights into specific historical conditions or disciplinary issues include Peter Paret's *Imagined Battles. Reflections of War in European Art*, Murray Edelman's *From Art to Politics. How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions*, and Maurine Greenwald's "Visualizing Pittsburgh in the 1900s: Art and Photography in the Service of Social Reform."[5]

Whereas Paret and Edelman consider the creative power of artistic expressions in the historical and political interrogations of events, Greenwald's work focuses on its application to urban social reform. More generally, however, art historians as diverse as Arnold Hauser, Herbert Read, T. J. Clark and Janet Wolf have commented routinely on the social and cultural conditions for art in Western societies and continue to provide insights into the relation between art and history.[6]

Media historians, on the other hand—or social theorists of culture and communication, for that matter—seem unfamiliar with this literature. They have ignored the representation of newspapers in the narratives of literature and the arts, for instance, as cultural products that occupy the public and private spaces of everyday life. Instead, newspapers emerge from the institutional histories of the press narrowly identified with technological developments, entrepreneurship, and the exercise of First Amendment rights. At best, the presence of the press is reconstructed from traditional evidence with an interest in documenting the rise of institutional practices of the press and their place in the social and political history of society.

The result has been a general neglect of alternative sources that draw on the cultural narrative of society—for example, on the creative responses of literary authors or visual artists to media and their impact on society. Art history has established the specific contexts for American artists' strong and consistent reactions to social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the day, including the recognition of class differences and their impact on society. These artists, despite the commercialization of art, constitute yet another intellectual vanguard which challenges traditional conceptions of society and confronts specific notions of progress by reflecting on ideological practices and producing critical insights into social existence.

By ignoring the role of visual artists as shapers of visions, purveyors of change, and critics of social conditions, the cultural history of communication overlooks the potential contributions of creative expressions in paintings, drawings and prints to the iconology of a period. In fact,

cultural histories of communication typically emphasize the emergence of "mass" culture; they adduce the popular (including media practices and their impact on society) and revisit institutional agendas, but exclude art as a source of historical evidence. Among recent exceptions are Bonnie Brennen's efforts to gain new insights into the relationship between media and society by scrutinizing traditional and revisionist cultural and social histories of the press in light of existing literary treatments of reporters.[7]

Newspapers Reinforce American Values

To understand reality one must to look at art and the role of artists in the construction of society. More specifically, this essay privileges the artistic gaze and explores its potential contribution to a cultural history of newspapers in 1930s urban America. Frank Luther Mott called it the era of the "modern newspaper," characterized by the consequences of an economic depression including consolidations of media properties and the rise of radio, film and motion picture newsreels as competitive sources of information and entertainment.[8]

Since the visual arts in the 1930s were engaged in issues of social justice, they are promising sources of social (and political) commentary on the role of newspapers. In fact, they contain critical observations by artists who confronted the popular press, among other institutions, which had become a commercially strong and politically significant cultural establishment and which was supported by millions of daily readers and faced increasing demands for advertising space.

In addition, this essay promotes the linking of a particular set of observations to the totality of social and cultural practices. Thus, the emergence of realistic pictures, which parallels the contributions of documentary photographers such as Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, Walker Evans, or Ben Shahn, among others, also signals an understanding of art as an ideological concern that emphasizes the consequences of urbanization, including issues of class, at a specific historical moment. Greenwald, for instance, reports on how the sketches of working-class residents by Joseph Stella and the photographs of Lewis Hine were used to "speak to the eye" in urban reform efforts undertaken in Pittsburgh.[9]

At the same time, visual representations in the form of paintings, prints or photographs, for that matter, make use of words. They employ texts, in the form of titles or representations in the form of printed and written materials, such as books, posters, newspapers, or letters, to

confirm meaning, supply attributes to fit the visual, and suggest the relevant relations between word and image in the process of social communication.[10]

Visual representations are part of the modern newspaper, which is an urban invention. In fact, Peter Fritzsche suggests that "the newspaper was inseparable from the modern city, and served as a perfect metonym for the city itself."[11] Identified with the growth of the city and representing its pace, the newspaper invites a process of consumption that is intimately tied to the rhythm of life, moving between haste and leisure, determination and indecision. Read on trains, trams and buses or perused in the private moments of the day, the newspaper remains the manifestation of a fragmented decontextualized urban existence. At the same time, newspapers appeal to individual readers across class or gender lines; they serve specific needs, and reading them becomes a form of socialization.

Newspaper content reinforces American values and promotes the power of a shared world view. On the other hand, content is glossed over and easily forgotten, and newspapers are discarded by necessity and without regret. Newspapers mark the daily trail of people moving between places in search of intellectual or emotional gratification. Newspapers authenticate urban life. As records of social existence, newspapers locate the reader physically and ideologically and produce an identity in terms of class, ethnicity, gender, region and nationality. Richard Terdiman concludes (in his analysis of French society) that the modern newspaper "in its routinized, quotidian recurrence, in its quintessential prosaicism, in its unrepentant commercialism . . . becomes a characteristic metonym for modern life itself."[12]

Newspapers report the noteworthy about the immediate past and are chronicles of specific, ideologically charged constructions of reality whose usefulness ends abruptly and, ultimately, with the purchase of the late edition. Yet, their constant presence in the lives of readers provides a familiar, ideologically consistent, and categorical narrative which institutionalizes news values and reinforces the inevitablility of daily routines.

Newspapers constitute ordinary objects of a modern existence; they confer status, dispense information, and provide entertainment, but they are also industrial products whose social uses—as depicted in these works of art—help explain the relations among individuals and with institutions such as the press. More specifically, newspapers circulate by the millions every day; their presence on the streets of the city provide an unavoidable

encounter not only with a contemporary source of information and entertainment but with an institutional symbol of continuity and commercial success.

Although newspapers were increasingly vulnerable to consolidations and chain ownership during the 1930s, there were still several large daily newspapers in New York City, for instance, where the field had been reduced to four morning and four evening papers by 1940.[13] Most newspapers constructed an imagery that would identify and reinforce a middle-class existence in urban America.

Newspapers occupied a specific ideological role in the formation of a modern society. By celebrating material success as a social norm, for instance, the press produced middle-class representations that addressed people's life experiences. Thus, newspapers in the 1930s covered the running stories of the industrial depression and the beginnings of the New Deal, although the outstanding event of the decade was the 1932 Lindbergh case, resulting in the trial of Bruno Hauptmann and his execution in 1936.

Newspapers Present a Text for 1930s America

Artists' allusions to the presence of newspapers in society constitute a prominent location for uncovering the meanings and representations of social and cultural practices. Since any text is, by necessity, read in relationship to others, its presence evokes the potential of intertextuality. Roland Barthes notes the pervasiveness of intertextuality as the hallmark of contemporary culture;[14] reality is always only accessible in terms of other texts in a given culture.

Thus, the "texts" of 1930s paintings, prints, and lithographs were accessible through newspapers (and their headlines) as representations of public knowledge or institutional power, just as newspapers became plausible signifiers of an urban life in the artistic response to the city. The intertextuality of these cultural practices reflects a climate of social and cultural expansion that has been identified with the growth of technology and the successful merger of technological advancement and democratic forms which served other societies, particularly in Europe, as a positive example of modernity.

The press—and other media of "mass" communication—participated in transforming the relationship between the individual and nature, promoting the rise of the mechanized landscape (through railroads and automobiles), reinforcing a general belief in the machine and the notion

that change is a desirable social and cultural attribute. The resulting preoccupation with the here and now, accompanied by a loss of history, characterized the content of the press and described the condition of a modern existence.

Democracy Merges with Technology

In 1934 the Museum of Modern Art opened "Machine Art," an exhibition of common household and industrial products, ranging from toasters and vacuum cleaners to cash registers, accompanied by its director's suggestion that a way out of the "treacherous wilderness of industrial and commercial civilization [means that] we must assimilate the machine aesthetically as well as economically. Not only must we bind Frankenstein—but we must make him beautiful."[15]

In his 1917 essay, "The Culture of Industrialism," Van Wyck Brooks argued that the United States must rise from the failures of an inherited culture to find its own culture based on everyday experience through the experience of industrialization.[16] The press, with the introduction of telephones, typewriters, rotary presses and photography, contributed to the construction of a new American culture by merging notions of democracy with a belief in technology to operate a modern means of "mass" communication. Newspapers became the urban representation of a modern life with their social and political presence among city dwellers.

As a result of a burgeoning media technology, which replicated and naturalized an industrial culture in which mass consumption developed into one of the cornerstones of success, the American consciousness became technologically informed, filled with images of power and endurance, and absorbed by the idea of progress. The critique of technology was marginalized in the face of unresolved social and economic problems in urban America and surfaced in traditional expressions for a return to the pastoral ideal in America (to speak with Leo Marx) or in ideological confrontations between socialist visions of society and the creative genius of late capitalism. Aware of the industrial potential, both critiques offered divergent interpretations of the consequences of technological advancement and the specter of a machine in the garden.

Newspapers played a major role in the shaping of an American culture as exponents of progress and salespersons of a better way of life. Their constant presence was a reminder of the collective task of building a better America, where they strengthened capitalism with their knowledge

of public tastes and the packaging of information as surveillance and distraction.

The increasing presence of media products in the public sphere—beginning with the street sales of magazines and newspapers and culminating in the rise of radio, photography, film and television—provided artists with a context and focus to measure the effects of popular culture. Visual artists, in particular, were challenged to address the emergence of a visual culture that defied earlier understandings of *Kultur* and, in fact, posed a threat to traditional practices and forms of creative expression. The artists' sense of the ideological in the production of "mass" entertainment, combined with a desire to comment on the rise of "mass" culture and a creative need to document the effects of a mechanically (re)produced reality, played a significant role in artistic representations of modern media culture.

Artists Respond to Mass Culture

American artists occupied a front row in this spectacle of social and cultural change, ready to comment on the experience of a rising media industry which had long abandoned the intellectual artisan tradition of communication for an industrialized process of producing messages for consumption among large and heterogeneous audiences.

The reflections of the essayist and pamphleteer had been replaced by the production of public opinion and taste cultures that would measure significance by its consumption value. American artists faced significant changes in the nature of social communication. Artists benefited from technological change, but they also realized and reflected on the idea of a changing environment for the purposes of understanding the consequences of the machine age.

For instance, artists promptly reacted to the introduction of new media such as movies. Thomas Hart Benton spent time in Hollywood and returned with hundreds of drawings. Others, such as John Sloan, Reginald Marsh, or Mabel Dwight, also commented in their works on the arrival of movies as yet another displacement of reality (after photography and illustrated magazines) by moving images that challenged society as much as it intrigued artists. Other artists responded with an ideological critique: Diego Rivera's and José Clemente Orozco's work reflected the social and political struggle following the revolutions (in Russia and Mexico). Since their work also was produced in the United States, it

became accessible to American artists, particularly on the East coast where their work contributed to the tension between the challenges of European avant-gardism and the growing desire to create a more appropriate American art.

Artists Challenge the Myth of Progress and Equality

Creative as well as ideological reasons for confronting the presence of media products and their uses in society resulted in a challenge, with a specific political dimension, of the 19th century idea of "art for art's sake" as an elitist formulation of the role and function of art in society. The economic and political crisis of the 1930s exposed not only the myth of progress and equality in capitalist societies, like the United States, but also energized artists to address the conflict and encouraged the proletariat to take possession of art as a tool of liberation. Artists participated in exposing social and economic conditions while sharing their creative insights, not in the prestigious context of galleries or museums, but in the public space of magazines and newspapers, similar to the production of murals as a form of public expression, adapted to the shape and conditions of public spaces, and accessible to all segments of society.

At the same time, the claims of high culture were challenged by growing demands for low or popular culture products, promoted and produced by the media and supported by the relentless developments of various communication technologies, such as radio, records, film and photography. The age of "mechanical reproduction," pronounced by Walter Benjamin at about the same time in Weimar Germany, also became an age in which the accessibility of high art—combined with the potential of subversion through the reproduction and dissemination of art—resulted in a considerable shift of understanding culture and the place of artists, in particular.

Some American artists, for instance, issued manifestos and joined a variety of social and political causes, such as the John Reed Club, to promote social justice and the development of a working class culture. In the context of competing cultural production, Marxist critics, in particular, considered movies "a vast corrupt commercial enterprise, turning out infantile entertainment or crude propaganda for the profit of stockholders. Philosophy has become mystical and idealist. Science goes in for godseeking. Painting loses itself in abstractions and trivialities."[17] In fact,

art was conceptualized as a weapon and artists had become propagandists in a struggle for equity, including participation in the success of capitalism, that was to leave millions of people with nothing but idle hopes and aspirations.

The 1930s was a time when communist and antifascist art began to appear mostly in newspapers and magazines of the American left, including the *Partisan Review* (New York), *Left Front* (Chicago), *John Reed Review* (Washington, D.C.), and *The New Masses* (New York). *The New Masses* became a major outlet for politically radical graphic artists in the United States whose attention focused on the rise of Nazi Germany, particularly after 1933.[18] Others not directly connected to socialist or communist causes joined the attack on Hitler and Mussolini in the early 1940s with the production of paintings, lithographs and posters in the fight against Nazism and Fascism.

However, the major contributions of American intellectuals to Marxism as an alternative ideological position were in journalism or reportage, by people such as Randolph Bourne, John Reed and John Dos Passos, rather than in the visual arts. Granville Hicks and Joseph North have documented the intellectual engagement in cultural-political issues in their collection of writings, *Proletarian Literature in the United States* and *New Masses: An Anthology of the Rebel Thirties*, respectively.[19]

Sidney Finkelstein's *Art and Society* also was a successful attempt by a Marxist scholar to demonstrate what he called, in reference to Marx, the "humanization of reality."[20] Thus, art is viewed as a specialized form of creative labor that produces not just a recording of the objective world like the work of science, journalism, or photography. Art "shows what it means to live at a certain moment, or stage of development, of social life and the conquest of nature. It replaces fact with typicality. It discloses not an actual event but a pattern of outer movement, as a force operating on human hopes and feelings."[21]

Similarly, when Meyer Schapiro identified the "social bases of art," he argued against the prevailing sentiments of individual freedom for the few at the expense of oppressing the many. He suggested that such freedom "detaches man from nature, history, and society [and cannot] realize those possibilities of individual development which depend on common productive tasks, on responsibilities, on intelligence and cooperation in dealing with the urgent social issues of the moment."[22]

Printmakers Document 1930s Urban Realism

Beginning with John Sloan's New York City Life series of etchings in 1905, printmakers, including George Bellows, Childe Hassam, Edward Hopper, John Marin, and Charles Sheeler, often depicted people's everyday lives in the city's public thoroughfares. Fritz Eichenberg, a German refugee printmaker, wrote about the early 1930s:

> I recorded on wood not only what I saw but what I felt, like the Human Comedy on the steps of a brownstone building, and the glitter of Broadway near Times Square, with all its enchanting tinsel, fun and misery. I showed the unemployed warming themselves on the radiators of the Aquarium on Battery Place. And the 'idle rich' feeding the swans on central Park Lake.[23]

And Raphael Soyer explained, "I always painted what I knew and saw around me. In the 1930s I painted many pictures of unemployed and homeless men, because I saw them everywhere."[24]

Printmaking, along with documentary photography, became a personal expression of a specific attitude toward the conditions of life. Reproducible and easily accessible for large numbers of people, prints ruptured the narrowly defined elitist arena of gallery showings and moved into the mainstream of public life through various modes of publication. Several artists joined in the Contemporary Print Group in 1933 to market their prints to close the gap between artists and the public.[25] The American Artists' Congress also opened shows throughout the United States in 1936 to increase the public accessibility to prints "by making the print relevant to the life of the people, and financially accessible to the person of small means."[26]

Similar ideas guided the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (FAP-WPA) at that time, whose director, Holger Cahill, controlled a significant production with over 200,000 impressions and 11,000 images.[27] One FAP-WPA division, the New York City Graphic Arts Division (established in 1935) advocated prints as a democratic form of art and was responsible for about 50 percent of the FAP-WAP output by1939.[28]

Art Becomes a Public Medium

The technical potential of reproduction as posters or magazine illustrations also converted art into a public medium, whose focus on the reality of public issues reduced the distance between art and everyday life.

It made art socially and politically relevant. The involvement of artists in publications like *The Masses* or *The New Masses* demonstrated social concern and political commitment.

The artistic depictions of everyday life and encounters with individuals on city streets or in their homes presented not only forms of an American life; they also marked a specific choice of techniques and aesthetic devices of the arts in the production of a class-conscious social and political appeal to audiences. Displacing subject matter from private to public spaces—to streets, public transportation, movie houses or parks— acknowledged the importance of public space for the conduct of modern life and provided an arena for the critique of its conditions. The familiar became noteworthy among artists because ordinary circumstances often contained signs of social or political predicaments typically overlooked or disregarded in a society drawn to the spectacular. Real significance resided in the ordinary and was revealed in the routines of everyday life.

The emergence of American printmaking during the first half of the 20th century contained an extraordinary turn toward people as subjects of a new curiosity, if not an ideological commitment, to explore and expose the conditions of life in public places. For instance, in his introduction to a 1936 exhibition catalogue, *America Today*, Alex R. Stavenitz suggested that "the exhibition, as a whole, may be characterized as 'socially conscious.'"[29] Accompanied by a rise of realism, the work of these artists was placed in the culture-specific context of concerns for fairness and social justice. The recovery of the realist tradition in artistic expression, however, also was a rediscovery of an imagery of the people at the threshold of an era that would witness their commodification in movies, radio and television dramas.

The rise of realism in a social environment dominated by the reality of technological progress resulted in the portrayal of city life by several printmakers, including John Sloan, George Bellows, Reginald Marsh and Edward Hopper, who caught moments of human existence in urban landscapes. By the mid-1930s, regional artists like Thomas Hart Benton and Grant Wood had begun to focus on the country with their black-and-white lithographs of rural life.

Social realists also participated in the Federal Art Project of the mid-'30s, including Ben Shahn, whose militant realism in the tradition of Diego Rivera emerged in his attacks on social injustice. Shahn's *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*, unveiled in 1932 in New York, confirmed his reputation as a socially and politically committed artist. In this era of

technological possibilities, prints were produced for mass consumption through distribution as posters and in the press.

Advertising Turns to Realism

In addition, the business of advertising demanded a decisive turn to realism, and artists turned to illustration. The "Art for Advertising" department of the Associated American Artists provided the services of "17 highly popular regional painters—including Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, and Peter Hurd—to paint pictures for Lucky Strike cigarette advertisements."[30]

The insistence on realistic renditions of advertising messages coincided with the feeling that realism was a distinctly American art; it paralleled the desire of advertisers to appropriate the truth value of art and was indicative of the changing boundaries between the cultural discourse of fine art and the growing power of commercial art. Thus, painters and printmakers faced the issue of art and survival in a commodity culture primarily as a question of shifting controls over what had always been a market phenomenon.

The work of Maxfield Parrish best illustrated the artistic response to a public demand for art. Parrish's art resulted in the production of advertisements, including art prints, accompanied by a creative and intellectual shift from art to illustration and considerable commercial success.[31] The demands from advertisers and corporate patrons, in particular, also signified the breakdown between commercial and fine art and suggested the limits of artistic expression with the artists' dependence on big business and the growing influence of commerce and industry on the politics of culture. Like newswork, artwork becomes an indistinguishable production process of advertising and public relations messages. After all, "Art in Advertising must justify itself . . . in terms of the cash register."[32]

WPA-FAP Fosters the Idea of Artists As Workers

In this atmosphere of cultural transformation, however, some artists continued to confront the conditions of an urban existence. Their identity as independent creative workers was boosted by government support, like the WPA-FAP, which employed thousands of artists and reinforced the production of American art. In fact, this institutional context encouraged the idea of artists as workers in society. With it came a sense of responsibility to serve the needs of the community with works of art that would

stress meaning and content and appeal to a broader public than the traditional elitist audiences of galleries and museums. Consequently, many artists recorded the social and cultural practices of modern life in an aesthetically accessible manner to reach a wider general audience.

The result was an art created by urban and social realists; the former focused on the city and its people as chroniclers of urban life and without political intent, whereas the latter believed in the role of art in social and political change. For instance, Isabel Bishop argued that she engaged in "observations of fact. I was saying some small thing which was true of American life—apart from politics and economics," whereas Moses Soyer warned artists not to "be misled by the chauvinism of the 'Paint America' slogan. . . . Do not glorify Main Street. Paint as it is—mean, dirty, avaricious. Self-glorification is artistic suicide. Witness Nazi Germany."[33]

The observations of artists included in this study[34] reproduced newspapers and their ideological intent in several ways. As part of the cityscape, newspapers represented yet another cultural (and political) force in the context of other visual representations of an urban lifestyle. As part of an urban existence, readers were located between adaptation and empowerment when newspapers become suppliers of public knowledge and sources of personal comfort.

Printmakers captured a slice of life, as people lived it, not unlike the press of the time, including documentary photography, and the realism of contemporary literature. Their American scene is populated by people whose activities are closely observed and reflected in animated images of individuals who make up the life of a city, including working-, middle-, and upper-class representations of the specific relations between individuals and the press. Thus, regardless of whether newspapers appeared peripherally or centrally as objects of a visual narrative, their presence reinforced the social or cultural significance of the press across class and gender lines.

Several depictions of newspapers in the representation of urban America offer a particular challenge to cultural historians of the press. The particular selection of images discussed in the original study ranges from the early 1900s to the 1940s, although most of the works date from the 1930s, indicating the enduring presence of newspapers in artistic renditions of city life. The press was still a universal medium of information and entertainment during this period, present among the working class and generally speaking, inclusive in appeal as a matter of readers' choices rather than exclusive, in terms of distribution, as in the marketing strategy of contemporary publishers.

Newspapers assumed a number of roles in the depiction of the city as well as the description of individuals. For instance, they were ornaments of an urban environment, discarded objects of a busy life, but also signs of identification, carefully displayed to add identity and credibility to their owners.

Reginald Marsh Documents the Lindbergh Trial

Newspapers establish the atmosphere of city life in a number of works by Reginald Marsh, who produced realistic prints of New York City with people in streets and subways. His observations of the subway culture in particular include newspapers as discarded objects, but also—and more significantly—newspapers as the property of individuals.

In his image, "Hauptmann Must Die" (**Illustration 1**), is a direct reference to the Lindbergh trial. Here a blond heavily made-up woman clad in a fur coat sits in the waiting room of a railroad or bus station holding an opened newspaper, the *Daily Mirror*, whose front-page headlines scream "Guilty. Death for Hauptmann" and similarly from the back page, "Guilty. Hauptmann must die." The headline is accompanied by an obscured photograph. Several well-made suitcases at her feet suggest frequent travel of a middle-class woman. Behind her, back turned, sits another newspaper reader, whereas other passengers wait passively on the massive benches that dominate the room.

Illustration 1. Hauptmann Must Die

At the end of a long and sensationalized trial which had occupied the press for weeks, the message goes unnoticed in this environment. In fact, the woman reads the inside of her newspaper. She is oblivious to the story since the headlines are displayed toward the outside; they are for an audience to see, like a public announcement, and yet people around it seem unaffected. Life goes on. The newspaper provides a clear message, but its reach is limited, as is its significance in a place where people merely pause with other destinations in mind and headlines offer only brief orientations in time and space. There is great energy in this image, which extends from the presence of the newspaper-reading female to the headlines of the newspaper, revealing the decadence and decline of society in a transient environment.

Newspapers Used to Portray the Rich and Working Classes

Similarly Peggy Bacon's work, "Crosspatch (or the Titan)" (**Illustration 2**), is the detailed study of a newspaper-reading tycoon, a 1920s capitalist, formally dressed in coat, scarf, and hat, standing in a hallway, ready to step out into the public thoroughfare. He is perusing a newspaper and his large frame fills most of the image and implies his social position. The newspaper in his hands becomes a sign of his importance. It lends credence to his position, but the image also links the newspaper with the influential and powerful in society and suggests a measure of its own credibility.

Illustration 2. Crosspatch

Nicolai Cikovsky's "On the East River" (**Illustration 3**) depicts two working-class men resting on a pier, looking tired and resigned; it is still daylight and the activities of the harbor occupy the background. The *Daily* tabloid, spread out on the ground in front of them, carries large photographs of men and women which have no relation to these two men. The men look like Eastern European immigrants, out of place and yet typical of the working-class image of the time. The picture pages in front of them suggest they may not be able to read more than the photographs themselves. The men also demonstrate how the press caters to the demands of an illiterate foreign-born readership.

The newspaper is neatly arranged but turned away from them, as if rejected, representing an upside-down world that makes more sense to the observer than to these men. The picture pages depict what the men cannot be and cannot understand. Thus, the newspaper is yet another foreign space, inviting with its display of faces, but whose familiarity becomes deceptive with the absence of textual explanations.

Illustration 3. On the East River

Newspapers Define and Document Urban Life

In the style of urban realism—which is identified as an American reaction to modernism—these works refer to modern life (the city) and

comment on the social conditions of individuals engaged in their own surveillance of the environment. These artists and several others listed in the endnotes contributed their keen sense of observation to an experience that complements documentary photography of the time by celebrating the strong subjective quality of the image. Prints or paintings, not unlike documentary photographs, are understood as artistic expressions of social and sometimes political concerns regarding their own times. But precisely because of their subjective nature, combined with the desire of these artists to share the experience of those times, they offer intriguing insights into the conditions of society.

The presence of newspapers in itself, as icons of personal and institutional power and in their various functions of supporting the public and private practices of individuals, is a commentary on the contradictory nature of an urban existence. Newspapers isolate and unite. They fail to differentiate between the useful and the trivial. They are partisan while claiming objectivity. Nevertheless, people acquired and consulted the newspaper as an object of their daily routines, and with a mixture of tradition and ingenuity, as an instrument of surveillance and a source of information and power.

Newspapers not only provided an opportunity to act or offer a social or political identity: they also profited from their visibility among people. Newspapers' daily appearance in the city strengthened their own position as a social and political institution and reinforced the idea that information and entertainment are the indispensable commodities of the modern age. Thus, credibility worked both ways when readers and their newspapers reinforced each other's presence. Most important, perhaps, is the realization that the relationship between the press and its readers is a defining element in an understanding of contemporary life before the advent of television in the 1950s. In fact, it is the interaction between newspapers and individuals that provides specific insights into the social and cultural location of the press during the 1930s.

This particular selection of prints represents newspapers as a shared site of information and entertainment inclusive of working-class and women's interests. At that time, newspapers attracted a readership distinguished more by its role in the process of consumption than by its class- or gender-specific position in society. As a result, the presence of newspapers in these depictions of urban life confirms a common experience while newspaper reading as a cultural attribute of modernity constitutes a social signifier of participation.

The visual evidence of 1930s printmaking reinforces an impression

of the American press as a pervasive democratizing force in society. This view offers a widely accepted, liberal-pluralist vision of the press and a traditional argument among press historians, that relies on being in the presence of the press, rather than on the intent of the press and the consequences of interactions between content and readers.

As American artists struggled for explanations of their environment, inspired by a shared creative tradition and their own political impulses, they also responded to the increasing presence of media as a defining condition of modern society.

Endnotes

[1]On the privileging of vision see Martin Jay, "Scopic regimes of modernity." In Hal Foster, ed., *Vision and visuality. Discussions in contemporary culture 2* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988), 3-23. Also: Guy Debord, *Society of the spectacle and other films* (London: Rebel Press, 1992). Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977). Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of perception* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962). On the relationship of image, vision, and understanding see: Italo Calvino, *Six Memos for the Next Millennium* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[2]Hanno Hardt, *Social Theories of the Press: Early German and American Perspectives* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979).

[3]A recent treatment of the relationship between newspapers and the city can be found in: Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[4]Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds., *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

[5]Peter Paret, *Imagined Battles: Reflections of War in European Art* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Murray Edelman, *From Art to Politics: How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds., *Pittsburgh Surveyed. Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 124-152.

[6]Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*. 4 vols. (New York: Vintage, 1951); Herbert Read, *Art and Society* (New York: Schocken, 1966); T. C. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* (New York: Knopf, 1985); and Janet Wolf, *The Social Production of Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1991).

[7]Bonnie Brennen, *'Peasantry of the Press.' A History of American Newsworkers from Novels, 1919-1938*. Unpublished dissertation. University of Iowa, 1993; Bonnie Brennen, "Cultural Discourse of Journalists. The Material Conditions of Newsroom Labor," in Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, 75-109.

[8]Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism. A History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950* (New York: MacMillan, 1950).

[9]Greenwald, 152.

[10]For words in painting, for instance, see Michel Butor, *Les Mots dans la Peinture* (Paris: Editions d'Art Albert Skira, 1969).

[11]Fritzsche, 23.

[12]Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 120.

[13]Mott, 637.

[14]Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (London: Cape, 1975).

[15]Warren Susman, ed., *Culture and Commitment. 1929-1945* (New York: Braziller, 1973), 5.

[16]Van Wyck Brooks, "The Culture of Industrialism," in *The Plastic Age, 1917-1930* (110-118) Robert Sklar, ed. (New York: Braziller, 1970), 110.

[17]"John Reed Club of New York: 'Draft Manifesto'" in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory, 1900-1990. An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 402.

[18]Cécile Whiting, *Antifascism in American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[19]Granville Hicks, et al., eds., *Proletarian Literature in the United States: An Anthology* (New York: International Publishers, 1935); Joseph North, ed., *New Masses: An Anthology of the Rebel Thirties* (New York: International Publishers, 1969).

[20]Sidney Finkelstein, *Art and Society* (New York: International Publishers, 1947).

[21]Sidney Finkelstein, "Art as Humanization" (277-280), in *Marxism and Art. Essays Classic and Contemporary*, Maynard Solomon, ed. (New York: Random House, 1974), 279.

[22]Meyer Schapiro, "The Social Bases of Art," in Harrison and Wood, 510. (Originally published in 1936).

[23]Ellen Ekedal and Susan Barnes Robinson, *The Spirit of the City. American Urban Paintings, Prints, and Drawings, 1900-1952* (Los Angeles: Laband Art Gallery, 1986), 22.

[24]Raphael Soyer, *Self-Revealment* (New York: Maecenas Press, 1967), 72.

[25]Janet Flint, *Art for All: American Print Publishing between the Wars* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980).

[26]*Graphic Works of the American Thirties. A Book of Hundred Prints* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1977), 5-6. Reprint of the original catalogue, entitled *America Today: A Book of Hundred Prints* (New York: American Artists' Congress, 1936).

[27]Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, *New Deal for Art* (Hamilton, NY: Gallery Association of New York State, 1977), 85. This was an exhibition catalogue.

[28]Jacob Kainen, "The Graphic Arts Division of the Federal Art Project," in Francis V. O'Connor, ed., *The New Deal Art Projects: An Anthology of Memoirs* (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 171.

[29]*Graphic Works*, 5.

[30]Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 234-43.

[31]Ibid., 234-236.

[32]Ibid., 290.

[33]Butler Institute of American Art, *Visions of America. Urban Realism* (Youngstown, OH: Butler Institute of American Art, 1996), 75-79.

[34]The artists and their works that appear in this essay are (in alphabetical order): Bacon, Peggy. "Crosspatch (The Titan)." Lithograph. 1929. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 6; Cikovsky, Nicolai. "On the East River." Lithograph. Mid-1930s. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 26; Citron, Minna Wright. "An honest living. "Etching. 1934. In Ekedal & Robinson, 1986, 15; Evergood, Philip Howard Francis. "Still Life." Lithograph. 1944. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 46; Haupers, Clement. "Metro 1st Class." Etching. 1928. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 59; Lewis, Martin. "Cathedral Steps." Drypoint. 1931. In Ekedal & Robinson, 1986, 38; Lewis, Martin. "Subway Steps." Drypoint. 1930. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 91; Locke, Charles. "The Evening Paper." Lithograph. ca 1925. In Ekedal & Robinson, 1986, 39; Marsh, Reginald. "Hauptmann must die." Egg Tempera. 1935. In Butler, 1996, 81; Marsh, Reginald. "2nd Avenue El." Etching. 1929. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 97; Marsh, Reginald. "Why not use the EL?" Egg Tempera. 1930. In Butler, 1996, 41; Mastro-Valerio, Alessandro. "Morning Paper." Mezzotint. 1941. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 98; Sloan, John. "Nude and Newspaper." Etching. 1933. In Morse, 1969, 307; Sloan, John. "Sunbathers on the Roof." Etching. 1941. In Kraeft & Kraeft, 1984, 121; Sloan, John. "The Woman's Page." Etching. 1905. In Morse, 1969, 141; Soyer, Isaac. "Cafeteria." Oil on Canvas. 1930. In Butler, 1996, 70; Soyer, Raphael. "Window Shopper." Oil on canvas. 1938. In Butler, 1996, 76.

Bringing Down Giants: Thomas Nast, John Wilson Bengough and the Maturing of Political Cartooning

By David R. Spencer

Political cartooning came of age in Canada in 1873. Following a pattern similar to that of the United States, its success was based within a political scandal, in the Canadian case, over the payment of bribes to build a national railway. The young Canadian cartoonist who founded Grip *magazine in honour of his hero Charles Dickens also had another hero, the legendary Thomas Nast, who provided the inspiration for a young John Wilson Bengough to launch his weekly journal. Together, they were instrumental in "Bringing Down Giants."*

Thomas Nast and John Wilson Bengough had a lot in common. Both came from immigrant families. Both crafted careers on the antics of corrupt political figures and both prospered at least intellectually because of their art and their wit. Early in their careers both were single crusaders who were major actors in bringing down political dynasties with the power of their pictures and words. Both had the good fortune to become journalists when a new type of magazine was emerging, devoted to investigating the less desirable aspects of political and social life that accompanied the Gilded Age of

David R. Spencer, Past President of the American Journalism Historians Association, is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Information and Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada.

trade, urbanization and industrialization following the Civil War in the United States and the articles of Confederation in Canada. In the two decades between 1865 and 1885, the number of politically-oriented periodicals grew from 700 to 3,300 in the United States alone.[1]

There were fortunes to be made in the second half of the 19th century. Empires were being forged by Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal. Emergent industrialization in North America was a key player in what was becoming a global economic community stretching across the world's oceans. The interdependency of homeland and colony was responsible for an economic culture that operated with few rules and regulations. Clever entrepreneurs stood side by side with robber barons as symbols of wealth and power.

To get rich one had to take risks, but these risks were not necessarily destined to be legal. Both Boss Bill Tweed in New York and Sir John A. Macdonald in Canada refused to let minor matters such as law and ethics stand in their way. It took the genius of Thomas Nast in New York and the probing satire of John Wilson Bengough in Toronto to prove to these two titans of politics that Lord Acton was right when he observed that absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Labour Activism vs. Industrialization

Both Thomas Nast and John Wilson Bengough began their journalistic careers against a background of conflict between industrialization on one hand and labour activism on the other. In Canada, the year before Benough launched *Grip*, the nation was gripped by a landmark labour dispute that turned the tide on labour-management relations in the country. The politician upon whom Benough built his career, Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, was front and center in the events.

The Toronto Typographers Union had struck the Toronto newspaper *The Globe* in 1872 demanding an eight hour day. The owner of the *Globe* was George Brown, a father of the Canadian Confederation and a founder of the federal Liberal Party which sat in opposition to Macdonald's governing Conservatives. Brown, not one to be intimidated by unionists, retaliated by swearing out sedition charges against the union leadership. Macdonald, a longtime foe of the Toronto publisher, reacted in two ways. He passed the country's first legislation that legalized labour organizations and funded one of the country's first trade union newspapers, the *Ontario Workman,* if only to cause discomfort to Brown.

As much as Nast was prepared to take on the New York city political elite, Benough, who was born into a decidedly political and Liberal family, was handed a ready-made target in Macdonald, who had inherited a political stripe with a strong Tory past. Benough was unable to attack the Prime Minister in his defence of the working class. But, as the Pacific Scandal of 1873 would prove, the Prime Minister had skeletons in his closet, skeletons with a strong connection to the nation's elites.[2]

Although neither was born into an affluent family, neither suffered the pains of deprivation and starvation which were so common throughout the world before the mid-point of the 19th century. The young Nast grew up in a culture dominated by music and performance. As a young man in Landau, Germany, where he was born on September 27, 1840, Thomas Nast traveled with his father, sometimes carrying the musician's trombone when he played with the local regimental band in Landau or as a bit player for local theatrical presentations, most of which had a military theme.[3]

Similarly, there is no indication that John Wilson Bengough's life - long love affair with sketching and cartooning evolved as an influence in his family. He was the son of a Scottish immigrant, Captain John Bengough, who was born in St. Andrew's, Fifeshire, Scotland in 1819. The elder Bengough showed no signs of artistic passion, save his career as a cabinet maker and staircase builder. His major contribution to his son's life was a political agenda which remained with the younger Bengough throughout his career as an artist, journalist and traveling lecturer.

The elder Bengough was deeply involved in Canadian politics before the formation of Canada in the Confederation articles of 1867. He chose to shape the fortunes of Oliver Mowat, a leading intellectual in the Reform movement of journalist George Brown, a movement which gave birth to the modern Canadian Liberal Party. Captain John helped launch Mowat's career, hoping that his friend, a rising political star in the mid-Victorian period, would adopt the single tax principles of Henry George to which he and his son were both devoted.[4]

Journalism As Art and Art As Journalism

Thomas Nast arrived at journalism through art. John Wilson Bengough arrived in art through journalism. In spite of his father's urging to either study music or learn a trade, the young Thomas Nast was only interested in becoming an artist. After moving to New York, he registered in a drawing class conducted by a German émigre named Theodore

Kaufman. When Kaufman's studio burned to the ground, destroying everything in it, Nast no longer had an artistic home until he registered in the New York Academy of Design. He drew and painted, and at the tender age of 15, decided he was ready to enter the commercial world.

He approached Frank Leslie, founder and editor of *The Weekly*. Leslie, impressed by his sketches, commissioned the young artist to draw a crowd of revelers traveling to the Elysian fields on the New Jersey side of the river. He spent the day creating the scene in Illustration 1, a feat which launched his career with the legendary New York publisher.[5] For the remainder of his working days, Thomas Nast was primarily in the service of others.

John Wilson Bengough grew up in the town of Whitby, now a suburb on the eastern borders of Toronto, Canada's largest city. It was there in his

Illustration 1.

spare time that he made a regular trip downtown to read the latest copy of *Harper's Weekly*. Bengough, nine years junior to Thomas Nast, had become fascinated with the influence that Nast was exercising in New York politics.

> My interest in cartooning was first awakened by the work of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*. I was amongst the devoted admirers of his elaborate and slashing full page attacks in that "journal of civilization" on Boss Tweed and the Tammany Ring,

as the paper reached our town each week through the local bookstore. Nast had the field of political cartooning practically to himself for years, and must have inspired thousands of boys as he did me.[6]

After leaving school, Bengough tried his hand at photography and clerking in a law office. He was happy with neither. He then sought employment with the local newspaper, the *Whitby Gazette,* where he began his journey into journalism as a printer's devil. Here he made his first contact with Thomas Nast. In 1870, he wrote to his hero at *Harper's*, enclosing one of his own sketches, a picture of Boss Tweed cowering in front of the cartoonist Nast. It had been sketched in the Nast style. The gracious Nast responded to the correspondence in which he commended the young Bengough for the accuracy of his imitation of the well-known U.S. figure. More than ever, Bengough was determined to follow his idol's pathway in life.

Looking for a more challenging career, Bengough moved to Toronto to take a reporter's position with the Toronto *Globe*. The newspaper was owned by George Brown, a fiery Scots Presbyterian and a future Father of Confederation who considered the newsroom his personal fiefdom. He was also no stranger to controversy. He had fought with the Toronto printers' unions twice, once in 1853 shortly after he had founded the *Globe* and again in 1872, an action which encouraged his arch-rival and Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, to offer a mortgage to the printers to establish a labour newspaper, the *Ontario Workman*.[7]

A man with Bengough's spirit could not thrive under the tight reign that Brown held at the *Globe*. In spite of the fact that editorially-driven cartoons had appeared as early as the mid-1840s in magazines such as *Punch In Canada*, the newspaper industry saw itself as something distinct from commentary magazines. Although cheeky upstarts such as *Diogenes, Grinchuckle* and *Canadian Illustrated News* actively competed with daily newspapers in the area of political news, Brown and his colleagues in the daily press had neither the inspiration nor the technology to add illustrations to their newspapers. While specialty journals, both political and non-political, were adding more and more visual effects to their publications, newspaper owners and publishers decided to leave the cartooning field to them.

First Canadian Editorial Cartoons Appear in 1876

It was not until Hugh Graham of the *Montreal Star* hired illustrator Henri Julien in 1876 that the first editorial cartoons appeared in Cana-

dian dailies.[8] However, the impact and importance of the politically-charged drawing did not escape the attention of John Wilson Bengough. In New York, the persistent Nast was becoming an irritant to some powerful people, particularly the Tammany Hall leader Boss Tweed. Tweed was so vexed by the attention he received from Nast in *Harper's Weekly* that he considered banning textbooks published by the Harper Brothers from city schools.[9]

The Nast legend has merited no less than 27 entries in John A. Lent's *International Biography of Animation, Caricature and Gag and Political Cartoons in the United States and Canada.*[10] Until Carmen Cumming's "Sketches of a Young Nation," Bengough had been the subject of only two Master's theses and one journal article.[11] There is no need to repeat much of what has been written about Nast in this discourse. Yet it is important to recognize that Nast, working with the sole support of his publishers, the Harper Brothers, staked his career and reputation on his visual dissection of the Tammany Ring in cartoons such as the one in **Illustration 2.** Although Tweed was a very large man at six feet tall and nearly 300 pounds, he was not the lead-footed, grotesquely fat drunk that Nast pictured him to be.[12] The long, lean and devious Macdonald, a far more accurate caricature, would become Bengough's trademark.

The Nast style, with its exaggerated figures and enclosed dialogues to explain the motives behind the cartoon, would characterize Benough's work throughout his life. Yet, much of Bengough's work lacked the bite and wit of Nast. Unlike Nast, he had at least the support of the opposition members of the Canadian parliament upon whom he could depend.

Illustration 2.

Bengough Launches *Grip*

While lingering at the *Globe* with dreams of becoming Canada's Thomas Nast, Bengough realized that he had to improve his artistic skills. He enrolled at the Toronto school, The Society of Artists. During his one term, he was exposed to a traditional artistic curriculum. He saw little value in spending time carving imitations of classic sculptures and decided to leave.[13] Fortune was on his side. The new technology of lithography had reached the Toronto media and Bengough learned to use it well enough to sell his sketches on the city's street corners. It was at this time he decided to launch the satirical magazine *Grip*.

The first edition of *Grip* appeared in Toronto on May 24, 1873 in **Illustraton 3**. *Grip* was named in honour of the raven in the Charles Dickens' novel *Barnaby Rudge*. Dickens was Bengough's second literary passion. In the first issue, Bengough noted:

> Dickens had not amongst his various and inimitable literary progeny a more original or entertaining creation than "Barnaby Rudge's protégé, the well-known and beloved raven GRIP. Though the raven race have no enviable reputation, being traditionally stigmatized as bearers of ill-omen only, there is no reader but likes GRIP's company, for he is in all points an exceptional bird: there is for instance, such a wholesome contrast between his glad and frequent "Never Say Die!" and the croaker that perched upon Mr. Edgar Poe's bust of PALLAS, and according to the latest account, "still is sitting, still is sitting there." Well, having assumed his name, we will emulate GRIP's virtue, and look for the same respect abroad. [14]

From that point to the end of the journal in 1892, Bengough never spoke unless it was through the character Grip. In the first issue, he stated the journal's editorial perspective:

> GRIP will be entirely independent and impartial, always and on all subjects. Nothing unworthy of good breeding will be admitted to his columns, though it will be his to offer timely admonitions to all who may need them; and lastly, his literary character will be jealously guarded by all the clever people in the land. And now, as GRIP's prologue is spoke, he bows and

Illustration 3.

backs to his post, and the curtain, rolling gracefully down, shuts out for a little his generous patrons he knows they'll be so—the grave but sympathetic public.[15]

Almost as a side issue, Bengough announced that "a cartoon on a popular subject will occupy the third page of each issue. Political and Social Affairs will always be treated with independence.[16]

Macdonald Offers An Opportune Target

The success of a journal based on political commentary must have some political controversy upon which to comment. Nast had his Tweed and the Tammany Ring to gorge in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*. Although we do not know whether or not John Wilson Bengough was gifted with great insight or happened to be in the right place at the right time, he launched *Grip* at the height of rumours that something was rotten in the government of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Macdonald's Conservative Party had been elected as the country's first federal administration following Confederation in 1867 with a majority of 75 members in the lower house of the Canadian Parliament, known as the House of Commons.[17] Macdonald presided over the four original provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the latter forced into Confederation against its will by the British Government.

Macdonald, like his arch enemy George Brown, was of Scottish heritage. He came to the national capital as a young lawyer from the Lake Ontario town of Kingston with a reputation of being a ribald drinker and carouser. In spite of the frailties of the flesh, Macdonald had a vision of a great new nation stretching from coast to coast based on British Imperial principles, which he believed would help curtail what he regarded as the excesses of American liberal democracy in North America. And, like many of his contemporaries in Canada, he feared the possibility that the small nation forming north of the 49th parallel would be swallowed up by the giant to the south.

Annexationist sentiment was alive and well in Canada in the second half of the 19th century. It was supported by some of the country's leading intellectual lights, such as the psychiatrist Richard Maurice Bucke, who yearned for a reunification of North American Anglo Saxonism with his idol Walt Whitman as "the prophet of world empire and imperialism."[18] The question came to a head, at least in intellectual circles, when Toronto academic Goldwyn Smith published his treatise *Canada and The Canadian Question* in 1891 urging Canadians to abandon the dream of nationhood and submit to the pull of the south to create a strong North American economic and political union.[19]

To be labeled an annexationist in Victoria, Canada, was roughly parallel to being called a misogynist in modern parlance. When Macdonald became Prime Minister in 1867, he was determined to defeat what he considered to be a noisy, misguided minority anchored largely in intellectual circles. The first step in his dream was to bring British Columbia, Canada's most western territory, into Confederation as the nation's fifth province. Macdonald was convinced that if he successfully convinced west coasters that their collective future lay within the Canadian union, it would be only a matter of time before new provinces would be carved out of the vast aboriginal lands lying between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. His vision would prove to be prophetic.

In 1871, the federal government signed the accord of union with the territorial government of British Columbia. It came with an ex-

tremely high price. Macdonald promised to build a railway connecting the new province to the rail system that was starting to appear in the country's two most populous provinces, Ontario and Quebec. Macdonald also agreed that eventually the railway system should be extended to Atlantic Canada. The railway, from ocean to ocean, was to be the steel spine upon which the nation was to be built. As a man of his word, the Prime Minister introduced the Canadian Pacific Railway Act into the House of Commons in 1872. Following passage, construction was to begin immediately to take place over a ten year period.[20]

The government decreed that the railway should be built only on Canadian territory. A line through Michigan and the U.S. Midwest would have been much shorter. Construction workers also would not have had to face the landscape of the Laurentian shield north of Lake Superior which would prove to be both treacherous and expensive. Future governments were not so nationalistically inclined. Faced with the history of the construction of the westward links, they decided that eastern links could pass through Maine and terminate in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Following passage of the legislation, the government set out to award contracts. The incentives were massive. The government set aside a fund of $30 million and 50 million acres of land as its contribution to the scheme. As Edward Blake, a Liberal member from Ontario noted, "It is difficult for the mind to apprehend the magnitude of these figures. $30 million is a national treasure; from 50 million acres you can carve several independent states."[21]

Rumours persisted in Ottawa that Macdonald's government was prepared to award the contract to a Montreal consortium headed by Sir Hugh Allan. Like Macdonald and Liberal leader Alexander Mackenzie, Allan was Scottish, hailing from a poor area of Glasgow. Determined to escape the poverty of the old country, he speculated what little income he earned in marine stocks. By the time he contended for the Canadian Pacific contract, Allan had made a vast fortune in transatlantic shipping.

Allan's entrepreneurial spirit had attracted two influential Canadian investors, George Stephen and Donald Smith. Smith eventually assumed the noble title Lord Strathcona. He was the man who drove the last spike for the Canadian Pacific at Craigellachie, British Columbia. Allan and his partners had been advocating the construction of a transcontinental railway since 1870 when the British government ceded the Hudson's Bay Company lands to Canada, thus making a transcontinental line feasible.

In spite of the nationalist fervour that coloured Macdonald's rhetoric in the campaign to sell the project to Canadian voters, Allan lined up a consortium of backers who did not share in the enthusiasm unless the venture could prove to be highly profitable. In fact, most of the major players were Americans. Allan's backers included George McMullen, who had been born in Canada but had since emigrated to the United States, where he set up a number of businesses in Chicago. McMullen persuaded other American investors to join the scheme, including William Butler Ogden and General George Cass, both major figures in the Northern Pacific Railway. The most controversial acquisition was a Philadelphia banker named Jay Cooke. Cooke had been most vocal about his support for annexationists in Canada. He joined the scheme with the primary mission to ensure that the Canadian Pacific would become part of the U.S. rail system in the Northwest.[22]

On April 2, 1873, Lucius Huntington, a Liberal member of the House of Commons, rose in the chamber and made the following motion:

> –That Mr. Huntington, a member of this House, having stated in his place, that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence,
> –That in anticipation of the Legislation of last Session, as to the Pacific Railway, an agreement was made between Sir Hugh Allan, acting for himself, and certain other Canadian promoters, and G. W. McMullen, acting for certain United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds necessary for the construction of the contemplated railway, and to give the former a certain percentage of interest in consideration of their interest and position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian Company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head,
> –That the Government were aware that negotiations were pending between these parties,
> –That subsequently, an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abott, M.P.,
> – That Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the Elections of Ministers and their supporters at the ensuring General Election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for

the construction of the Railway,
–That accordingly Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation and under the pressing instances of Ministers.[23]

Huntington fueled the fire of corruption by further announcing that the money came from American sources, specifically the Chicago businessman McMullen and his cronies. Parliament came to a halt.

Finally, by the end of May, it was apparent that the nation's business could no longer be conducted in the legislature and Macdonald prorogued the session which inspired a poem and cartoon from Bengough (**Illustration 4**).

PROROGATION
by a conscientious M.P.

The boys are all dismissed again;
The sweep has locked the doors and gone;
Mid pastures green now rusticate
In peace, brave ALECK and Sir JOHN

What have we done, constituents dear?
What have I of results to show?
Let's see; - you mean by way of work?
I've got -why-hang me if I know![24]

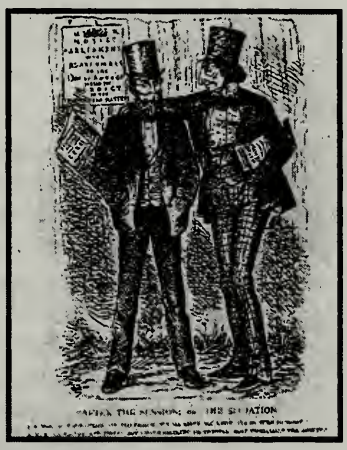


Illustration 4.

Bengough's May 31st sketch shows the Prime Minister with his hand on the shoulders of Alexander MacKenzie of the Liberal Party while trying to convince the opposition leader that the closing of Parliament was, in effect, "his turn to treat." It would not be the last time that the two Scots immigrants, the pillars of Canadian politics, would be sketched as a team by Bengough.

At the centre of Huntington's accusation was concrete evidence. He had acquired a letter written from Montreal by Sir Hugh Allan to his

partner in Chicago, complaining about the tardiness of the negotiations which would award him the Canadian Pacific contract. As always, Sir Hugh remained optimistic about the final outcome which was being delayed by Macdonald's concerns about the upcoming federal elections due in 1873. Allan advised the Prime Minister that his backers had to be assured that Sir Hugh was satisfied with any agreement. Macdonald conceded and Allan reported to his partners that an agreement had been finally reached. As his words demonstrate, this in itself was not particularly damaging:

> Yesterday we entered into an agreement by which the Government bound itself to form a company of Canadians only, according to my wishes, that this Company will make me President, and that I and my friends will get a majority of the stock, and that the contract for building the road will be given to this Company in terms of the Act of Parliament.

Then Sir Hugh began to drift into some more controversial aspects of his deal:

> Americans are to be carefully excluded in the fear that they will sell it to the Northern Pacific. But I fancy we can get over that some way or other.

He continued with the most damaging confession in the correspondence:

> This position has not been attained without large payments of money. I have already paid over $200,000, and I will have at least $100,000 more to pay. I must now soon know what our New York friends are going to do. They did not answer my last letter.[25]

Allan revealed that he had funded, almost singlehandedly, Macdonald's bid for re-election. And, in spite of loose laws concerning the behaviour of political parties in Canada, this was illegal.

With the Houses of Parliament closed indefinitely, Macdonald felt that he could diffuse the growing storm surrounding the scandal. Although opposition members of the House of Commons did not have direct access to the Prime Minister in the daily debates, they did have access to sympathetic newspapers. On July 4 and on July 18 respectively,

Illustration 5.

the *Montreal Herald* and the *Toronto Globe* published additional letters from Sir Hugh Allan which confirmed Huntington's position that the contract was awarded in exchange for financial assistance for the ruling Conservative Party. The intricate knot that tied Macdonald (seen on the left in **Illustration 5**) and his finance minister Sir Francis Hincks (seen on the right in **Illustration 5**) to Sir Hugh Allan (seen in the centre) was the subject of Bengough's view of the matter in the July 19th issue of *Grip*.

Bengough Creates a New Vocabulary

The artist was inspired by the story of Laocoon and his war with serpents which Bengough adapted for his own purposes. Bengough also

toyed with developing a new language to describe the major players in the Pacific Scandal. For Macdonald, he created the new word "Jonatiate" which he announced meant "to wriggle-prevaricate-recriminate-procrastinate." For Sir Hugh, the word "Allanise" meant "to scheme-to subsidize-to affidavitise."

George Brown did not escape the wrath of the cartoonist. He was pilloried for his coverage of the Pacific Scandal, which Bengough felt was far too politically driven. Brown's new word was "Brownoric" meaning "ambiguous-muddy-in fact brown." The ocean to which the railway was to stretch was "boisterous-ill-omened-suggestive of sinking." The politician who broke the Pacific Scandal, Lucius Huntington, was one of the few who received favourable treatment. His word "Huntingtonic" meant "inquisitive-prying-impertinent." However, Sir Francis Hincks' nickname "Hinksize" was used to describe "a stick in the mud; that's the size of that," said Benough. For his readers who were getting nightmares thinking about the Pacific Scandal, Bengough advised them that the situation could be resolved by staying awake.[26]

As July rolled into August, even Macdonald realized that the accusations of corruption and bribery would have to be aired in the House. He announced that Parliament would re-convene on August 13th. Bengough was certain that the Prime Minister and the Conservative Party would be unable to survive the session. In his August 9th issue, he mused on Macdonald's fate. Looking a decade into the future in the town of Kingston, Ontario, he saw "a melancholy individual clothed in sackcloth seated on a fragment of granite. We were told his name was Macdonald, and that he had been a minister of something. He was singing a mournful ditty, the words of which we had the curiosity to preserve.

> Harken to me, Christian people; while my sorrows I disclose,
> While I sing in doleful numbers, all the story of my woes;
> I, who once so gaily rolled up every large majority,
> I alas! am now no longer, leader Parliamentary.
>
> Carelessly, ah! Sir Hugh Allan! didst thou both of us betray;
> Why concealed'st thou not those letters from the fatal eye of day?
> Happy were those dark-age statesmen, who did never use to write,
> Thou hads't roads built-I still governed-had we kept from black and white

All the country to the canines, now in rapid progress goes,
Brown has grabbed his final dollar and in Scotland seeks repose;
I in grief all unavailing, sing my sorrows far and near,
Give one obolus of pity to old Belisarius here."[27]

In what eventually proved to be Bengough's most memorable cartoon, he sketched what he felt would be the dominant theme to be laid before the members.

In the cartoon, Bengough takes liberty with the old nursery rhyme "Four and Twenty Blackbirds" (see **Illustration 6**). Presenting the dainty dish to the Speaker of the House are Alexander Mackenzie on the right, leader of the Liberal Party, who is accompanied by Edward Blake who joined the Mackenzie cabinet after the fall of Macdonald. Macdonald is just below the speaker's scepter. To his right is Uncle Sam, representing the American involvement in the scandal. Just below Uncle Sam is Sir Francis Hincks. To his right is T.C. Patterson, owner of the *Toronto Mail*, one of Macdonald's staunchest supporters.

Illustration 6.

Immediately to the left of Hincks is James Beaty, owner of the *Toronto Leader*, another Toronto journalist and Macdonald supporter. To his left is Sir Hugh Allan, and finally just across from Blake's elbow is the Honourable M. Langevin, who was accused by the Liberal Party of stealing over $2 million in graft money.[28] The two journalists were included because both had what one observer noted as a "natural instinct to protect the government."[29]

Scandal Travels Faster Than a Hurricane

The Parliament of Canada began sitting once again on August 13th. Members had only one thing on their minds, the Pacific Scandal. The

government was totally unable to conduct any business as accusations blew across the floor faster than a hurricane traveling up the Caribbean Sea. Once again, Macdonald pulled the plug before the day was out. Bengough was deeply disturbed by the events. In his August 16th issue, he commented on the ways of politics with both verse and sketch. The *Clear Grit*, an old term for Reform Liberals, is a reference to opposition leader Alexander MacKenzie.

> The Clear Grit Chief, and 90 of his men,
> To Ottawa went, and then back again.

He recalled a humourous, at least for the time, children's hymn which went as follows:

> If I were a cassowary,
> On the Plains of Timbuctoo,
> I'd devour the missionary,
> Hat and boots, and hymn-book too.

The Macdonald version read as follows:

> If I were a cuss-so-wary,
> On the Plains of Ottawa,
> I'd appoint Commission nary
> Till I'd papers got away.[30]

Illustration 7.

His cartoon was not nearly as humourous as his verse. The anxiety that Bengough demonstrated throughout the life for what he felt was the decaying state of democracy is clearly stated in the drawing of Macdonald stomping on the prostrate form of Miss Canada (**Illustration 7**). Note the liquor bottle on the left, protruding from his jacket pocket.

Macdonald made one major concession to the opposition. He appointed a three-person Royal Commission to investigate the charges. In Canada, a Royal Commission has many of the same powers as the United States Senate's Committees of Inquiry. The three investigators (James Cowan, Antoine Polette and Charles Day) were all members of the

judiciary and known supporters of the Government. The commissioners stated:

> ...coinciding with Your Excellency (Macdonald) in the view that the terms of the Commission do not require them to pronounce judicially on the evidence, consider that their duty will have been fully discharged when they shall have forwarded to the Secretary of State the accompanying depositions and documents with this Report, in triplicate, as required by their instructions–unless a report of their opinion on the result of the evidence should be specially required.[31]

In essence, the commission was only empowered to call witnesses and transcribe their testimonies. It had no powers to subpoena or punish those who refused to testify. One of the reluctant witnesses was none other than Lucius Huntington, who felt that the commission was nothing more than a process through which the government could cover up all its sins. He had a point.

The commission sat from September 4th to October 1st, taking depositions from 36 witnesses. All were known government supporters or hangers-on. The commission, in keeping with its mandate, refused to lay blame. In fact, the entire report consists of no more than a few introductory pages followed by transcripts of the evidence and copies of correspondence between the principal players.[32]

In the August 23rd issue of *Grip*, Bengough showed his disgust for the procedure by drawing a picture of Macdonald standing in the witness box in front of his appointees (**Illustration 8**). A closer look reveals that judge, witness and attorney are all Macdonald in the cartoon in which Bengough accuses the Prime Minister of trying himself.

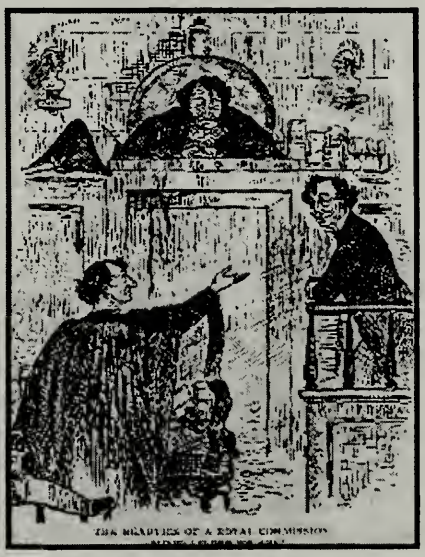


Illustration 8.

Also note that the two prominent Toronto journalists who supported Macdonald without question are enshrined under the titles of The *Mail* and *Leader* to the left and right of the bench.

However, not all journalists were fooled by the antics of the government. In Macdonald's home town of Kingston, Ontario, the *British Whig* declared that:

> Public Opinion has for years been demoralised by the corrupt rule of Sir John A. Macdonald, a man whose abilities fitted him to play a distinguished part in the government of the country, but whose insatiable lust of office and unconquerable love of corruption have not only ruined any enviable reputation he might otherwise have earned, but have, to a lamentable extent, saturated the public mind with his noxious influence and lowered standard of public morals.[33]

While the Commission sat, the House of Commons did not. However, opposition members took to the road and returned to their respective home territories to pillory the Government at every chance they had. Speaking in London, Ontario, just before the first Royal Commission hearings, Edward Blake charged that the government was well aware of the implications of Sir Hugh Allan's correspondence. He charged a faithful Conservative had been told to keep the letters secret until the next federal election had been completed. Blake pointed his finger directly at Macdonald and announced to his audience that he knew the Prime Minister was guilty of immoral acts of the highest order.[34]

The Honourable David Mills, an Ontario Liberal M.P. , speaking to an audience in Aylmer, Ontario, noted that it was impossible for any member of the House of Commons to vote on legislation in which that member stood to gain financially. But, as Mills pointed out, the legislation which granted the Canadian Pacific franchise not only condoned such behaviour, but promoted it. He concluded his address by accusing Macdonald of accepting $45,000 from Sir Hugh Allan to influence the outcome of elections in Ontario. This, noted Mills, was a direct contravention of electoral law.[35]

Bengough came to the defense of Huntington, whose refusal to testify in front of the Royal Commission resulted in several vicious attacks

Illustration 9.

in the Tory press. Macdonald's journalistic friends declared that Huntington was afraid to face the Prime Minister, lest his accusations be exposed for the lies they were. Macdonald, in the unflattering caricature in **Illustration 9** awaits his prey, while Mackenzie and the *Globe* refuse to remain at the potential scene of battle.

Canadians Starting to Act Like Americans

Editorial writers at Kingston's *British Whig* were particularly incensed, but not because Macdonald was a native of the city. For them, the question of Canada's British purity and morality had been severely undermined by the Government's behaviour. To the disgust of the editorial staff, Canadians were starting to behave like Americans where corruption and immorality, typified by the Tweed scandals in New York,

were characteristic and thought to be normal in U. S. political life. In a reference to Canadians, the journal on July 22, 1873 noted that:

> People have long thought that they were exempt from the corruption with which they were fond of taunting their American neighbours but they were furnished with proofs of greater political rascality in their public men than the other country was ever cursed with.[36]

Meanwhile back in Toronto, home of *Grip*, business matters involved some major changes. When the journal was founded, its first editor was Charles P. Hall, whom some believe was a pseudonym for Bengough, who was still employed on a full-time basis by the *Globe*. "Hall" was succeeded on July 26th by Jimuel Briggs, D.B. (Dead Beat), a.k.a. Phillips Thompson, a lawyer who had become a journalist associated with dozens of radical and esoteric ideologies through the Victorian period.

Thompson made the mistake of printing an editorial sympathetic to liquor interests, forgetting, or ignoring, that his boss was a dedicated teetotaler and prohibitionist. He departed after the September 6th issue at the height of interest in the Pacific Scandal. It was at this point that "Barnaby Rudge" and "Demos Mudge" a.k.a. R. H. Larminie of the *Globe,* became joint editors of the paper. It wasn't until March 29, 1879 that it was published for the first time that Rudge was, in effect, J.W. Bengough.[37]

Under the Demos and Rudge mandate, Macdonald and his government came under close scrutiny in both verse and sketch. Free of Thompson and his flirtation with anti-capitalist attitudes and pro-socialist commentaries, Bengough brought a Victorian liberal and moral approach to his pillory of Macdonald. Although closely allied with the federal Liberal Party,

Illustration 10.

Bengough refused to allow partisanship to

influence his disgust at the government's behaviour in the Pacific affair. He was an editor and a humourist driven by a need for morality in politics, a morality governed by the firm belief that there were right and wrong approaches to public decisionmaking.[38] As **Illustration 10** demonstrates, Bengough feared that Macdonald would escape justice. While Mackenzie and his cohorts on the left continued to paint the Prime Minister with the tar of corruption, Macdonald's friends on the Royal Commission are covering him with the bath of whitewash.

Bengough was encouraged when the *Mail*, one of Macdonald's most fervent supporters, wrote in its September 26th issue that "We in Canada seem To Have Lost All Idea Of Justice, Honor and Integrity." The defection of the *Mail* did more than inspire the accompanying cartoon by Bengough: it signaled the beginning of a number of defections by prominent Conservatives which would bring about the end of Macdonald's

I ADMIT I TOOK THE MONEY, AND BRIBED THE ELECTORS WITH IT. IS THERE ANYTHING WRONG ABOUT THAT?
"WE IN CANADA SEEM TO HAVE LOST ALL IDEA OF JUSTICE, HONOR AND INTEGRITY."—THE MAIL, 26TH SEPTEMBER.

Illustration 11.

government before the year was out. In **Illustration 11** Macdonald is seen confessing to his old adversary and eventual successor, Alexander Mackenzie, that he did indeed accept money to award a railway contract to Sir Hugh Allan. But in typical Bengough fashion, it becomes not a question of expediency and fool-hardiness, but one of morals and politics.

Macdonald called Parliament back into session on October 23, 1873. He was facing a divided House with many of his own loyal members questioning whether or not the Government should be allowed to continue. The Report of the Royal Commission was presented to the members along with several dispatches by the Governor-General, the Queen's representative in Canada, who was then and is now the constitutional, but ceremonial head of state.

The battling went on for over a week. Alexander MacKenzie presented a motion of non-confidence in the government, a motion which had it succeeded would have forced the government to resign. The Conservatives retaliated with motions of confidence. Although no vote was taken, Macdonald became convinced that he could not survive.

The Prime Minister offered his resignation and that of his Government to Lord Dufferin the Governor-General on November 5th. It was accepted and Mackenzie was asked to form a new administration. He

Illustration 12.

did, and immediately called for new elections.[39] On November 8th, Bengough took what he must have felt at the time was his final salvo against Macdonald (Illustration 12). He could not have predicted that the old warrior would once again be Prime Minister after defeating Mackenzie in 1876.

In the first issue of Volume 2 of *Grip* Bengough paid a "tribute" to the man whom he considered as the reason for his journalistic and artistic success. Like many of his tales, the story is told as a parable:

> It was a midnight dreary. A spare-built Knight Companion of the Bath, with kinky hair, one lock of which fell over his pale brow, reclined dreamily upon a rich couch in his chamber, gazing at the ghosts wrought upon the floor by the flames dying in the fireplace, and reading in their mystic movements the story of a political chieftain's career. While he was still looking, he beheld a brave spirit driven to earth, and as he fell the light danced readily o'er the battle-field a moment, and then the embers expired. Suddenly, there was a silken and sad rustling at the window curtain, and when the Knight rose and opened the window a lordly Raven strutted in and perched himself over the door, upon a marble bust whose features closely resembled one ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. There he continued to sit in solemn silence (not deeming it polite to be the first to speak). The Knight on his part, was lost in awe at the strange visitor, and it was quite a long time before he demanded, in a frenzy of fear, "Whence Comest thou?" To this the Raven replied, "Don't be afraid, Sir John, I'm only your friend GRIP. I just dropped in to pay you my respects, and to present you with my FIRST VOLUME, whose extraordinary success has been due in no small measure to yourself.[40]

At the height of the Pacific Scandal, the journal sold more than 2,000 copies a week to subscribers and more on news stands. Bengough's brother Thomas who was also involved in the Grip Publishing Company reported that weekly bundles of the magazine were shipped to the national capital in Ottawa to an awaiting market of members of the House of Commons. To keep up with demand, Bengough redrew many of his memorable cartoons of Macdonald which were lithographed and sold in book form. By 1886, Bengough boasted that *Grip* was read by 50,000 persons weekly.[41]

Bengough continued to edit copy and draw for *Grip* until he was removed as editor and cartoonist by Frank Wilson, who had taken over management of the printing side of the business in 1883. The journal remained in existence with a number of freelance cartoonists, who were unable to attract the loyal following of Bengough. In October 1892, Bengough joined the *Montreal Star* as a cartoonist, but by January 1894, he was once again running *Grip*. The man who made the magazine, Sir John A. Macdonald, had been dead since 1891. Bengough, who confessed to meeting Macdonald only once in his long career,[42] had lost the *raison d'etre* for his journal. In December 1894, *Grip* closed its doors forever.[43]

Although his magazine was gone, the cartoonist did not suffer for lack of demand for his talents. He traveled across Canada and throughout the world, in particular to the United States, Australia and New Zealand, giving humourous talks in which he would sketch characters while chatting with his audience. With the death of *Grip*, he sketched for the *Globe*, the *Montreal Star*, the British based *Morning Chronicle* (London), the *Single Tax Review*, the labour newspaper *The Industrial Banner*, the *Canadian Graphic*, the *Christian Endeavor World*, the Toronto *Evening Telegram* and eventually, from 1906 to 1907, for the Chicago-based liberal political journal, *The Public*, predecessor to the modern day *New Republic*.[44] On August 18, 1897, Bengough paid tribute to a rising young cartoonist R. F. Outcault, creator of the Yellow Kid, (**Illustration 13**) in New York with a sketch in the Toronto *Globe*.

Illustration 13.

On October 23, 1923 while sketching a cartoon on the evils of tobacco, he died of a heart attack at his easel.

In the many instances that journalists have been involved in bringing down governments, there remains considerable controversy as to just

how effective the fourth estate really is. Had Boss Tweed, Sir John A. Macdonald, Jimmy Walker and Richard Nixon not participated in events that were clearly beyond the point of tolerance in their respective societies, it is questionable whether the journalistic knife could have been driven to a fatal contact with the political infrastructure. Many others have survived where these four did not. One can certainly speculate that most citizens will tolerate some indiscretion in their political leaders, but there is clearly a boundary which cannot be exceeded.

Bengough & Nast: Documenting Political Scandal

It is a tribute to both Thomas Nast and John Wilson Bengough, ordinary people with ordinary lives, that they understood and successfully exploited violations of standards of behaviour expected of those holding elected office. Yet there is no indication that they themselves desired power or fame and fortune. They were not of the political or social class in the societies in which they lived and worked. They were journalists in every meaning of the word, and to the last, they remained what they always were, workers in a world dominated by the rich and powerful. Nast died as an impoverished consul for the American government in Ecuador. Bengough ran for and was elected to Toronto City Council in 1907. At his death he left a modest but hardly extravagant estate to his second wife.

With Nast and Bengough, political cartooning came of age in both the United States and Canada. It is easy to speculate that someone, somewhere would have taken up the mantle of satire that these two artists and commentators perfected and that may be very well true. But they were at the right place at the right time, proving, perhaps that once and for all, without a good scandal to caricature, the craft and art of political cartooning would be missing one of its core ingredients.

Endnotes

[1] Sidney Kobre, *The Yellow Press And Gilded Age Journalism* (Tallahassee, Florida: The Florida State University Press, 1952) pp. 314-15.

[2] David R. Spencer, "Alternative Visions: The Intellectual Heritage of Nonconformist Journalists in Canada" in Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (eds.) *Newsworkers: Toward A History Of the Rank and File* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. 160.

[3] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast. His Period and His Pictures* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1904), pp. 5,6.

[4] Whitby, Ontario *The Whitby Chronicle*, 3 November 1899 (copied from clippings on the J.E. Farewell Scrapbooks, McLaughlin Public Library, Oshawa, Ontario.

[5] Paine, pp. 16-20.

[6] J. W. Bengough, *Bengough's Chalk-Talks,* (Toronto, Ontario: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1922), p. 5.

[7] J. M. S. Careless, *Brown Of The Globe (Vol. 2),* (Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 290.

[8] Toronto, Ontario, "J. W. Bengough: Pioneer Cartoonist," *Saturday Night Magazine*, 13 October, 1923.

[9] Oliver E. Allen, *The Tiger: The Rise and Fall of Tammany Hall* (New York, N.Y.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1993), p. 121.

[10] John A. Lent *Animation, Caricature, and Gag and Political Cartoons In The United States and Canada: An International Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut and London, England: The Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 339-341.

[11] See Stanley Paul Kutcher, *John Wilson Bengough: Artist of Righteousness* (Hamilton, Ontario: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1975) and Dennis Edward Blake, *J. W. Bengough and Grip: The Canadian Cartoon Comes of Age* (Waterloo, Ontario: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1985) Kutcher published part of his dissertation in "Urban History", 1976 76(2), pp. 3-49.

[12] Allen, p. 81.

[13] Blake, pp. 16-17.

[14] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 1, 24 May 1873.

[15] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 1, 24 May 1873.

[16] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 1, 24 May 1873.

[17] Address by Edward Blake, federal Liberal member at Bowmanville, Ontario, 26 May 1873, CIHM, No. 23820.

[18] Ramsey Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism In Victorian English Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 28.

[19] Cook, p. 101.

[20] James Beaty, *The History of the Lake Superior Ring* (Toronto, Ontario: The Leader and The Patriot, 1874) p. 1. It should be noted here that Beaty was an active Conservative. This pamphlet was composed in defence of Macdonald and the actions of his Government following the collapse of the Conservative administration. It was directed at Alexander Mackenzie and the Browns of Toronto (i.e. George Brown) whom Beaty charged sold their interests in the railway construction to a well known American annexationist Jay Cooke of Philadelphia. Ironically, Cooke had been included in the original consortium.

[21] Blake, 26 May 1873.

[22] Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona: A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto, Ontario: The Dundurn Press, 1996), pp. 211-212.

[23] CIHM, No. 23823, Comments on the Proceedings and Evidence of Charges Preferred by Mr. Huntington, M.P. Against the Government of Canada.

[24] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 2, 31 May 1873.

[25] CIHM No. 16495, Edmund Burke Wood, Speech of the Hon. E. B. Wood in the House of Commons on the Pacific Scandal. Reading of letter from Sir Hugh Allan.

[26] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 7, 12 July 1873.

[27] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 11, 9 August 1873.

[28] CIHM, No. 09047 "Liberal Party Canada: Wholesale plunder: The McGreevy Langevin Scandal at Quebec. Nearly Two Million Stolen."

[29] David Hugh Russell *The Ontario Press And The Pacific Scandal of 1873*, (Kingston, Ontario: Unpublished Master's Thesis, Queen's University, 1970), p. 10.

[30] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 1, No. 12, 16 August 1873.

[31] CIHM, No. 15566 Report of the Royal Commissioners, Appointed by the Government, addressed to them, under the Great Seal of Canada, bearing the date fourteenth of August A.D., 1873.

[32] Russell, pp. 6-7.

[33] Russell, pp. 39-40.

[34] CIHM, No. 23822, Edward Blake Speaking at London on Thursday 28 August, 1873.

[35] CIHM, No. 15648, Condensed Report of An Address by Mr. Mills, M.P., at Aylmer, Ontario.

[36] Russell, p. 48.

[37] Carl Spadoni, "Grip and The Bengoughs as Publishers and Printers", *Papers Of The Bibliographic Society of Canada*, XXXVII, p. 16.

[38] Kucher, p. 16.

[39] Russell, p. 7.

[40] Toronto, Ontario, *Grip*, Volume 2, No. 1, 29 November 1873

[41] Spadoni, pp. 17-20.

[42] J. W. Bengough *Bengough's Chalk-Talks* (Toronto, Ontario: The Musson Book Company, 1922), p. 31.

[43] Spadoni, pp. 12, 24-25.

[44] The William Ready Division, Archives and Research Collections, the J.W. Bengough Papers, Box 2, File 8.

Stories of Quitting: Why Did Women Journalists Leave the Newsroom?

By Linda Steiner

Stories of journalism's "defectors" highlight significant features of newsroom labor, including worksite loyalties, power relations and mentoring networks. In particular, autobiographies of women who left the newsroom challenge historical assumptions about women's journalistic ambitions and professional commitments, and their stories explain gendered conventions and patterns in journalism practice.

In her autobiography, Adela Rogers St. Johns recalled the dilemma she faced in 1918 when she was invited to write about Hollywood for a new magazine: "Here indeed was an unheralded, unrecognized big Moment for young Mrs. St. Johns of the *Herald*, wife of Ike, mother of Elaine and Bill."[1] The question was whether St. Johns was willing to leave the *Los Angeles Herald*. The city room was a firetrap and a test tube for germs, she said. Yet she and her colleagues loved the *Herald*, and hated to leave it. As she said in another context, "Newspaper work is the most exciting thing in the world to me, it's where I live. I would do it for nothing."[2]

The offer to St. Johns happened to come in the wake of an argument with her husband, who had already left the *Herald* to manage political campaigns, about her absences from home. Unhappy with her childcare arrangements, Rogers St. Johns decided to accept the *Photoplay*

Linda Steiner is an Associate Professor at Rutgers University.

job, primarily because it would allow her to work from home. St. Johns, whose previous magazine experience was writing pulp fiction, spent the next several years writing celebrity profiles, fiction and movie scripts. St. Johns' decision to leave the *Herald* might thereby seem to confirm the expectation then prevalent that women would quit reporting when they got married, or at least once they had children.

Women Who Leave Challenge Historical Assumptions

Journalism historians rarely study former journalists and their reasons for quitting. Journalism's "stop-outs" and "defectors," however, bring into focus significant features of newsroom labor, including worksite power relations and mentoring networks. Their stories reveal the nature of workers' commitments to profession and employer, and the limits of their loyalties. Understanding whose voices or ways of doing things have been excluded or marginalized helps explain changes and continuities in journalism practice.

The research reported here addresses the lives of 11 women who left the newsroom in the early and mid-20th century.[3] These defectors' stories turn out not only to reveal significant newsroom dynamics but also to challenge historical assumptions about women's interests and ambitions, especially as they relate to the likelihood of women's success in journalism. The 11 represent a range of reputations, from famous to fairly unknown. The primary materials for the research are reporters' autobiographies, which allow for detailed investigation into these women's agonizing over professional problems and career decisions, especially leave-taking.

Besides Adela Rogers St. Johns, the women studied were: Marie Manning, known as advice columnist Beatrice Fairfax; the Washington, D.C.-based Bess Furman; *New York World* staffer Elizabeth Jordan; fiction writer Edna Ferber; Frances Davis, who covered the Spanish Civil War; Charlotte Ebener, a globally-traveling foreign correspondent; Mary Margaret McBride, who eventually turned to radio; Kathryn Tucker Windham, who covered the civil rights movement in Alabama; Ellen Tarry, who wrote for African American newspapers; and Alice Allison Dunnigan, correspondent for the Associated Negro Press.

Vocational counseling literature, journalism textbooks, journalism histories, and editors' published testimony all long emphasized that, as the *New York Evening Sun's* John Given put it, "reporting is not woman's work."[4] In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, most editors and publishers justified this assertion by citing the job's physical difficulty and dangerousness. Others emphasized women's (dis)abilities, that is, women's inability to be logical and accurate.

When women stubbornly continued to apply for reporting jobs and to succeed when hired, another rationale became dominant: Since women were unlikely to remain on the job, investing time and energy in training them was futile. Occasionally editors accused women of treating journalism merely as an opportunity for seeing life, perhaps as preparation for writing novels. More often, the claim was that women quit to get married. The implication was that, having quit for the sake of domesticity, women would neither want to return to the newsroom, nor would they be qualified to do so. Notably, in describing reporting as a career for *young* men, given the poor pay and long irregular hours, vocational counseling books did not criticize men who left journalism for the calmer and more profitable waters of advertising and public relations.[5]

Objections to women based on their marriage prospects grew increasingly vehement in mid-century career advice literature. A 1959 book about journalism careers quoted the editor of the *Des Moines Register*, "We hire many talented young women. If they would stay with us our newsroom would be a much more attractive place. Unhappily for us, most of them leave in a short time for the joys of marriage and motherhood...."[6] Another book on journalism careers quoted Bernard Kilgore, publisher of *The Wall Street Journal,* who justified the *Journal's* prejudice against women on grounds that women "don't make a career of it."[7]

Similarly, a noted journalist then teaching at Columbia University said prospective employers can count on women to marry as soon as they learn their way around the newsroom.[8] According to *Your Career in Journalism,* an editor (apparently assumed to be male) resists hiring women because: "He has a fixed idea that you are really not serious about newspaper work;" "He's afraid you'll get married and quit just when you've started to be of some use to him;" and "If you are married, he figures you will become pregnant and quit."[9]

Female experts, who typically geared their advice to women readers, said much the same. Mary Knight, a former United Press foreign correspondent, was quoted in *Lady Editor* connecting editors' reluctance to hire women to their "negative" experiences, "Women have entered the service out of a desire for adventure and when that desire is satiated they marry and leave or just leave to go on to some other job."[10] (Knight's 1938 autobiography describes how furious her UP boss was when she left Paris for Asia after he had trained her. She did not indicate that she had quit journalism for public relations sometime before her book appeared.)[11] Female students attending a 1951 meeting of a journalism sorority were advised against trying to combine domestic and professional responsibilities, "You would be much happier to take the emotional warmth of your house and your family and forget your career."[12]

Mid-Century Journalism Texts Treat Women As Short-Termers

Reporting textbooks published mid-century agreed that women abandoned the newsroom to pursue domesticity.[13] A textbook by the director of the University of Wisconsin's School of Journalism stated, "Few women reach the top because they desert their careers for matrimony."[14] Similarly, *Modern News Reporting* said, "A good many young women treat a job as a stopgap between school and marriage.... Some women who continue working after marriage often are absent because of illness at home, confinement periods or just for shopping. Nobody can blame an employer for taking these things into consideration."[15] Histories of the "women question" in journalism schools also assert that, at least through the mid-century, women commonly chose to "marry and devote themselves to being wives and mothers after a short-fling career."[16]

Was this a valid explanation for refusing to hire women, or an excuse? Did mid-20th century women regard reporting jobs merely as a stopgap measure, as a short-term route to pocket money or opportunities to hobnob with glamorous, powerful people? Did women who quit journalism do so to marry and raise children? How did they confront those "unheralded Big Moments," to echo St. Johns? Did defectors quit as gladly and cheerfully as the journalism textbooks and career counseling books claimed? Did they ever return? What was the connection between quitting and newsroom conditions or the kinds of work to which these women were assigned?

Early Studies Offer Limited Data

Relevant data is sparse. A 1934 - 36 survey of 881 salaried women writers by Iona Robertson Logie found that 50 percent had never married and 42 percent were married.[17] Logie's doctoral dissertation data, however, conflated different age groups as well as different professional fields. Newspaper workers were half her total sample; ten percent were in advertising and public relations. Others were working for magazines, free-lancing, teaching or doing clerical work. Seven percent of the sample were full-time homemakers.

According to a master's thesis survey, 88 percent of the women who graduated from journalism schools in 1941 were married by 1951, which matched equivalent-aged U.S. women.[18] Not surprisingly, the percentage of those working peaked (at 77 percent) the year after graduation. The percentage declined to a low of 26 percent but then rose again, such that one-third were working in 1951; and 98 percent of the graduates worked at some point during the decade. Jones found that one-third of those graduates who held more than one job had changed fields, with half these women switching before marriage. Many of them began at newspapers and then moved into public relations. Others went into editing, advertising, or non-journalistic employment.

Somewhat more recent statistical analyses suggest that pay and, to a lesser degree, working conditions have been the problem for reporters.[19] Johnstone's data from 1971, when one-fifth of the journalists were female, indicated that journalists as a group were not particularly dissatisfied.[20] Johnstone's finding needs clarification, however. While nearly 70 percent of the sample said they expected to be working for the same organization in five years, this ranged from about 26 percent among the youngest group to 88 percent in the oldest group.

Women were overrepresented among the "stayers" in the sample. Johnstone found that job satisfaction was somewhat higher among women, although they certainly were not earning as much as men. Overall, on the other hand, those who planned to quit were primarily the lowest paid and lowest ranking. Secondary analysis of Johnstone's data suggested that married reporters were more likely to be committed to journalism, and women were more professionally oriented than men.[21]

A decade later, 42 percent of female journalists were married, compared to 62 percent of male journalists. Correspondingly, whereas 65 percent of female journalists had children, 75 percent of male journalists had children.[22] By 1982-83, gender no longer helped predict job satisfac-

tion; low pay was still the primary reason for leaving journalism. Single and childless reporters were "a little less likely" to say they wanted to leave the field than their married colleagues.[23]

Using Autobiography to Study Power Relations

Autobiography is an invaluable, albeit flawed, resource for studying power relations in the newsroom, especially gender politics, and other factors that potentially bear on the production of news stories. Even its limitations, however, help explain how and when autobiography helps explain people's work experiences, including what would lead them to leave their jobs.

For example, focus on individuals' life stories has been attacked as reductive "great-man history." Hanno Hardt accuses media historians of equating the labor of media workers with the media and accepting media institutions as representations of media workers. Therefore, when historians deal with individual journalists, they produce biographies that celebrate media institutions rather than reflect on editorial processes.[24] If autobiographies, especially those of middle-class authors, accommodate the individualistic culture of the United States, however, autobiographies read as a group reveal how people account for their work, without forcing a retreat into methodological individualism.[25] If life stories are systematically contextualized, rather than dismissed, any recurring themes can then be examined as to the possibility that they represent general issues.

Although historians and biographers have consistently accepted and relied on autobiographies, the most common criticism of autobiography is that it represents "creative" reconstructions of events. Presumably at the risk of memory failure, some writers have needed years to complete their life stories. Autobiographies, including some of those examined here, have sometimes appeared long after retirement, some even posthumously. One implication of this delay is that autobiographies are less useful when mined for bits of fact, although reporters might be expected to have diaries and records at their disposal. As Endnotes 26 and 27 state, the fact that seems to be the most open to challenge here is year of birth. In any case, what makes them useful is the way in which autobiographies are "causal arguments about the forces that made a particular life turn out the way that it did,"[26] precisely the issue here.

More often scholars argue that self-conscious or unconscious motives drive this subjectivity. This criticism ignores how, as literary-social constructions, *all* documents reflect certain perspectives, certain

questions selected over others. A 1937 study of the genre warned readers to reconcile themselves to being deceived by autobiographers, and the question of truthfulness continues to undergird theorizing in autobiography.[27] Clearly, autobiographers must respond to the demands of editors and publishers, friends and family, as well as the demands of their psyches and the marketplace. As a result, the self constructed in autobiography cannot equal the self who lived. These women may have self-indulgently rationalized interruptions of their journalism careers, but the question is what they said about those interruptions.

"I am inclined to embellish . . . ."

Several of the women studied here warned readers that they would occasionally be coy about personal information. St. Johns, for example, admitted at one point, "I am inclined to embellish, to twist to suit my purposes or prove my point, and we all forget some."[28] Ellen Tarry announced: "I have omitted the telling of certain events because their inclusion might have infringed upon good taste and in no way would they contribute to the total effect of this volume. Some of these omissions were necessary to safeguard the welfare of innocent persons."[29]

On the other hand, even those reporters or former reporters who disdained "tell-all soul-baring" promised fidelity *per se.* While she mocked the "emetic or regurgitation school of writing," Edna Ferber vowed, "Imagination has no chance here: fancy is not free but shackled. The plump and determined 17- year-old reporter on the Appleton, Wisconsin, *Crescent* will not be permitted to turn into a thing of lithe loveliness at the sight of whose beauty strong men turn pale and women bite their handkerchiefs and faint."[30] Alice Dunnigan insisted, "[This autobiography] is based on raw facts, uninhibited, unembellished and unvarished. No punches are pulled, no rough stones left unturned, no skeletons pushed into the closet, no shady incidents shoved under the bed, no hideous ogres hidden behind the door and no ugly blemishes eradicated or shellacked."[31]

Indeed, fidelity was an important theme for women reporters, who apparently felt compelled to account for their career decisions in ways that implied, if not explicitly provided, useful advice. Ellen Tarry, for example, said, "This story is...told so that future generations may avoid the mistakes of our time; so that they may know the price we have paid for tomorrow."[32] Even more emphatically, Dunnigan said, "It is my fondest hope that this story of my life and work will, by interpretation, investiga-

tion, information and inspiration, encourage more young writers to use their talents as a moving force in the forward march of progress."[33]

Autobiography has been a particularly important tradition within African American literature. Nineteenth century African American women wrote two types of autobiographical narratives. They used accounts of their spiritual lives to challenge the male church officials who tried to prevent women from preaching.[34] Slave narratives, such as Harriet Jacob's 1861 *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* were openly political documents that emphasized the secular humanity and rights of African Americans. Identity issues and the bitter tension between race and gender continue to be central to African American women's autobiographies.[35]

Women Journalists Repudiate Domesticity

Literary studies research suggests more generally that women's autobiographies emphasize domesticity, sentimentality, and passivity. Looking at the self-writing of white women, scholars find that women rarely admit their ambition or interest in public power. Even highly accomplished women accept responsibility for failure but attribute their success to luck.[36]

Estelle C. Jelinek asserts that women's autobiographies de-emphasize the public aspects of their lives, concentrating instead on domestic details, family difficulties, close friends, and people who influenced them. "This emphasis by women on the personal, especially on other people, rather than on their work life, their professional success, or their connectedness to current political or intellectual history clearly contradicts the established criterion about the content of autonomy."[37]

Over the century it seems that women journalists have avoided the traditions of female autobiography in several respects. Most prominently, they have repudiated the personal and domestic emphases apparently characteristic of white women's self-writing.[38] Unless it was to recount an amusing tale about a misinformed reader or eccentric colleague who was proposing marriage (usually to "save" them from working), few of them said anything about romantic relationships.

The married reporters studied here said almost nothing about their husbands, children, marriage *per se* or childrearing. St. Johns pretended to forget the name of her second husband—a man who, shortly after she had spent a month covering the kidnapping trial of Bruno Hauptmann, filed a custody suit claiming that she was an unfit mother.[39] They usually

took for granted—as not worthy of remark—the difficulty of maintaining a stable personal life while serving at their editors' beck and call.

On the other hand, these women share a consciousness of membership in a female community—an identification with women—that marks the autobiographical writing of African American and white women. Notably, whether their newspaper careers spanned many years or ended after a few years, whether they composed their autobiographies after retirement or while they were still professionally active, women journalists' autobiographies have consistently focused on their journalism careers. They present journalism work as what is most memorable and engrossing, for them and for readers.

Autobiography is a "Democratic Province"

Finally, the representativeness of autobiographies has been challenged. Susan N. G. Geiger remarks that the accusation that orally-transmitted life histories are unrepresentative "assumes we already have knowledge about the culture in general against which individuals can be evaluated."[40] Indeed, precisely because traditional social science methods often fail to consider women's experiences, they may produce invalid claims, or at least claims that contradict the warrants offered by autobiographical methods.

Of course, not everyone has written an autobiography, much less managed to get it published. Indeed, investigating which women had the toughest time getting their autobiographies published says much about "powerful" conceptions about gender as well as assumptions about what readers will find plausible and interesting. In the present case, women who either were fired early in their careers or who left reporting after a few years to get married or to work in less high-stakes jobs were undoubtedly less likely to publish their autobiographies.

For all its imperfections, however, autobiography as a genre has been maximally expressive of writers' experiences, thus satisfying Hardt's call that histories of journalism work attend to what workers themselves have said. Furthermore, although it is primarily famous people who rate biographical treatment, autobiography has resisted monopolization by extraordinary figures and remains accessible to diverse voices. In 1909 William Dean Howells commented that autobiography is not restricted to "any age or sex, creed, class, or color" and constitutes the most "democratic province in the republic of letters."[41] It has remained the case.

Marie Manning, known as Beatrice Fairfax to readers of her advice column, might first seem readily to accommodate male editors' and publishers' expectations that women journalists should stick to writing for and about women. Manning (1875-1945) had "stumbled into the newspaper game" when she met *New York World* editor Arthur Brisbane at a dinner party.[42] She told Brisbane that she had always "adored the printed word," revered everyone connected with journalism and dreamed of working for a newspaper.

Brisbane invited the 20-year-old Manning for an interview. Her head "full of the new idea of careers for women," she immediately left for New York.[43] Her first scoop, an interview with ex-President Cleveland, won her a $50 bonus from Joseph Pulitzer and a promotion from space rates to the payroll. In 1897, when Brisbane, as had many *World* employees, moved to Hearst's *New York Evening Journal*, Manning followed.[44] There, along with two other women, she dutifully helped put out the women's page.

The three women were not allowed in that "inviolate masculine stronghold," the city room. Instead, they were consigned to an area known as the Hen Coop. Occasionally editors punished men by sending them to the Coop, "Forcing a man to work in the same room with us was the equivalent of sending a dog to the pound or standing a child in the corner."[45]

In 1898, Brisbane brought over some letters from readers, including a mother abandoned by her husband and a suicidal girl forsaken by her lover. Manning proposed a confessional department "promising unbiased opinions and friendly advice." Within days the "Letters from the Lovelorn" column was receiving sacks of mail and "circulation zoomed like an ascending airplane."[46]

To her relief, Manning could distinguish herself from her *nom de plume* and the city room regularly summoned her. Those general reporting assignments brought her the greatest satisfaction. In particular, her articles about the women's suffrage movement were published in increasing numbers once she and colleague Anne O'Hagen realized that the "masculine hierarchy" found women's suffrage more newsworthy when stories mentioned in-fighting at meetings. Henceforth, they not only looked for fights, but created them.

In 1905 Manning married a real estate dealer and moved back to Washington, D. C. Her autobiography did not indicate whether she

wanted to leave journalism. She merely said that Washington had few writing folk, and women were restricted to society work. She published magazine stories, and during World War I she freelanced. Otherwise, she devoted herself to homemaking for nearly a quarter-century.

Notably, after mentioning her love for her husband, garden, animals and two sons, her autobiography ignored this domestic period. The clear implication is that only her journalism experiences would interest readers. In any case, as explained in a chapter titled "Stock Market 'Paper Riches' Oblige Me to Return to Newspaper Work," Manning begged Brisbane for a job after the 1929 crash. Brisbane reassigned her to the Beatrice Fairfax column, then carried by 200 newspapers through King Features.[47]

In a chapter called "It Seems that at Last Women are Becoming People," Manning said, "Those two ancient pious frauds, 'the woman's angle' and the 'teary bit' have mercifully gone into the discard."[48] The claim did not describe her own career. Hearst's International News Service limited Manning to the women's angle.

St. Johns Challenges the Image of the Dilettante

Adela Rogers St. Johns, who lived from 1894 to 1988, might likewise seem to confirm editors' expectations about undependable, irresponsible female journalists. Like Manning, however, St. Johns' life story complicates those assumptions and challenges the image of the dilettante. Saying he would rather see her dead than become a criminal lawyer, her father Earl Rogers, a famous lawyer, had introduced her to William Randolph Hearst. So, at age 18 she began with Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner.*[49] In 1914 she moved to the *Los Angeles Herald.* Editors Jack Campbell and Walter Howey initially assigned her the hotel beat but soon had her covering crime, city hall and sports.

She continued to work after marrying fellow reporter Ike St. Johns. Indeed, when she miscarried, she threw herself into her work. But by 1920, they had two children. They moved to Hollywood, where she earned money by writing magazine articles as well as fiction. She claimed she despised Hollywood and writing scripts (except, perhaps, writing westerns for Tom Mix). She used the first excuse she found to get back into the news business. Her work as a sports reporter for the *Chicago American* and the *New York American* apparently triggered—but, she claimed, did not cause—her 1929 divorce.

St. Johns' second marriage, apparently precipitated by pregnancy, was unhappy. The husband, a football player, "objected with violence,

sometimes public, to being Mrs. St. Johns."[50] She retreated from the workplace and tried to survive on fiction. Nonetheless, another call from "Mr. Hearst," to whom she was always loyal, brought her back to the *Examiner*, where her first assignment was a series exposing the misery of unemployed women and exposing charity organizations that purported to help them. The 16 articles precipitated libel suits and accusations of "yellow journalism" (St. Johns spent ten days quite literally living homeless and hungry), but it also brought reforms. St. Johns said, "What had exploded deep inside me and changed my life was the Power of the Press and me as its handmaiden."[51] She resolved to find "real, new, larger worlds to conquer."[52]

The new world was covering the Lindbergh case for the *New York Journal* and the International News Service. She did not mind leaving her husband, who proceeded to drift away, never to reappear until a custody trial. She expressed regret at leaving her three children to go off to New Jersey. Yet, she rationalized, "This would be real newspaper work, alive and crackling with excitement."[53] She stayed with INS for nearly two decades, primarily covering Washington politics.

St. Johns' life continued to be rocky, especially after the World War II death of one son. There was a third failed marriage. Like her father, she battled alcoholism. *The Honeycomb* refers cryptically to what sounds like a suicide attempt. At one point "even" Hollywood wouldn't hire her and she could afford neither rent nor food.

Nonetheless, she wrote a successful series for *Ladies Home Journal* called the "Government Girl" (later turned into an RKO movie). Having already written a six-part series on Mahatma Gandhi, she covered the 1948 assassination of Gandhi. She also wrote extensively about the marriage and abdication of the Duke of Windsor. After retiring from the INS, she taught journalism courses, including at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Bess Furman's Career Spans News and Public Relations

Similar vectors emerge in the career of Nebraska-born Bess Furman (1894-1969), who began reporting in Omaha at the *Bee-News* and then landed at the Washington bureau of the Associated Press in 1929. She left the AP in 1936, shortly before the birth of her twins. Furman and her sister immediately proceeded to organize Furman Features—producing public relations, brochures, and so forth. Using the metaphor of the hothouse bloom, Furman explained, "When I hung high on the AP main

stem, I basked in the hot air of Washington. But when I snipped off the title of 'The Associated Press' and became just plain Bess, I began to feel like a zombie."[54] The PR firm turned out to be more profitable than the Associated Press and "fitted in handily with a changed way of life."[55]

In 1943 Furman went to *The New York Times* Washington bureau, where she stayed until 1961, becoming an expert on White House history and presidential families. Notably, her husband Bob Armstrong quit his reporting job in 1936 to work for the Interior Department and returned to reporting a month after Furman did. Furman, who also had done a brief stint of "war effort," worked for the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for two years before retiring in 1963.

Windham Did "Whatever Fit the Occasion"

Kathryn Tucker Windham, born in 1918, dedicated her 1990 autobiography to the man who, by going off to World War II, enabled Windham finally to get a job with the *Alabama Journal*, where she became known as the Odd-Egg Editor. When Windham graduated from Huntingdon College in 1939, she had applied for a job at the *Montgomery Advertiser*. The city editor responded, "If you were a man, I'd hire you. But I don't want any female reporters."[56]

Windham went home to Thomasville, Alabama, where she worked for her mother's insurance agency while stringing for several Alabama papers, including the *Advertiser*. In 1940, the police reporter and feature writer for the *Journal* (the *Advertiser's* afternoon paper) enlisted, so Windham got his job. She immediately proved to hostile police officers that they could not intimidate her. In 1943 she took a job with the U.S. Treasury Department promoting war bond sales. She missed journalism, however, so after one year, went to the *Birmingham News*, the state's largest paper.

In 1946 Windham married a reporter who had just returned from the front. Notably, Windham's autobiography immediately and without fanfare skipped from the announcement of this wedding to the fact that her husband died of a heart attack ten years later. She apparently had stayed home for 12 years, doing "all the traditional mother things."[57] She also wrote some features and magazine stories, as well as a weekly column.

Then, needing to support her three children, she went back to work for the Selma *Times-Journal*, at first part-time. Eventually she worked full-time. "I wanted to be back in the news-gathering business, and the paper needed someone with my journalistic background," she said.[58] She

called herself "whatever fit the occasion": state editor, women's news editor, assistant editor, sports writer, political reporter, feature writer. She stayed on until 1973, when her paper was sold to a chain. She feared the new owners would object to her "unorthodox working habits." "Old habits are hard to break, though," she said. "I still find myself wanting to ask people questions that are none of my business, just as I did for years as a reporter."[59]

Married Women Do Not Cheerfully Leave Journalism

Thus, the career moves of all four married women reflected domestic responsibilities, but not simply in the ways predicted by male colleagues. St. Johns resented the monetary dynamics that forced her out of the city room. She agonized over the need to sacrifice for the sake of her children. Even allowing that St. Johns' tone is dramatic, if not melodramatic, her references to suffering whenever forced to give up serious journalism are quite striking. When she could, she returned.

Ironically, Manning and Windham returned to journalism for the same reasons that St. Johns left—propelled by financial exigencies. Furthermore, as satisfying as the domestic sphere was, all four regarded "serious" journalism as what would give them—or any journalist—a deeper sense of accomplishment. Manning implied that she would have continued in the newsroom after marriage, had she been allowed to do more serious journalism. Furman altered her work schedule for her twins, whom she described as "wholly-compensating." But she was also dedicated to her work, in part as a way of earning a living, but also as a career.

Unmarried Women Also Need to Support Themselves

Economics also drove unmarried women from the newsroom. After graduating from a business college in Milwaukee, Elizabeth Jordan (1865-1947) got a job editing the woman's page for *Peck's Sun*, published by a family friend. After a year there, and two years working for the superintendent of the Milwaukee school system, Jordan convinced Colonel John Cockerill to hire her for the *New York World*. Perseverance, charm, self-confidence, hard work and some lucky breaks put her into the managing editor's good graces by 1890. "I had some good assignments, enough successes to keep me cheerful, and enough failures to keep me chastened," she said.[60] She quickly settled into the hectic routine.

The *World's* editor apparently came to realize that she was "willing to work 24 hours a day—in his opinion one of a reporter's most necessary qualifications—and to take any assignment except society news."[61] Appointed assistant editor of the Sunday edition, Jordan edited the daily and Sunday women's pages and supervised several writers, including Anne O'Hagen and Marie Manning, whom she described as one of Hearst's "shining lights."

Jordan was proud of her journalistic achievements. Nonetheless, she carefully pointed out, after her father lost his money during the 1893 panic, her family became dependent on her salary, which she supplemented with fiction writing. "After years of regarding it as a trivial detail, the amount I earned had suddenly become important."[62] In 1900, at age 30, Jordan resigned to succeed Margaret Sangster as editor of *Harper's Bazaar*. Angry that the magazine lured Jordan away, Pulitzer cut her out of his will, although he left $10,000 to others who had spent at least 10 years at the *World*. In 1913, when Hearst bought the magazine, she moved to Harper & Brothers as a literary advisor. Between 1922 and 1945 she wrote a column for *America*, a Catholic weekly.

McBride Covered Murders and Markets

Mary Margaret McBride (1899-1976) expressed considerably more distress than Jordan over giving up newspaper work. McBride's autobiography *A Long Way from Missouri* began, "Ever since I was five years old I'd been determined to go to New York and get on a newspaper."[63] After earning a journalism degree at the University of Missouri, she worked for a friend's news service in Washington, D.C. She soon moved to the *Cleveland Press*, where she enthusiastically covered everything from murders to markets.

As a result of her sober coverage of a religious convention—competing papers had focused on the skirmishes—she received a job offer from the interfaith organization that sponsored the convention. It was her ticket to New York City, and she worked for that organization for two years until 1921, when the *New York Mail* hired her.

Her first assignment was covering a charity event sponsored by society debutantes but, she said, she was thrilled finally to be working for a New York newspaper. She loathed her position and title as sob sister but managed to break out of the "sob sister ghetto" after a year. Her lengthy descriptions of stories she covered, ethical conflicts she faced and women reporters she admired all indicated McBride's commitment to serious reporting.

Three years later, when the *Mail* merged with the *Telegram*, McBride was not one of those hired by the new owner, Frank Munsey. She turned to free-lancing, often for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Of her attempt to survive on free-lancing, McBride said, "Before I was through, I was sick of myself, I felt dirty and as if I'd sold out to the devil. But everybody kept telling me that a free-lance must take a whack at everything."[64]

Luckily, 1930 was a great year for free-lancing, since she lost most of her money in the stock market crash. But on New Year's Day, 1931, after the major White House conference of which she was the impresario was derailed by politics, McBride suffered a nervous breakdown. According to Bess Furman, the illness was "brought on by disillusionment, wrecked hopes, futile labors, and seeing her own creative work go up in political smoke."[65]

Over the next three years McBride went from moderate success to complete poverty. "I held off as long as I could, but when all other efforts failed, I was finally forced to try to get a publicity job. This is to me the worst possible way to make a living in the writing field."[66] Eventually she found her way into radio, where she enjoyed enormous fame and popularity as a talk show host. She hosted a program under the pseudonym Martha Deane for WOR from 1934 to 1942, when she switched to CBS. She ended up at ABC, where she stayed until retiring in 1954.

Edna Ferber Worked "Like a Man"

The early journalism career of Edna Ferber (1887-1968)[67] seems to confirm some of the earlier accusations by male editors, that is, that women lacked the physical stamina, that women could not achieve the economical prose style required of modern reporting, and that women's interest in newspapers was motivated only by personal agendas, including writing novels. Again, her autobiographies offer a different explanation for the premature end of her journalism career.

Ferber's parents, owners of a small store, could not afford to send her to Northwestern University. Therefore, hired on the strength of an article about her Hebrew school, Ferber went directly from high school to the *Appleton* (Wisconsin) *Daily Crescent*. "I must have been quite obnoxious but I did bring in the news."[68] She threw herself into the job, which she decided was better than any college education. Eighteen months later, however, a new city editor, unhappy with the Girl Reporter who dramatized herself and embellished her stories, fired Ferber. In an "emergency

stopgap to get what was known as the woman's angle," however, *The Milwaukee Journal* immediately hired Ferber as a court and police reporter.

For the next two years, she devoted herself to the job, despite the low pay. Apparently not realizing that she was being exploited by the *Journal's* wealthy publisher, she never requested a raise. Ferber worked hard—"like a man." Then one day she fainted from anemia brought on, she said, by poor eating and overwork. The *Journal* held her job for a month, but Ferber spent six months in bed. Once recovered, Ferber applied for a job at the *Chicago Tribune*. An editor told her, "We don't use women reporters....[W]e don't want any women reporters. We'd rather have men do men's work."[69]

Ferber's continuing search for journalism jobs met with spotty success. She landed a free-lance job covering the national party conventions for a newspaper syndicate, but she got sick. For two days, friends William Allen White and George Fitch wrote her pieces.[70]

Near the end of the World War I, she tried to go to Europe to write articles about the Red Cross, but the French consul refused to grant a visa on the grounds that Ferber, whose father was born in Hungary, might be a spy. She did manage to work for the Writers War Board during World War II. In 1945, as an accredited correspondent for the Air Force, she wrote about her visits to European air bases and the concentration camp at Buchenwald, but she failed to return to daily journalism.

Illness Forces Davis' Retirement

Frances Davis' reporting career also ended because of ill health. Davis had always wanted to be a reporter. She had spent her youth shuttling between a utopian farm commune and a settlement house in Boston, where she learned what she could about journalism. While in high school she proofread a weekly paper. "I had small competence for reading proof, but I did it with zeal because it was concerned with newspapers."[71]

After high school she wheedled her way onto the *Boston Transcript*. She scornfully quit journalism school after a month of "finger exercises" and moved to New York, where she free-lanced for the *New York World* until its 1929 collapse.

Unable to find journalism work during the Depression, Davis wrote promotional copy. She finally persuaded the editor of a peace organization's house organ to train her in foreign correspondence. In

1936, Davis went to Europe, where she free-lanced for some small magazines and papers until she landed a full-time job as the London *Daily Mail's* only woman correspondent. She detested the *Mail's* pro-Franco position but was thrilled to be covering the Spanish Civil War for a major paper and to join the fraternity of reporters. "No longer excess baggage in a car. No longer a freelancer doing mail columns."[72]

A nasty infection from a shrapnel wound, suffered while reporting at the front, however, forced her to return to the United States for medical care. While recovering, she and I. Bernard Cohen, a historian of science, fell in love. She described herself as appalled at the idea that she heed his pleadings and stay home. "My job is to cover this war. How could I deny that fact for the dream of a private life?"[73] Just before setting off for Spain, however, Davis was re-hospitalized. The reinfection had destroyed her throat. The resulting tracheotomy left her "a mute and mini-Cassandra in a frenzy" and ended her journalism career. When she died in 1982 at age 74, family members called her "living testimony to the possibility of having a full life with a serious disability."[74]

Dunnigan Faces Difficult Survival

The life stories of Alice Dunnigan and Ellen Tarry, both born in 1906 in rural areas of the South, are remarkably similar, including their attention to the difficulties of surviving on earnings from the African American press.

Dunnigan's 673 page autobiography primarily marks her pride in her accomplishments as a reporter, which she listed immodestly and in huge detail, beginning with receiving credentials in 1947 to cover the White House. White reporters, she noted, could be casual about Presidential press conferences. "But for me it represented progress for my race, recognition of the Black press, consideration of women reporters, and a personal honor for me because I was the very first woman of my race ever to receive such accreditation."[75]

During junior high school, Dunnigan wrote small items for African American newspapers. But the only work available to her as an African American woman was as a teacher (in African American schools) or domestic (for white families). She did both of these. She taught for 18 years in various small schools, while also supplementing her salary by cleaning, doing laundry, cooking, and simultaneously trying to earn a college degree. Meanwhile, she wrote for various African American papers in Kentucky.

After a brief first marriage, she remarried in 1932 and she and her husband had a son. This marriage was just as unhappy. She and Charles Dunnigan rarely lived together, although they did not formally divorce for many years. During World War II, Dunnigan moved to Washington, D.C, where she worked for several government offices, diligently working her way up.

Finally, in 1946 the Associated Negro Press founder Claude A. Barnett hired her as a stringer at a half-cent per word. That rate did not increase in 1947, when she replaced the ANP's full-time Washington correspondent, and she still had to pay for office supplies and stamps. Such economics remained against her. She found it difficult to live on her ANP salary, much less financially support her son, who was essentially reared by Dunnigan's parents.

Barnett encouraged her to write about people, not issues, so that she could get cash "contributions" from the organizations and celebrities she wrote about. She was insulted by the very idea:

> Such hustles might have worked out for male reporters who had the brass to request, or even demand, some compensation for their favors. But it didn't meet my approval. Not only did I consider it unprofessional and unethical, but dishonest as well. And I refused to degrade the professional standing which I had worked so hard to obtain.[76]

After 13 years with the ANP, having long been active in Democratic politics, she took a job with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. She died in 1983.

Tarry Challenges Press Ethics

Ellen Tarry, whose parents were mulatto, could "pass" as white but this only complicated her efforts to find work. She could not afford her dream, attending Columbia's School of Journalism. Instead, after earning a certificate from a state normal school, Tarry taught school. On the basis of some sketches about African American heroes that she wrote for her students, the editor of the *Birmingham Truth*, an organ of the Knights of Pythias, hired her as combination reporter, columnist and editorial writer. Finally, in 1929 she went to New York, where she hoped to save up enough to pay Columbia's tuition. She worked a number of odd jobs before being persuaded that she could apply for reporting jobs without formal journalism education.

Negro men, as well as against envy and jealousy of female members of my own race."

Is Charlotte Ebener Typical?

Charlotte Ebener acknowledged in *No Facilities for Women* that she had willingly abandoned her profession. Ebener had parlayed her journalism degree from the University of Wisconsin and a few years experience with the International News Service into an assignment covering the Chinese Civil War. In February 1946 she and nine other foreign correspondents went to Manchuria. She filed stories from various sites in China and the next year, from Cambodia, Vietnam and Indonesia. But when she met George Weller, a foreign correspondent who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1942, she lost her ambition to be a "famous lady war correspondent."

In 1947 she went to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, not so much for her assignments for a women's news syndicate, as to be near Weller. Then, during a trip to Lebanon, she was taken into custody. Although she was safe, Ebener let circulate implications that she was in danger. Sure enough, Weller grew so worried that he called and proposed.

After the wedding she got accredited as a correspondent so that she could accompany Weller. Once she accidentally scooped Weller. In 1949, when he was assigned to the Mediterranean, she retired from foreign reporting, "having discovered I couldn't make any money at it and Weller liked me better as a relaxed wife, secretary, and copy boy."[80] She continued to travel the globe with her husband but never returned to journalism.

Women Are Committed To Journalism

The journalism school graduate was said in 1953 to "live much more happily with her husband and family than with her profession."[81] This does not describe the journalists studied here. The women studied here cannot speak for all women who left journalism. This is not a statistical study, so makes no claims about what percentage of women, whether or not they were famous as journalists, quit their jobs after marrying.

Nonetheless, assuming that the pressures and tensions portrayed (if not betrayed) here are not atypical of what women faced, the newsroom was a worksite that was important and highly attractive to ambitious

women, albeit one that was not consistently inviting. These autobiographies show women beginning with a considerable commitment to journalism. Contrary to the folklore, journalism did not represent a short-term opportunity for meeting glamorous people, finding adventure or earning "pin money."

Furthermore, none of these women entered journalism solely to amass life experiences that might form the stuff of novels. Career literature of the period vigorously denounced those who treated journalism merely as preparation for writing novels, often implying or stating that it was women who were most likely to do this.

Nearly all of the women discussed here published widely. Manning wrote two novels. Jordan wrote several novels, short stories and plays; she also worked briefly for Golden Pictures. St. Johns wrote fiction and non-fiction, as well as eight movie scripts. McBride apparently did not carry through with her stated intention to write novels, but she published several volumes of non-fiction; Davis and Furman also published non-fiction. Tarry wrote biographies and children's books. Windham has written over a dozen books, primarily collections of Southern recipes and ghost tales. The highly researched and even pedantic tone of Ferber's novels irritates modern literary critics, but it may reflect her journalistic training. Ferber herself attributed her success in fiction to her reporting work.

A few women not discussed here left journalism specifically to write novels, such as Ishbel Ross, who left the *New York Herald Tribune* after 14 years of some highly glamorous front-page assignments. As it turns out, after writing four rather mediocre novels, Ross published 21 non-fiction books, primarily biographies. More commonly, women either combined journalism and fiction writing, or returned to journalism.[82]

Male reporters, of course, also have not been uniformly satisfied with their working conditions, as their own autobiographies attest. Many men quit their newspaper jobs, too, although again, they were not criticized for doing so. And male reporters also turned to fiction.

More to the point, as Bonnie Brennen shows, novels set in the newsroom written by male journalists use quite devastating terms to describe the dehumanization of newsworkers and commodification of their labor.[83] In contrast to the grim tone of the novels set in early and mid-20th century newsrooms, the dominant theme of the autobiographies studied here was hearty confidence in "the Power of the Press." These women celebrated the newsroom as a site of glamour and meaningfulness. Women were proud to be a part, albeit ghettoized, of an institution that could expose wrongdoing and inspire reform.

At the risk of introducing one more case, it is worth noting the defection of the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize for reporting. In 1950, Caro Brown, at age 42, took a job as proofreader for the *Alice Daily Echo*, in rural South Texas. She soon began writing a column for the tiny paper, and eventually moved to political reporting. In 1955 she won the Pulitzer Prize. Within a week of winning, however, she quit. The reason may have been her self-critical fear that her work was not Pulitzer-level.[84] But Jones and Falk offer several quotes that suggest that she was bothered by colleagues' resentment of her.[85] She was essentially driven out.

Women's Lives Offer a Variety of Explanations

Thus, women demonstrate a range of explanations for leaving the newsroom. Of the women whose interrupted or aborted careers are discussed here, only Ebener fits the pattern that was asserted so vigorously and confidently by commentators as well as by journalists seeking to justify not hiring women. Several of these women shifted to other media professions when they were unable to continue in the newsroom.

More importantly, the pleasures and duties of homemaking do not appear to explain women's exits from the newsroom. Furthermore, those women who returned to the newsroom—married women with children—were not at all the ones that press mythology would predict. Manning and Windham returned to reporting because they needed the salary, low pay or not. St. Johns and Furman returned to the newsroom when they could afford it.

An ongoing complaint about low pay is clearly a notable continuity across these stories of defectors in the early and mid-20th century. Women who quit because of ill-health brought on either by overwork (Ferber) or by work-related injury (Davis) also complained of low salaries; and Davis, a dedicated socialist, was distinctly uninterested in earning lots of money.

Women who were not married needed to support themselves or, in the case of Tarry and Jordan, other family members. They believed this could not be managed on a reporter's salary. Even Ebener noted that she stayed out of journalism in part because it did not pay her enough. Their despair about financial woes—and, again, both stayers and defectors have expressed such complaints—are even more significant, given the persistent belief that women, whether because they did not need money or did not understand it, lowered the salary scale.

Furthermore, they all remarked on the specific difficulties they experienced *as women* in getting journalism jobs. For Tarry and Dunnigan, gender was compounded by race, but their point was that African American men discriminated against women. McBride and Ferber underscored this gender issue as the factor that ultimately kept them out of journalism. For others, sexism made their jobs more difficult or limited them to the women's angle, rather than excluding them altogether. Despite all these problems, however, for nearly all of them, being forced to abandon newspaper jobs produced considerable anguish and turmoil. They were devoted to their work and loved being in the newsroom. These women are thus hardly the dilettantes described by men. Rather, they are more similar to women journalists who stayed–resourceful and matter-of-fact, drawn to excitement and challenge.[86]

Overcoming Prevalent Folklore

This study is relevant to on-going controversies over women's journalism work, journalism as labor and the newsroom as a gendered workplace. The notion that investing in women's education was wasteful because women would marry and leave the newsroom persisted well beyond mid-century.

Speaking at a 1984 discussion of "the new majority" in journalism, the dean of a major journalism program said, "I have to confess my nightmare, which is that journalism will become even more female and all of our students will go off and marry male engineering students and have to have a break in their career and never get back to it. That's my nightmare."[87] Even a baseless nightmare, however, may serve to exclude or constrain people who otherwise could make valuable contributions in the newsroom. Folklore may misrepresent the real economic problems of journalists—with or without families.

Endnotes

[1] Adela Rogers St. John, *The Honeycomb* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 114.

[2] Ibid., 32.

[3] To avoid redundancy or because the person worked briefly or casually in journalism, some otherwise relevant aurobiographies are excluded here.

[4] John L. Given, *Making a Newspaper* (New York: Henry Holt, 1907), 279.

[5] Linda Steiner, "Do You Belong in Journalism?: Career Guidance Books, 1880-1990," *American Journalism*, 11 (1994), 321-335.

[6] Henry Gemmill and Bernard Kilgore, *Do You Belong in Journalism? Eighteen Editors Tell How You Can Explore Career Opportunities in Newspaper Work* (New York: Appleton- Century-Crofts, 1959), 76.

[7] Leonard Eames Ryan and Bernard Ryan, *So You Want to Go into Journalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 128.

[8] Herbert Brucker, *Journalist: Eyewitness to History* (New York: MacMillan, 1962).

[9] M. L. Stein, *Your Career in Journalism* (New York: Julian Messner, 1965), 105.

[10] Marjorie Shuler, Ruth Adams Knight and Muriel Fuller, *Lady Editor: Careers for Women in Publishing* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1941), 80.

[11] Knight's autobiography shows that she tried to stay in journalism but took a public relations job with the Advertising and Publicity Bureau in Hong Kong when nothing else panned out as a way for her to explore the world. After she had purchased her ticket to Hong Kong, the UP put her on retainer as a correspondent. The UP rehired her when she returned to the U. S. but by 1938 she was back in public relations. Mary Knight, *On My Own* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938).

[12] Quoted in Maurine H. Beasley and Kathryn T. Theus, *The New Majority: A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), 33.

[13] Linda Steiner, "Construction of Gender in Newsreporting Textbooks, 1890-1990," *Journalism Monographs*, #135, 1992.

[14] Grant Milnor Hyde, *Newspaper Reporting* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), 306.

[15] Carl Warren, *Modern News Reporting* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951, 2e), 8.

[16] Beasley and Theus, *New Majority*, 31.

[17] Iona Robertson Logie, *Careers for Women in Journalism* (Scranton: International Textbook Company, 1938).

[18] Adelaide H. Jones, "Women Journalism Graduates in the 1941-51 Decade," *Journalism Quarterly* 30 (1953): 49-54. Nearly one-fifth of her sample were married to journalists. Response rate was not indicated. Kruglak's survey of European foreign correspondents found that their marriage and divorce rates approximated those of the U.S. population, but he did not compare rates by gender, and women were only four percent of the sample. Theodore Edward Kruglak, *The Foreign Correspondents: A Study of the Men and Women Reporting for the American Information Media in Western Europe* (Geneva, Switz.: Librairie E. Droz, 1955).

[19] Merrill Samuelson, "A Standardized Test to Measure Job Satisfaction," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1962: 285-91; C. Edmund Wilson, "Why Canadian Newsmen Leave Their Papers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1966: 769-72.

[20] John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski and William B. Bowman, *The News People. A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 142.

[21] Lee B. Becker, Idowu A. Sobowale, and Robin E. Cobbey, "Reporters and Their Professional and Organizational Commitment," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1979: 753-63, 770.

[22] David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *The American Journalist. A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

[23] Weaver and Wilhoit, *American*, 99. Weaver and Wilhoit say that by 1992, when they found very similar data, "more women and men journalists were managing to balance their personal and professional lives," but it was still somewhat more difficult for women than for men. David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *The American Journalist in the 1990s. U.S. News People at the End of an Era* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1996), 179. The statistics are difficult to interpret, however, since the wording of the relevant questions and the angle of interpretation have changed.

[24] Hanno Hardt, "Without the Rank and File: Journalism History, Media Workers, and Problems of Representation," in *Newsworkers. Toward a History of the Rank and File*, eds. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

[25] Mary Jo Maynes, "Autobiography and Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Methodological Considerations," *Social Science History*, 16 (1992): 534.

[26] Maynes, "Autobiographies," 522

[27] E. Stuart Bates, *Inside Out: An Introduction to Autobiography* (New York: Sheridan House, 1937). Among those who challenge the facticity of autobiography, Howard Good uses autobiography for psychological insights in *The Journalist as Autobiographer* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1993).

[28] St. Johns, *Honeycomb*, 146.

[29] Ellen Tarry, *The Third Door. The Autobiography of an American Negro Woman* (New York: David McKay, 1955), viii.

[30] Edna Ferber, *A Peculiar Treasure* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1939), 13.

[31] Alice Allison Dunnigan, *A Black Woman's Experience—from Schoolhouse to White House,* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1974), i.

[32] Tarry, *Third*, viii.

[33] Dunnigan, *A Black Woman's*, iii.

[34] Nellie Y. McKay, "Nineteenth-Century Black Women's Spiritual Autobiographies: Religious Faith and Self-empowerment," in *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives,* eds. The Personal Narratives Group (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989), 139-154.

[35] Regina Blackburn, "In Search of the Black Female Self: African-American Women's Autobiographies and Ethnicity," in *Women's Autobiography. Essays in Criticism*, ed. Estelle C. Jelinek (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "My Statue, My Self: Autobiographical Writings of Afro-American Women," in *The Private Self. Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Shari Benstock (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

[36] Jill Ker Conway, *Written by Herself* (New York: Vintage, 1992); Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); Patricia Spacks, "Selves in Hiding," in *Women's Autobiography: Essays in Criticism,* ed. Estelle C. Jelinek (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).

[37] Estelle C. Jelinek, "Introduction: Women's Autobiography and the Male Tradition," in *Women's Autobiography: Essays in Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 10. Men and women talk about work differently in their oral autobiographies, says Luisa Passerini, "Women's Personal Narratives: Myths, Experiences, and Emotions," in *Interpreting Women's Lives*, eds. Personal Narratives Group (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989). Maynes, "Autobiographies," suggests class matters here, with working-class autobiographers emphasizing collective rather than individual identity.

[38] Linda Steiner, "Gender at Work: Early Accounts by Women Journalists," *Journalism History,* 23 (1997):2-12.

[39] The second husband was Richard Hyland. St. Johns won the custody battle, in part because her first husband testified in court that she *was* a good mother. On the other hand, St. Johns, who was known as Mother Confessor and who called herself a sob sister, was far more introspective than most reporter-autobiographers, more open about personal trauma and love life.

[40] Susan N. G. Geiger, "Women's Life Histories: Method and Content," *Signs,* ll (1986): 337.

[41] W.D. Howells, "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CXIX (1909, Oct.): 798.

[42] Manning, Marie (Beatrice Fairfax), *Ladies Now and Then* (New York: E. P. Durton, 1944). The autobiography implies that Manning was born in 1875 and her *New York Times* obituary used this year; but her son Oliver Gasch is quoted in an unsigned entry for "Marie Manning" saying that she was probably born in 1873, *Notable American Women 1607-1950* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), 492.

[43] Manning, *Ladies*, 13.

[44] "Mr. Hearst, more than any other publisher, has helped to put newspaper women on the map," said Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), 24.

[45] Manning, *Ladies*, 126.

[46] Manning, *Ladies*, 36.

[47] In her absence, different writers handled the column. The person whose tenure was second in length to Manning's was Lilian Lauferty, a social worker who Brisbane hired during World War I for

the column; she stayed until 1924, when she got married, Ross, *Ladies*, 83

[48] Manning, *Ladies*, 227.

[49] In saying the *Herald* wanted her as a link with Earl Roger's law office, Ross certainly meant no insult to St. Johns. Ross said approvingly that St. Johns became "irreconcilably a newspaper woman" (1936, 251).

[50] St. Johns, *Honeycomb*, 262.

[51] Ibid., 304.

[52] Ibid., 304.

[53] Ibid., 334

[54] Bess Furman, *Washington By-Line. The Personal History of a Newspaperwoman* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 258.

[55] Ibid., 259.

[56] Kathryn Tucker Windham, *Odd-Egg Editor* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 2.

[57] Ibid., 143.

[58] Ibid., 145.

[59] Ibid., 170.

[60] Elizabeth Jordan, *Three Rousing Cheers* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1938), 36.

[61] Ibid., 48.

[62] Ibid., 105.

[63] Mary Margaret McBride, *A Long Way from Missouri* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959), 12.

[64] Ibid., 190.

[65] Furman, *Washington*, 81.

[66] Ibid., 249.

[67] Paula Reed says Ferber was born in 1885 in "Edna Ferber," in *American Novelists, 1910- 1945*, ed. James J. Martine, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1981). Other dates and information in Reed, however, "add up" to the 1887 date confirmed by other sources.

[68] Ferber, *Peculiar*, 115.

[69] Ibid., 168.

[70] William Allen White's own autobiography includes extensive discussion of Ferber and the political conventions he and Ferber covered but does nor mention writing any articles for her.

[71] Frances Davis, *A Fearful Innocence* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1981), 111.

[72] Ibid., 148-49.

[73] Ibid., 184.

[74] "Frances Cohen, 74, Cambridge author; was foreign correspondent," *The Boston Globe*, 4 November 1982, p. 47.

[75] 76 Dunnigan, *Black*, 5.

[76] Ibid., 296.

[77] Tarry, *Third*, 187.

[78] Ibid., 188.

[79] Ibid., 194.

[80] Charlotte Ebener, *No Facilities for Women* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955).

[81] Jones, "Women," 51. Jones' own data do not really support her conclusion.

[82] Florabel Muir quit the *New York Daily News* to try her hand at fiction. After a few unhappy years of alternating between journalism and "scenario writing, she rejoined the *Daily News*.

[83] Bonnie Brennen, "Cultural Discourse of Journalists: The Material Conditions of Newsroom Labor," in *Newsworkers. Toward a History of the Rank and File*, eds. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie

Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

[84] Robert Jones and Louis K. Falk, "Caro Brown and the Duke of Duval: The Story of the First Woman to Win the Pulitzer Prize for Reporting" *American Journalism*, 14 (1997): 40-53.

[85] Ibid., 52.

[86] Of the dozen successful women of "bygone bylines" Belford studied (beginning with Margaret Fuller), few had documented happy marriages. "Work dominated their lives, overshadowing nonworking relationships and taking precedence over roles as wives and mothers," Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 6.

[87] Quoted in Beasley and Theus, *New*, 115.

Book Reviews

In this special labour issue, we pay tribute to a number of newsworkers around the world who have contributed to our history. We will be looking at literature that shows the influence of editorial work, a book defining the role of the newsworker caught up in the Alger myths of the Gilded Age and, moving closer to the 20th century, one of our authors details one man's fight against McCarthyism and the role of media in that dismal affair. We are also going to take a look at the one chance that organized labour had to establish itself as a media presence in the city of Chicago. That same reviewer will also examine a recent release on the Homestead Strike. Although the book pays lip service to media during that tragic period in history, it does add a valuable set of sources to an event that remains a discussion point today whenever the notion of labour emerges. As well, our reviewers have looked at Colonial newspapers and newsworkers, a few muckrakers and an Australian newsworker. My personal choice for this issue was a new work on the Charles Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago by Independent historian Allen Ruff. As you work your way through the reviews in this volume, you can anticipate some excellent reading in journalism history and in the subject of labour.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

AM Stereo and the FCC: Case Study of a Marketplace Shibboleth

By Mark J. Braun, Norwood, N.J., USA, Ablex Publishing Corp., 1995, 206 pp., paper.

If ever a scholar put an accurate title on a book, it's this one. Prof. Mark Braun, Chair of Communications Studies at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minn., hits it right on the nose. His 1994 study of the FCC's effort to regulate AM stereo points out a Reagan-era, us-against-them deregulation decision that damaged an industry that historically has always needed to be regulated.

In this comparatively short but complete volume, Braun empirically documents inept FCC handling of what could have been an exciting boost for AM radio. During an 11-year tenure at KYSM AM/FM in Mankato, Minn., Braun was required to promote the combo's new AM stereo transmitter. In fact, he won an NAB award in 1986 for doing such

a good job of it. But Braun's frustration as one of a number of "self-appointed saviors of AM radio," as he puts it, sticks with him to this day. That experience became the impetus for doing the extensive research that firmly underpins this book.

Braun sets his storytelling stage with introductory chapters that cover the FCC's history with new technology. Since the 1920s, when Herbert Hoover and his pals in the Department of Commerce issued the first radio station licenses, it's been clear that some kind of reasonable regulation is necessary. Technology forces that. History proves the industry can't agree on much of anything technical.

When new technology comes along, the FCC gets bombarded with my-version-is-better claims. That was certainly the case with AM stereo. Braun traces the long industrial soap opera with a "Case Study of the FCC AM Stereo Inquiry" chapter that rightly takes up half the book. Painstaking research shows that what could have been an improved competitive position for AM vs. FM turned instead into a heap of charges, countercharges, rulemakings and changing of rulemakings. After years of contentious tests and testimony, the commission decided a Magnavox AM stereo format would be the industry standard. Then it waited for all hell to break loose with Magnavox's competitors and politicians swayed by one corporate interest or another. It did. Finally, in 1982, the FCC threw in the towel and said, "Let the marketplace decide." Broadcasters and consumers were the losers. There were apparently no winners.

In his analysis and conclusions about FCC decisionmaking, Braun reveals real FCC internal and external problems that cut to the heart of how the FCC is required to operate. He says flatly that "the FCC did *not* have adequate resources in place to effectively select a standard" for AM stereo. Braun says FCC participation in the whole AM stereo controversy was not only limited, but after the fact. He calls into question engineering staff performance, particularly because tests of competing systems were made "by others and were simply submitted to the FCC for review."

Braun equates the FCC's AM stereo performance with the 1972 M.D. Cohen "garbage can decisionmaking" theory in which bins full of solutions and problems are considered to be decisionmakers' resources. An organization thus finds itself with choices looking for problems rather than the other way around. That system works best for "organized anarchies," Braun says. The FCC presumably isn't supposed to be that.

Finally, Braun justifies his title with the biblical definition of *shibboleth*, taken from Judges 12:5-6. The commission's marketplace

solution for AM stereo became an ideological symbol, a knee-jerk stance that distinguished (Reagan) friend from foe. In this case the foe was the FCC itself, which in the end created a confusing and eventual non-marketplace. Still, Braun doesn't imply that the FCC is hopelessly overwhelmed or politically gutless at all times in all matters. He points out today that on HDTV issues "the FCC is at least listening to the industry."

This book is more an indictment of the system at that time. It's the product of a professional-turned-academic who recalled how tough it was to explain to KYSM's listeners why they should care that its AM signal was stereo. Braun set out to learn how and why radio found itself in that situation. After countless trips to Washington, exhaustively wading through a maze of documents, he reached that goal.

Perhaps one small piece of Mark Braun's research says it all. It's the quote by former Commissioner Joseph Fogarty shortly after FCC announced its marketplace decision: "We botched up AM stereo."

>Bill Knowles, University of Montana

Andrew Olle: A Tribute

By Annette Olle and Paul Lyneham, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1996, 255 pp.

Andrew Olle was one of Australia's most prominent and respected journalists. He died suddenly in 1995. *A Tribute: Andrew Olle* (1947-1995) was produced by Annette Olle (his wife) and fellow journalist Paul Lyneham (his "best mate") as a record of the public grief that followed his death and as a testimony to the person. As an Australian who listened regularly to Andrew Olle's broadcasts, I can understand the impact of his passing. Like Princess Diana, Olle's death was tragic and unexpected and a number of parallels can be drawn between the public response to both.

Olle died of a burst aneurysm, collapsing within hours of his final television broadcast after months of speculation about his future. The outpouring of grief was something that could not be expected for any other journalist and indeed surprised many in relation to Olle. A farewell service saw the Sydney Town Hall filled to capacity, and this in an era when respect for journalists is rock bottom. As with the Princess, Olle was considered "a good person" in a field where it was easy to be seen as self-serving. And Olle was also a creature of the media. The book reveals

the impact of a crucial interview that he gave to a popular magazine where he revealed a hidden torment of a boy with a past (petty stealing and drunkenness). The "exposé" was considered a turning point in Olle's public/private life. Janet Hawley, who interviewed him, says in her contribution to *A Tribute* that "he loosened up a bit on radio after the feature was published, mentioned his wife and family a little more and occasionally referred to his own 'wild background.'"

The interview is figured as a key to understanding the man, just as Diana's revealing television interview in 1996 was considered a turning point for her. Cynicism about the motivations of such revelations is easy (Olle's coincided with the release of his book on interviewing) but more importantly is how the exposé can allow and yet disavow a public figure; it is that excess of emotion that both allows the personality to bond with the audience while, at the same time plea, as a private person, to remain removed from the public arena. The revelation that cries out for solitude is seductive and powerful in the way it produces a paternal empathy. And Olle was a very private person.

In Australia, one of the most important pieces of information you can glean about someone is how they vote. With this you can position them in relation to their income, education and ambitions–well, at least until the last election, when traditional Labor voters deserted them for their arch rivals, the Liberal-National Party Coalition. But time and again in the period following Olle's death, it was remarked that no one knew how Andrew Olle voted.

One of the more revealing glimpses from *A Tribute* is that John Howard, currently Australia's Coalition Prime Minister, let his children play with Olle's kids. Howard, in his own tribute to Olle the day after he died, said on radio that he was "a great branch man." If Olle supported the Coalition it may have been why he kept quiet about his politics; it gives added spice to the maneuvering around Olle's role in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (the government-funded public broadcaster) immediately before he died.

The tragedy of the Olle death was that it occurred at a time of intense pressure over the restructuring of the ABC's flagship television program–The 7.30 Report. Olle expected to be the presenter but it went to another who was considered closely associated with the ruling Labor Party–so close that in the election that followed soon after, John Howard refused to be interviewed on The 7.30 Report. Still, you don't have to be a devotee of Australian politics to appreciate the social history *A Tribute* reveals.

The book demonstrates how Olle's career followed the growth of Australian media from the late 1960s when television current affairs was introduced to the personality radio of the 1980s. As you may expect, while television built his reputation, it was radio that established Olle's intimacy. There is always a danger in tributes that the person and their work is revered more than revealed and this book does tread a fine line. His media colleagues, while always respectful, highlight the foibles of the star journalist. In doing so they also show the complex behind-the-scenes activities in a journalism that puts a premium on presentation, as Andrew Olle's did. It's the fussy editing and obsessive script-writing, the pettiness and importance of word selection that make a great journalist–and a testy colleague.

Thoughtfully structured, the book traces chronologically and emotionally Olle's life, beginning with reminiscences from school teachers and friends. Hawley's interview is followed by a moving testimony of Olle's son, Nick; the next story begins with the author holding Olle's baby son. Often a testimony nestles up against its successor in this intimate way; on the other hand the anonymous extracts from the condolence books, while evidence of his popularity, don't really add to this closeness. Andrew Olle's personal and professional lives are illustrated in 40 pages of black and white photographs

>John Tebbutt, Monash University

The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture and Steel.

By Paul Krause, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press., 1997, 336 pp., paper.

Marxists have often predicted that capitalism's growth would inevitably lead to working-class consciousness. It is evident that today's beleaguered left is still waiting for the key to unlock that puzzle. Those inclined toward a left analysis might look here for revealing historical answers. Over a century has passed since robber baron/philanthropist Andrew Carnegie locked out steelworkers and provoked one of the bloodiest episodes in labour history. Ten men died before the national guard reclaimed the town of Homestead, Pennsylvania, and Carnegie's giant steel mill.

In *The Battle for Homestead* Paul Krause evokes indelible images as well as a compelling tale of how the men forged important ethnic alli-

ances during the dispute. There is an added bonus–we get a valuable profile of the intransigent Carnegie whose complex motivations are rendered partially understandable in this balanced account. After 12 years of conflict, the dispute reached the boiling point in 1892 as the men fought for control of the new steel-making technology, job displacement and wages. This was an era when skilled steel puddlers were trying to forestall the introduction of the Bessemer steelmaking process. The steelworkers were being systematically 'de-skilled' in this 19th century version of Taylorism and scientific management. Carnegie would win this skirmish and subsequently make a major part of his fortune off the backs of these men and the taming of Homestead. The steelworkers of Homestead were a breed apart, stalwarts who not only developed class awareness but all but ran the town.

The men would have scoffed at today's business unionism. Instead they had a commitment to the political goals of labour and they backed it with their lives. They held elected office, operated in official and unofficial town capacities. In fact, the balance of company and worker power in Homestead may have led to the carnage that transpired. The union had real power; this was not a company town and it took Carnegie's determination and money to bring his brand of labour peace to Pennsylvania steel country.

The historical context is important because it was during this period that Chicago labour leaders were hanged after the infamous Haymarket Affair [1886]. Two years after Homestead, Eugene Debs and his American Railway Union were brutally suppressed. Krause reminds us that belonging to a union often led to criminal conspiracy charges–some of the steelworkers never again worked in the Pittsburgh area.

While today's dissipated labour movement plays junior partner to Wall Street, the Homestead men had no time for tepid unionism. They lived Trotsky's admonition that workers had a painful road to travel before gaining insight about their historic mission–they backed up their enlightenment with organized defiance. Carnegie was more than willing to respond in kind and he inflicted great pain for the greater good of his Presbyterian/capitalist ethos. During this time Homestead was a tinderbox with powerful personalities moving inexorably toward confrontation. The gunplay with the Pinkerton guards is detailed in all its fury–seven steelworkers and three guards lay dead when the smoke cleared. The unlucky Pinkertons were duped into giving up, and then they were forced to run a savage gauntlet to the town's opera house–Homestead's women often reigning down the most devastating blows. Krause provides details of the

intricate relationship between Carnegie's decisions and his principles. The author portrays a flesh and blood man, not a one-dimensional and rapacious capitalist–although you may reach that conclusion.

This is a well-researched effort detailing the passions and commitment of those who suffered few illusions about Carnegie's ambitions. Although the author leaves little doubt about whose side he supports, he also gives a satisfying account of Carnegie's complexities. This is a must read for those interested in American labour and journalism history. It gives added meaning to a defining moment in 19th century industrial conflict and Krause is convincing when he says that an understanding of U.S. history leads down the winding road that passes through Homestead.

>Gene Costain, University of Iowa

Eye On The Future: Popular Culture Scholarship Into The 21st Century In Honor Of Ray B. Browne

By Marilyn F. Motz, John G. Nachbar, Michael T. Marsden, and Ronald J. Ambrosetti, (eds.) Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1994, 294 pp.

Information comes in the most unexpected places, and an astute researcher faces challenges of documenting these various assorted works in the ever-expanding Information Age. Consider, for example, how would a researcher appropriately identify a popular trendy children's toy or a "missing person" advertisement on the back of a milk carton? If research is to be thorough, these oddities in the dissemination of information cannot be ignored. That is why bibliographies, which are limited to printed materials, are being replaced with "works cited," a more encompassing term. That is just one of the useful essays found in this collection.

A similar scholarly dilemma is found in Judith Yaross Lee's essay dealing with what count as data, if data are fluid. She uses Garrison Keillor's 1986 story "Aprille," as a case in point. There are five different versions of the story. In an oral tradition modifications are made in a story's retelling, whereas in print the material is in permanent form. As the popularity of electronic media continues into the next century, this data counting process will be more difficult than it was in a print-oriented epoch.

Thomas Cripps adds a different type of challenge to the 21st century research agenda, the clouded status of "fair use." What has Cripps

so upset is an opinion handed down in the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals by Judge Jon O. Walker. In that opinion, the judge ruled that personal letters of J.D. Salinger could not be used under the "fair use" doctrine because in so doing, Random House would compromise their market value. Cripps argues that this violates the spirit of historical precedents and recent Supreme Court writings on "fair use."

The subtitle indicates that this book is a tribute to Ray B. Browne. It all grew out of a conference held on the campus of Bowling Green State University to honor Browne as one of the "founding fathers" of the field of popular culture studies. Browne continues to remain active (though officially retired). At the time the book was published, Maryan Wherry calculated his contributions as: 49 books (author, editor, or co-author), 73 articles (author, interviewer, or co-author), and 660 reviews. Browne is quite an inspiration and role model to scholars who have both met him and to those who know him only through his writings. He continues to edit the *Journal of Popular Culture* and the *Journal of American Culture.*

Testimonials from his former students, now colleagues, are included in the book. They mention his approachable nature. John G. Nachbar describes what happened in the fall of 1970 when he first met Browne as a doctoral student at BGSU. "Ray asked opinions continuously and he listened to what students had to say with respect. What's more, when he told us about our course papers, he said that we should do work that would be published."

Five of Browne's essays are included in the collection. Perhaps the most controversial is "redefining the humanities" in which Browne argues that the humanities should include popular culture and not merely reflect a historical perspective on the human experience.

Eye on the Future gives readers plenty to think about. The issues are timely and will be poignant for 21st century scholars.

>William G. Covington, Jr., Bridgewater (Mass.) State College

The Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age,

By Paulette D. Kilmer, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996, 230 pp.

As the subtitle of Paulette Kilmer's book indicates, here is another look at the Horatio Alger myth and the period during which it flourished. In this version, the mythology of success takes on the additional colora-

tion of anxiety, both worldly and heavenly. The core materials of Kilmer's study are 44 published contributions to the popular culture of the United States, nearly all of them either book-length or serialized works of fiction, appearing between 1870 and 1915. Her selections, of course, do not include any of the canonical works of realistic or naturalistic fiction that were also productions of the era. Kilmer, in fact, takes pains to distinguish the "serious" novelists of the day such as Howells, James, and the later Melville from the "popular bards" that are her subject–writers like Alger, Frank Baum, Edward Eggleston, Elizabeth Ward, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Mary Roberts Rinehart, and Owen Wister. Three well-known works of inspirational non-fiction also make her list: P. T. Barnum's *Art of Money-Getting*, Andrew Carnegie's *Gospel of Wealth*, and Russell Conwell's *Acres of Diamonds*.

Kilmer's approach is to analyze the stock characters and formulaic plots she finds in "bardic fiction," a genre apart from the "classic" novels. Despite variations from author to author and story to story, the plots she describes all present "idealized visions of life" appropriated from traditional fairy tales. Virtue triumphs over vice and hard work over adversity and poverty, most often after a stroke of well-deserved good luck or coincidence. Great wealth, on the other hand, especially inherited wealth, is portrayed as a handicap in the game of life and an obstacle, as in the gospel warning about the camel and the needle, to salvation.

Thus the emotion of anxiety, "the fear of sinking," qualifies the fictional success story in most of its versions, and, it is more than suggested, the spirit of the Gilded Age itself. Those who strive and those who are good are living in conformity, as they should, with the prevailing ethos. According to the formula, they will be rewarded with material success and personal happiness–in some versions, both temporal and eternal that in the quest for wealth, and in its enjoyment, one risks losing his soul. Even works of charity can be a source of anxiety, since the donor must worry with Carnegie and Conwell whether helping the poor may actually be doing them harm.

Kilmer's controlling concept is of the fairy tale archetype, which she associates most frequently with the story of Cinderella. Her handling of the concept, however, is less clear than would be ideal, largely because of a tendency to use key terms such as *paradigm, prototype, archetype, motif,* and *myth* almost interchangeably. This is partly, one guesses, because of her repeated reliance on short stand-alone quotations from other authorities (named only in the endnotes), either as reinforcement of a generalization she has just made or as a substitute for articulating some point in her

own words. The reader would have appreciated some explicit effort at more authorial control over terms such as these. The result would have been greater conceptual clarity.

This book has relevance to readers with a special interest in American journalism of the era because, claims Kilmer persuasively, the plots of the success stories were reflected in the reporting of news. This was especially the case in the treatment of those who have experienced success or failure in the world, and in the reporting of disasters such as the Chicago and Peshtigo, Wisconsin, fires of 1871, to which she devotes an entire chapter: "fiction artisans exposed the sins of Demon Rum and invoked the magical power of words to redress social injustices." In a thoughtful epilogue, Kilmer asserts that the fairy tale of success has persisted in the popular culture of the present decade, but mostly with the spirituality of a hundred years ago sucked out. Now, however, the fear of sinking has once again come to the rescue, freeing Americans for the cultivation of values apart from materialism. It is on this optimistic, now wholly objective, note that Kilmer ends what is on the whole quite a fresh and worthwhile treatment of a familiar theme.

>Charles E. Clark, University of New Hampshire

Journalistic Advocates and Muckrakers: Three Centuries of Crusading Writers

By Edd Applegate, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1997, 219 pp.

There are some rabble-rousing reporters you might expect all neophyte journalists to recognize even before writing their first obit and beginning to dream of Pulitzer prizes. One might expect would-be journalists to be familiar with such luminaries, for instance, as I. F. Stone, H.L. Mencken, Ida Tarbell, Seymour Hersh, S.S. McClure, Nellie Bly and Upton Sinclair. But as any journalism history teacher who has ever faced a sea of blank student faces following mention of Lincoln Steffens can tell you, current student knowledge of the pioneer trouble-making journalists of our field is limited or non-existent. For that reason, Edd Applegate has done journalism a great service by putting together a collection of 101 short biographies of what he calls "journalistic advocates and muckrakers" from the past 300 years.

This important reference work should be required supplemental reading for all journalism history courses. It now gives students a central

source to consult to quickly find out who Samuel Hopkins Adams was, for instance, and why he was important in our field, along with other journalistic non-conformists such as Will Irwin, Thomas Paine, Rachel Carson, Jacob Riis and George Seldes. But Applegate has done more than provide a bare-bones one- to two-page biographical sketch of each of his selected journalism rebels. Instead he's tried to let the journalists speak for themselves by quoting from their best work and compiling a consensus of critical opinion about each reporter's lasting significance and contribution to the field. For instance, here's an excerpt from the entry about Heywood Broun, one of the organizers of the American Newspaper Guild: "Sacco and Vanzetti," one of Broun's most bitter columns, exhibited a style that was direct and empathic. With the quotation "It is death condemning life," Heywood began his argument. "Sacco and Vanzetti stood out in society; thus they had to be killed. They were life and those who killed them were death. Broun argued that what happened in the courtroom, specifically the sentencing, was not an isolated ruling. Rather, in the American system of justice, particularly when American jurors judge defendants of another country or race, prejudices interfered much too often."

Applegate has a fluid style and his scholarship is solid. He may be open to criticism, however, for not explaining how he picked each journalist for his book, particularly the ones who are still alive. Why write about modern muckraker Jack Anderson, for instance, but not discuss Woodward and Bernstein? And how did Eldridge Cleaver and Ralph Nader make the final cut? These two men are both clearly crusading writers, but are they journalists? They used the written word as one of only an arsenal of weapons of societal change.

In contrast, nearly all the other people in the book, with the notable exception of Karl Marx, were journalists, first and foremost. Even though they battled for change in society, they consistently played by the rules of reporting throughout their lives. Additionally, while the author sets out to describe three centuries of crusading journalists, he has emphasized the past 100 years and focuses almost exclusively on American writers. Writers from the 1960s and early '70s, so called "new journalists," are particularly over-represented. But to his credit, Applegate admits this 20th century bias in his introduction.

If he had reworded his book's title to say it covered the highlights of "a century of crusading writers" he could have avoided the problem of seeming to promise more than he delivers. Another problem with the book is unavoidable–a shortage of females. (Nine women are included out

of a total list of 101 writers.) Women have struggled for acceptance in mainstream journalism for the past 300 years. Few have been allowed to engage in advocacy writing for mainstream publications. And if they did so it was difficult for them to be taken seriously. Applegate can't very well be held responsible for the prejudice of a field that generally marginalized women who tried to be crusading writers.

These issues are minor quibbles, however; ultimately this is an exciting and compelling book. It shines well-deserved light on journalists who tried to change the world, and often succeeded. Much to Applegate's credit he urges readers throughout the book to study the writer's works listed at the end of each entry. This is a nice touch. Perhaps beginning journalists will feel compelled to follow through and experience for themselves the exciting journalism of such powerhouses as George Kibbe Turner, who consistently wrote on behalf of the poor and neglected, and Nat Hentoff, a tireless and still active advocate of civil rights and free speech.

>Brian Thornton, Midwestern State University

Standing Before the Shouting Mob: Lenoir Chambers and Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public-School Integration

By Alexander S. Leidholdt, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997, 172 pp.

In the late 1950s, Norfolk, Virginia, seemed an unlikely setting for a civil rights battleground. With a diverse population swelled by its Navy shipyards, prosperous Norfolk enjoyed better-than-average race relations. Moreover, the city's politicians were considered liberal for their region. By the same token, Lenoir Chambers, the editor of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,* hardly fit the stereotype of the crusading Southern editor. Soft-spoken and cultured, uncomfortable with conflict, Chambers avoided the limelight. Proud of his heritage, he had spent years researching a biography of Southern war hero Stonewall Jackson.

Yet during the 1958-59 school year, Norfolk's schools were in a desegregation crisis, and Chambers was one of the crisis' heroes. At the urging of U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, who was leading Virginia's "massive resistance" to desegregation, Norfolk officials closed city secondary schools in fall 1958 rather than admit 17 black students. In the public

outcry and legal wrangling that followed, Chambers' editorials provided a steady, calm voice, urging compliance with the law. In February 1959, Norfolk's secondary schools reopened under court order. Desegregated schools had opened peacefully in Virginia, and massive resistance was dead.

Alexander S. Leidholdt, Assistant Professor of Communication at Purdue University, has written a model community study of the events in Norfolk and of one editor's crucial leadership. He shows a deep understanding of the key events and players in Norfolk and Virginia. The result is a balanced study that neither overstates Chambers' role nor exaggerates the editor's liberal stance. Proper credit is given to community leaders who supported the public schools, including the *Virginian-Pilot's* publisher, Frank Batten. Accordingly, Chambers is portrayed as a hero, yes, but as one of many in the crisis.

Chambers' liberalism ran deep. Born and reared in North Carolina, he had been attracted to the *Virginian-Pilot* by its liberal reputation and that of its longtime editor, Louise Jaffe, Sr. Jaffe had won the Pulitzer Prize in 1929 for his successful campaign urging the state legislature to enact an anti-lynching law. Chambers worked closely under him as his assistant and became editor of the *Virginian-Pilot* when Jaffe died in 1950.

From the beginning of the Southern backlash against Brown, Chambers abhorred massive resistance. The Supreme Court's decision was the law and should be obeyed, Chambers believed, and legal machinations to avoid school desegregation were pure folly. In the years leading up to and during Norfolk's desegregation crisis, Chambers never wavered from his stand for tolerance and moderation. His editorial arguments were reasoned and level-headed, always free of personal attacks. For his five-year campaign against massive resistance, Chambers won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing in 1960.

Leidholdt's account is a welcome addition to the historiography of the interaction between the civil rights movement and the press. Perhaps it will serve as a model for other historians in crafting studies of press performance in other civil rights battlegrounds. Such community studies are badly needed.

>David R. Davies, University of Southern Mississippi

To Strike at a King. The Turning Point in the McCarthy Witch-Hunts, Troy, Mich.:

By Michael Ranville, Momentum Books, Ltd., 1997, 302 pp.

To read about the injustices of the so-called McCarthy Era always seems to evoke easy outrage. The accusations flying, the innocents led to professional slaughter, the careers quietly ruined around the United States, all for the quest of a Red-free nation. This was democracy to be proud of? Well, hardly, but today it is an era that ought to be explained to a generation several decades away from the "Red Scare."

Michigan author Michael Ranville does not do this. Instead he leads the reader to repeatedly wonder how Americans could be so stupid and vicious. In fact, his book forms a polemic denouncing Joseph McCarthy, the famous "junior senator from Wisconsin," the military, craven lawyers, the FBI, and assorted minor snivelers. It shows the heroes to be the press, two plucky lawyers, and most importantly, Milo Radulovich from near Detroit.

Most historians remember Radulovich as the focus of Edward R. Murrow's "little picture." Murrow chose to profile the Radulovich case against the military as an example of red-baiting at its worst. On Aug. 21, 1953, Radulovich, an American citizen, veteran, and first lieutenant in the U.S. Air Force Reserve was discharged from the military for his connection to supposed Communists. Specifically, his sister and father were accused of Red connections, though the military kept secret the source and evidence for the accusations, citing national security.

Radulovich decided to fight, hiring two lawyers not afraid of defending someone tainted by the red brush. The Detroit press reported the case. From there it reached the desk of Edward R. Murrow, producer with Fred Friendly of the television documentary program *See It Now*. Murrow used Radulovich to launch his battle against McCarthy and the witch-hunts, leading eventually to vindication of Radulovich and Congressional censure of McCarthy. That's the well-known story. The author fleshes out the details, through a day-by-day narrative of the Radulovich case, from August 21st to November 24th, 1953.

His sources are oral history at its best: extensive interviews with Radulovich, now retired in California; Joe Wershba, who created the story for *See It Now*; defense attorney Ken Sanborn; and Fred Friendly, late of Columbia University. The author writes an informal journalistic story, reaching for strong metaphors of battle (waiting for Murrow and Friendly to "unsheath their sword..."), and including detailed descriptions of places

and people ("Mary sat and waited in an adjacent office, knitting a purple shawl to pass the time.") Squeezed into the day-by-day chapter headings, varying in length from a few pages to a few paragraphs, are short descriptions of other news of the day ("The Brooklyn Dodgers fired their manager, Charlie Dressen...").

Probably most interesting to historians are the recollections offered by Radulovich himself, especially regarding the climactic presentation of a closed-door pseudo-trial between military authorities and private attorneys. Ranville's factual portrayal of the hearing, using recollections as well as public documents, adds up to testimony almost surreal in its absurdity: the accusers were secret; the files were sealed with Scotch tape and rubber bands; the accusations were ludicrous; the arguments sounded like a debate over angels on a pinhead. As Murrow used the case for his "little picture" to illustrate a larger evil, the author uses the book to show what those in power can do.

Still, readers are left wondering why: Why the Red Scare injustices could have happened in a free democracy? A balancing explanation to show the real fear in America of a Communist takeover at this time would help explain the motivations of people painted as career-destroyers and cowards. Many people excoriated today believed then they were doing the right thing for the country. It seems unfair to impugn their motivations with today's hindsight of a dead Soviet Union. The book is an interesting look at an important case in journalism history.

It's not of high scholarly standards, however. No bibliography is offered, and primary sources consist mostly of interviews, newspaper articles, and a few public documents. Secondary sources are not historians, but other journalists, notably David Halberstam in his book about the 1950s. The presentation of brief chapters can get choppy. The supposed irony of unrelated news events inserted at the end of chapters sometimes escapes a reader. But the oral history presented here is a helpful contribution to the history of an embarrassing era.

>Ross Collins, North Dakota State University

WCFL: Chicago's Voice of Labor 1926-78

By Nathan Godfried, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997, 390 pp, paper.

Almost 70 years ago Bertolt Brecht echoed a contemporary thirst for media diversity when he said radio could give us a wondrous democratic

system to connect everyone. He added a caution that applies today: "It was suddenly possible to say everything to everybody but, thinking about it, there was nothing to say." The founders of Chicago's WCFL labor radio were more optimistic about intramural labor communication and they fought long and hard for their right to do it with radio. This book offers an intriguing account of how a persistent group of labor leaders found a voice in the bottom-line reality of American broadcasting. When the story ended [1978], WCFL was the first and longest surviving labor station in America.

WCFL opened its microphones in 1926 as a listener-supported operation owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor. Godfried provides a cogent history of an uphill battle to create an alternative to corporate, profit-driven radio. With today's banal jukebox it is difficult to imagine anything but old gold radio and Howard Stern.

The originators of WCFL stubbornly fought to break the stranglehold of big business on the emerging broadcasting sector. They won only small victories and succeeded because of the superhuman effort of founder Edward Nockles. He worked to win a clear channel; more importantly he wore down the dominant myths of the commercial structures and cozy network cartels–temporarily. He demonstrated, with a great deal of sweat-equity, that alternatives were possible and necessary. This effort embodied a full challenge to the economic orthodoxy of American broadcasting to establish WCFL radio. It ended in a hollow victory because labor union members did not consistently support the broadcasting initiative. Nockles' group eventually had to sell its programming soul to eke out a meager on-air survival.

This story's value is in the bureaucratic machinations and what it reveals about structural realities, rather than the programming sideshow. There wasn't much of the latter to call WCFL a benchmark in labor history. The book jacket promises a chronology that will "analyze labor's challenge to the dominant media," but in essence it demonstrates that the founders endured a bureaucratic dance–but they could not pick the partner or the sheet music. The station managers learned what any student of U.S. broadcasting learns–the prerogatives of the market had quickly penetrated all broadcasting institutions. To doubt the "rational" economic nature of it all was an admission of political eccentricity. After all, what is more eccentric than a "labor" radio station in the midst the tigers of free-enterprise broadcasting? The surprise is, as Robert McChesney recently reminded us, that there was a minor debate about democratic broadcasting before it became a playground for Rupert

Murdoch and Ted Turner. This is the tale of a rare survivor of that debate about diversity in radio.

Although they tried, the station's founders could not escape the systemic constraints imposing dominant values. Union members did support it in the early years and the owners used huge social events to keep WCFL afloat. The effort waned and the station resorted to more commercial programming, which crowded out an already small diet of labor public affairs and news programming. The WCFL managers fought a rearguard action against the immovable forces of commercial broadcasting–the fact that they survived for over 50 years is worth a careful reading

>Gene Costain, University of Iowa

We Called Each Other Comrade: Charles H. Kerr and Company

By Allen Ruff, Radical Publishers, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997, 312 pp.

In 1986, the oldest socialist publishing house in the world celebrated its centenary. This celebration did not take place in Moscow or Beijing, or even in Havana. It happened in Chicago where a fourth generation of social activists once again breathed life into this American institution. Allen Ruff's tender and almost emotional recollection of the founding of the Charles H. Kerr and Company of Radical Publishers serves to remind us through some excellent scholarship that political debate in the United States has not always been restricted to various versions of liberal-democratic capitalism. There was a time when real alternatives did exist, a time when socialists were prominent among city councils and state legislatures across the land, a time when the names of Eugene Debs, Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas were discussed in earnest as choices beyond the norm of U.S. political life.

The founder of the Charles H. Kerr and Company Radical Publishing House did not begin his journey to radical politics at the knee of convinced rebels. He was deeply influenced by alternative religious arguments, mainly those forwarded by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, one of the Gilded Age's more notable religious rebels and activists. Charles Kerr's decision to become a publisher was directly connected with his desire to bring to light some of the more obscure but, to him, appealing aspects of Boston based Unitarianism. Like many radical movements in Eastern

Europe, Britain, France and Canada, the so-called need to bring heaven to earth inspired many religious radicals to take up the cause of secular and earthly revolution at a time when organized religions, specifically Christianity, were determined to restrict themselves to the cleansing of the soul for an afterlife. Present day conditions were only to be tolerated, not resolved.

As Ruff points out, the transition of Charles Kerr from a religious rebel to a secular rebel took place over a period of time. By the time Kerr relinquished his grip on the firm that bore his name at the age of 28 and moved from Chicago to Los Angeles, he had completed the move to what some felt was an inflexible, and far left view of the world. Kerr was in the vanguard when evolutionists, prepared to play the parliamentary game of the gradual seizing of power, dominated the socialist environment. Kerr's playmates had a more radical pedigree, as Ruff points out. Among his circle of friends was no less than Eugene Debs and Big Bill Haywood, leader of the International Workers of the World, or Wobblies.

Ruff carefully guides his readers through the narrative worthy of a late Victorian tale. The very fact that the Kerr Company survived is due in large part to both Kerr's dedication to the cause and his imagination in dealing with what seemed to be indeterminate crises. The book consists of ten chapters, each based in a specific period of time in the intellectual evolution of Charles Kerr. To Ruff, there seems little surprise that Kerr became more activist the farther along the road of life he traveled. The author carefully paints a picture of late 19th century life, all of which makes the prospering of Charles Kerr seem that much more normal for the age. All those things which led to a radicalization in America are at least given lip service–Haymarket, Homestead and the Pullman strike. These seemingly larger than life events had a profound effect on Kerr, effects that could not be ameliorated by spiritual responses alone.

If there is one criticism to make of an otherwise fine piece of research and writing it concerns chapter nine. Ruff devotes nearly 16 pages of discussion to the International Socialist Review, which published from 1908 to 1918. It is was a key publication in the Kerr catalogue, and one which made the most impact amongst radicals not only in the United States but around the world. Yet, Ruff appears to be reluctant to trace its development as part of the chronological portrait he paints of the Kerr Company. In many ways, it leaves this chapter somewhat isolated, forcing the reader to return to his/her memory every time an important situation arises in the history of the publication. Since much of the research is quite dense and detailed, the constant need to refer back to

other parts of the book to situate the life of the journal is somewhat confusing and tedious.

However, when one considers the overall beauty and intensity of this work, one cannot underestimate its value. For journalism historians, it is a most welcome contribution. Little, beyond Ken Fones-Wolf's discussion along with his colleagues of the German-American radical press of Philadelphia, has been devoted to some of the more interesting aspects of 19th century publication. Yes, some academic attention has been paid to Julius Augustus Wayland and John Swinton among others, but it has been too rare. Scholars working in this area might be wise to take a good look at Ruff's dialogue on Kerr. It stands among the better submissions in an uncrowded field of scholarship.

>***Editor's Choice***, **David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario**

American Journalism
Department of Communication Studies
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, CA 95819-6070

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 02572
Sacramento, CA

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Fall 1998
Volume 15, Number 4

American Journalism

From Ridicule to Respect: Newspapers' Reaction To Television, 1948-1960 17
David R. Davies

Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers: Two Southern Liberal Newspaper Editors Face Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration 35
Alex Leidholdt

How World Vision Rose From Obscurity To Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972-1982 69
Ken Waters

Selling Cable Television in the 1970s and 1980s: Social Dreams and Business Schemes 95
William J. Leonhirth

The Press Held Hostage: Terrorism in a Small North Carolina Town. 125
Oscar Patterson III

Great Ideas: What's Mock News? A Case Study of *Dino Times* and *NYTW News* 141
John Osburn

Book Reviews 149

American Journalism Index for 1998 167

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Fall 1998
Volume 15, Number 4

American Journalism

Editor . . . . . Shirley Biagi
California State University, Sacramento

Book Review Editor . . . . . David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Assistant Editor . . . . . Timi Ross Poeppelman
California State University, Sacramento

Design . . . . . Gwen Amos
California State University, Sacramento

Former Editors . . . . . William David Sloan
University of Alabama

Gary Whitby
East Texas State

John Pauly
Saint Louis University

Wallace B. Eberhard
University of Georgia

1998 American Journalism Historians Association Officers

President	James Startt Valparaiso University
1st Vice President	Eugenia Palmegiano Saint Peter's College
2nd Vice President	William David Sloan University of Alabama
Secretary	Barbara Straus Reed Rutgers University
Treasurer	Dick Scheidenhelm Colorado State University
Historian	Alf Pratte Brigham Young University
Board of Directors	Elizabeth Burt David Copeland John Coward Wallace Eberhard Kathleen Endres John Ferré Tracy Gottlieb Eugenia Palmegiano William David Sloan Jim Startt Rodger Streitmatter Pat Washburn

Definition of History

For purposes of written research papers and publications, the term history shall be seen as a continuous and connected process emphasizing but not necessarily confined to subjects of American mass communications. It should be viewed not in the context of perception of the current decade, but as part of a significant and time-conditioned human past.

Editorial Purpose

American Journalism publishes articles, book reviews and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history; and new ideas and methods for the teaching of media history. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews.

Copyright

© American Journalism Historians Association 1998. Articles in the journal may be photocopied for use in teaching, research, criticism and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U. S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, including electronic reproduction and/or distribution, users must obtain written permission from the editor.

Submission Guidelines

Authors submitting research manuscripts for publication as articles should send five manuscript copies (including an abstract with each). Manuscripts should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style,* 14th Edition, and should not exceed the recommended maximum length of 20 pages. Research manuscripts are blind refereed.

Great Ideas is designed to showcase new approaches and information about the teaching of media history. Great Ideas are typically three to six manuscript pages. Authors of Great Ideas should first query the editor.

American Journalism is produced on Macintosh computers using Microsoft Word 6.0.1. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication are asked to submit their work on PC or Macintosh disk, formatted in Microsoft Word 5.0 or 6.0.1.

Send Submissions to	Professor Shirley Biagi *American Journalism* Communication Studies Department 6000 J Street Mendocino 5014 Sacramento, CA 95819-6070 Telephone: (916) 278-5323 E-mail: ajha@csus.edu
Book Reviews	To review or propose a book review contact: Professor David Spencer Graduate School of Journalism University of Western Ontario London, Ontario Canada N6A 5B7 E-mail: dspencer@julian.uwo.ca
Advertising Rates	Contact the Editor
AJHA Membership & Subscription Rates (yearly)	AJHA Members: $30 AJHA Student Members: $15 AJHA Retired Faculty Members: $15 Libraries (US & Canada): $30 Libraries (All other countries): $40 Single copies: $8.50 each
Send AJHA membership and subscription dues and single copy orders to	Dick Scheidenhelm AJHA Treasurer 4185 Corriente Place Boulder, Colorado 80301-1626

A Publication of the American Journalism Historians Association

Fall 1998
Volume 15, Number 4

American Journalism

Editor's Note 9

From Ridicule to Respect: Newspapers' Reaction To Television, 1948-1960. 17
David R. Davies

The author explores how and why print journalists originally ridiculed television and then slowly came to respect the new medium.

Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers: Two Southern Liberal Newspaper Editors Face Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration 35
Alex Leidholdt

This article examines the formative influences of two prominent Southern liberal newspaper editors. These two editors, Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers, took opposing sides during Virginia's school integration crisis. The author seeks to explain how these two men ended up on different sides of a very controversial issue.

How World Vision Rose From Obscurity To Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972-1982. 69
Ken Waters

In an attempt to raise more money to feed the world's hungry people, World Vision used television to appeal to the masses, resulting in a new genre of fundraising—a combination documentary, commercial, infomercial and docudrama. This article chronicles the rise of World Vision and its groundbreaking use of television.

Selling Cable Television in the 1970s and 1980s: Social Dreams and Business Schemes 95
William J. Leonhirth

The evolution of cable television created high expectations from government as well as public interest groups for cable television to cure society's social problems. This article examines cable TV's evolution and how advocates of cable television suggested that cable TV would help solve the social problems of the day.

The Press Held Hostage: Terrorism in a Small North Carolina Town . .125
Oscar Patterson III

On February 1, 1988, two Native American Indian men, armed with sawed-off shotguns, used terrorist attacks to take The Robesonian, *a daily newspaper in Lumberton, North Carolina, hostage. The author explores the issue of terrorism against the press and terrorism's role as a change agent.*

Great Ideas: What's Mock News? A Case Study of *Dino Times* and *NYTW News* 141
John Osburn

Book Reviews 149

Book Review Editor's Note 149

EDITOR'S CHOICE: A HISTORY OF MASS COMMUNICATION 149
By Irving Fang
Reviewed by David R. Spencer

FREE SPEECH IN ITS FORGOTTEN YEARS 151
By David M. Rabban
Reviewed by Patricia Bradley

GET ME A MURDER A DAY: A HISTORY OF MASS COMMUNICATION IN BRITAIN 153
By Kevin Williams
Reviewed by James D. Startt

Good News, Bad News: Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest 156
By Jeremy Iggers
Reviewed by Steven R. Knowlton

Media Ethics: A Philosophical Approach 158
By Matthew Kieran
Reviewed by Kristie Bunton

Moral Reasoning for Journalists: Cases and Commentary. . 160
By Steven R. Knowlton
Reviewed by Romayne Smith Fullerton

Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion 162
By J. Michael Sproule
Reviewed by Michael P. McCauley

The Shortstop's Son 164
By Philip Martin
Reviewed by William G. Covington

American Journalism **Index for 1998** 167
Compiled by Timi Poeppelman, Assistant Editor

Editor's Note

This final issue of 1998 finds *American Journalism* roaming around in the second half of the 20th century, looking for strategic historical markers. The authors in this issue collectively demonstrate how decisions made at critical junctures in media history helped dictate the media's current path.

In "From Ridicule to Respect: Newspapers' Reaction to Television, 1948 - 1960," David R. Davies chronicles the stony reluctance of newspaper editors to acknowledge the competitive challenge of television. Buoyed by a post-war economic boom, newspaper editors could not believe they would lose their readers to television, even as flickering pictures in people's living rooms quickly replaced newspapers as a source of news, entertainment and advertising.

A crisis of a different type is detailed by Alex Leidholdt in "Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers: Two Southern Liberal Newspaper Editors Face Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration." Even though the two men came from similar backgrounds, Dabney opposed integration while Chambers supported it. Leidholdt offers important biographical background to help explain how these two influential figures on the integration battleground found themselves using their newspapers to promote opposite sides of this emotional issue.

Using the media to evoke an emotional response from an audience is the focus of Ken Waters' article, "How World Vision Rose From Obscurity to Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972 - 1982." Waters chronicles the rise of Stan Mooneyham, who became president of World Vision in 1969. During his tenure as president, Mooneyham catapulted World Vision to international visibility and swelled the organization's income. The main tool contributing to his success, says Leidholdt, was television. Using documentary techniques, celebrity endorsements and the global reach of new technology, Mooneyham personalized overseas hunger and suffering. The extraordinary success of World Vision, Leidholdt says, launched TV fundraising as an acceptable and necessary tool for many international evangelical organizations.

The last article in this issue moves attention to domestic politics. On February 1, 1988, two Native American men held the staff members of a North Carolina newspaper hostage for more than ten hours before surrendering to authorities. The consequences of this attack on the press is

the focus of "The Press Held Hostage: Terrorism in a Small North Carolina Town," by Oscar Patterson III. The two men hoped to bring attention to their complaints, but Patterson says their actions must be viewed as classic terrorist activities that only briefly focused public attention on their grievances and caused few lasting reforms.

This issue's ***Great Ideas*** suggests a new way to study the role of newspapers in publicity and promotion. In "What's Mock News? A Case Study of *Dino Times* and *NYTW News*," John Osburn says that many theater and movie promoters create advertising that looks like newspapers. This advertising exploits the legitimacy and familiarity of newspapers in a format he calls "mock news."

David Spencer's useful collection of book reviews includes a new feature, "Editor's Choice," where David singles out a book with particular interest for media historians. Assistant Editor Timi Poeppelman has compiled an Author/Title Index to all four 1998 issues in Volume 15, conveniently included with this last issue of the volume.

This Editor's Note marks the first complete volume published in the journal's new home at California State University, Sacramento. More than 50 distinguished media history scholars served as reviewers this year, and they deserve special recognition. And for their continued enthusiastic support for *American Journalism*, I thank the members of AJHA.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

American Journalism Back Issues

The following back issues of *American Journalism* are available at the cost of $3 per issue ($6 per combined issue):

Volume 7	(1990)	Nos. 1, 2, and 4
Volume 8	(1991)	Nos. 1, 2-3 (combined issue), and 4
Volume 9	(1992)	Nos. 1-2, 3-4 (both combined issues)
Volume 10	(1993)	Nos. 1-2 (combined issue)
Volume 11	(1994)	Nos. 2, 3, and 4
Volume 12	(1995)	Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4
Volume 13	(1996)	Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4
Volume 14	(1997)	Nos. 1, 2, 3-4 (combined issue)

Some of these issues are in short supply (Vol. 7, Nos. 2 and 4; Vol. 12, Nos.1 and 3)

Add $1 per issue for postage and send check made payable to AJHA to:

Richard Scheidenhelm
AJHA Treasurer
4185 Corriente Pl.
Boulder, CO 80301
(303) 443-7542

American Journalism Reviewers

David Abrahamson
Northwestern University

June Adamson
University of Tennessee

Donna Allen
Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

Perry Ashley
University of South Carolina

Donald Avery
Penn State University

Gerald Baldasty
University of Washington

Warren "Sandy" Barnard
Indiana State University

Joseph Baylen
University of Sussex

Maurine Beasley
University of Maryland

Tom Beell
Iowa State University

Louise Benjamin
University of Georgia

Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

Douglas Birkhead
University of Utah

Roy Blackwood
Bemidji State University

Margaret Blanchard
University of North Carolina

Fred Blevens
Southwest Texas State University

Patricia Bradley
Temple University

Bonnie Brennen
Virginia Commonwealth University

Joshua Brown
American Social History Project

Pam Brown
Rider University

Judith M. Buddenbaum
Colorado State University

Elizabeth Burt
University of Hartford

Flora Caldwell
University of Mississippi

James Carey
Columbia University

Jack Censer
George Mason University

Jean Chance
University of Florida

Ann Colbert
Indiana-Purdue University

Ross Collins
North Dakota State University

Thomas Connery
University of St. Thomas

David Copeland
Emory & Henry College

John Coward
University of Tulsa

Ed Cray
University of Southern California

David Davies
University of Southern Mississippi

Donna Dickerson
University of South Florida

Pat Dooley
University of Maine

Mikie Edwardson
University of Florida

Ferrell Ervin
Southeast Missouri State University

Fred Fedler
University of Central Florida

Tony Fellow
California State University, Fullerton

John Ferté
University of Louisville

Jean Folkerts
George Washington University

Robert Fortner
Calvin College

Jim Foust
Bowling Green University

Ralph Frasca
Hofstra University

Ronald Garay
Louisiana State University

Brooks Garner
Oklahoma State University

Vicki Goff
University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

Tracy Gottleib
Seton Hall University

Karla Gower
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Paul Grosswiler
University of Maine

Dennie Hall
University of Central Oklahoma

Susan Henry
California State University, Northridge

Louise Hermanson
University of South Alabama

Tom Heuterman
Washington State University

Glenn Himebaugh
Middle Tennessee State University

Nathaniel Hong
University of Washington

Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist University

Bill Huntzicker
University of Minnesota

Frankie Hutton
Lehigh University

Terry Hynes
University of Florida

Dolores Jenkins
University of Florida

Jay Jernigan
Eastern Michigan University

Phil Jeter
Florida A & M University

Sammye Johnson
Trinity University

Tom Johnson
Southern Illinois University

Paula Kassell
New Directions for Women

Arthur Kaul
University of Southern Mississippi

Beverly Keever
University of Hawaii

Elliott King
Loyola College

Richard Lentz
Arizona State University

Lawrence Lichty
Northwestern University

Larry Lorenz
Loyola University

Charles Marler
Abilene Christian University

John Marrs
Everett Community College

Maclyn McClary
Humboldt State University

Sheila McIntyre
Harvard University

Floyd McKay
Western Washington University

Joe McKerns
Ohio State University

James McPherson
Washington State University

Beverly Merrick
New Mexico State University

Karen Miller
University of Georgia

David Mindich
Saint Michael's College

Catherine Mitchell
University of North Carolina

James Mooney
East Tennessee State University

Meg Moritz
University of Colorado

Michael Murray
University of Missouri, St. Louis

Orayb Najjar
Northern Illinois University

Jack Nelson
Brigham Young University

Richard Nelson
Louisiana State University

Doug Newsom
Texas Christian University

Ron Ostman
Cornell University

Anna R. Paddon
Southern Illinois University

Oscar Patterson
Pembroke State University

Alf Pratte
Brigham Young University

Steve Ponder
University of Oregon

Chuck Rankin
Montana Historical Society

Barbara Reed
Rutgers University

Ford Risley
Penn State University

Kitt Rushing
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

Dick Scheidenhelm
Colorado State University

Michael Schudson
University of California, San Diego

Norm Sims
University of Massachusetts

David Sloan
University of Alabama

C. Zoe Smith
University of Missouri

F. Leslie Smith
University of Florida

Ted Smythe
California State University, Fullerton

David Spencer
University of Western Ontario

Andris Straumanis
University of Minnesota

Rodger Streitmatter
American University

Victoria Sturgeon
Tennessee State University

Leonard Teel
Georgia State University

Bernell Tripp
University of Florida

John Vivian
Winona State University

Tom Volek
University of Kansas

Hiley Ward
Temple University

Pat Washburn
Ohio University

Susan Weill
University of Southern Mississippi

Mary Weston
Northwestern University

Jan Whitt
University of Colorado

Julie Williams
Samford University

Betty Winfield
University of Missouri

From Ridicule To Respect: Newspapers' Reaction To Television, 1948 - 1960

by David R. Davies

Print journalists received the infant medium of television with bemusement. Early TV news was so crude as to pose no threat to newspaper reporting, and the booming postwar economy minimized any TV threat to print advertising. Newspaper editors and reporters first saw television as complementing, rather than competing, with print. But this attitude hardened in the 1950s, when television's rapid expansion threatened newspapers' traditional dominance in advertising and newsgathering. This article explores print's gradual, uneasy accommodation with television in the medium's first dozen years.

While television would ultimately be one of the greatest competitors to newspapers in the 50 years following World War II, print journalists were surprisingly slow to come to terms with this popular new medium. Their spirits buoyed by a booming postwar economy, publishers and editors of the late 1940s and early 1950s dismissed television out of hand. Writing in 1948, Frank Tripp of the Gannett newspaper chain predicted that television would hurt radio and magazines but have little effect on daily journalism. "In the face of every development which bade fair to harm them," Tripp wrote, "newspapers have risen to an all-time high in readership, and continue to climb." Television, Tripp and other publishers concluded, was an enter-

David R. Davies is Associate Professor and Interim Chair of the Journalism Department at the University of Southern Mississippi.

tainment-oriented medium that posed no threat to newspaper dominance in advertising and newsgathering.[1]

By 1960, the optimism of the late 1940s had disappeared after print journalists had watched television audiences and advertising revenues skyrocket throughout the 1950s. Gradually publishers realized that television was indeed a competitor, both for advertising and for readers' time and, somewhat late, they began to adapt to this new electronic threat.

This article examines the transformation in newspapers' reaction to television during the broadcast medium's first dozen years, exploring how and why editors' and publishers' estimation of television evolved from ridicule to respect. This significant period and subject have been largely ignored by media historians, who have understandably focused more on television's rise than on its effect on existing media. But it is important to understand how newspapers came to adapt to television—still their most substantial rival in the mass media today.

Newspapers' slow accommodation with television is consistent with the print medium's age-old reluctance to change, a characteristic that had been reflected in the medium's halting acceptance of radio in the 1920s and 1930s. Moreover, publishers' abilities to adjust to new competition has particular relevance today, when newspapers face new rivals that deliver news electronically.

The 1940s: Ridicule for Television

Two dominant factors controlled how newspapers responded to television in its earliest years. The first was the advertising boom following World War II, which provided newspapers with some of their healthiest years this century. With newspapers teeming with advertising, television was hardly a threat to the profitability of print. The second factor was television's seeming lack of promise as a public affairs medium. The infant medium's early efforts to cover the news struck editors and publishers as downright ridiculous.

Television news developed slowly as the early pioneers adapted radio news and newsreel techniques to the new technology. In the 1940s and early 1950s television stations and networks put little effort into covering day-to-day, routine news. Television news was in its infancy, and even its adherents conceded its weaknesses. "Pictorial news is great when it is great," said television news director Paul W. White of San Diego, California, in 1953. "But more frequently it ranges from the dull to the medio-

cre—and even more frequently it's painfully slow and inadequate." Critics dismissed early television news, as Sig Mickelson of CBS News put it in 1957, as "a hybrid monstrosity derived from newspapers, radio news, and newsreels, which inherited none of the merits of its ancestors."[2]

Newspapermen and women were watching television's development closely. Television's efforts to report the news were covered routinely—and usually critically—in the newspaper industry trade press in the 1940s and 1950s. Newspapermen and women ridiculed television's early, crude efforts to cover news events, as when services commemorating Abraham Lincoln's birthday were telecast on February 12, 1946.

The television industry had hyped the birthday event because it was to be carried over a network of several stations, but the broadcast lacked editing and appeared unprofessional. "The big show fell flat," *Editor & Publisher* reviewer Jerry Walker concluded. Television had wasted a day's effort, he noted, on an event that would have rated only a picture and a caption in the newspaper.[3]

Newspapers were similarly unimpressed with television's early political coverage. In 1948 the major television networks televised both the Democratic and Republican presidential conventions on the few television stations then on the air. Each major political party had chosen Philadelphia as its convention site out of consideration for network television's technical requirements, and the conventions were broadcast to 14 Eastern television stations in 13 states. The events attracted a television audience of ten million, a sizable achievement given the technical limitations of the networks and the youth of television.[4]

Still, newspaper correspondents at the convention regarded the new medium as an amusing but harmless nuisance. The earliest live broadcasts, critics noted, did not seem particularly informative. Worse still, the bulky equipment and bright lights of the television crews had turned convention press conferences into "Hollywood side shows," lamented *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Robert E. Kennedy after the Democratic National Convention. "The correspondents are being used for props and for free, too," Kennedy said. "But at the same time the gimmick is so new that they go along against their better judgment."[5]

The Early 1950s: Television as Amazing Benefactor

But the "gimmick" of television had a vastly expanding audience and advertising revenues in the early and mid 1950s, and publishers and editors could not fail to take notice. Publishers marveled with the rest of

the nation at television's rapid rise and growing influence, but they continued to reassure themselves that this young, fast-growing medium could not hurt them. In fact, many publishers came to see television as a benefactor.

Of television's rapid rise, there could be no doubt. From 1952, the year the Federal Communications Commission resumed issuing television broadcast licenses following a four-year freeze, through 1957, the number of television stations quintupled from 108 to 544. By 1957, television stations were operating in 317 United States cities, and sales of televisions skyrocketed throughout the decade. By 1957, 78 percent of all American homes would include a television set.

Television viewing increased throughout the 1950s, reaching five and a half hours a day in the average American home by the end of the decade. Television advertising receipts soared. After taking in only $57.8 million in advertising in 1949, the nation's television stations collected $1.74 billion in 1962. Between 1949 and 1955, television advertising volume increased an average of 61.5 percent a year, leveling off to a 6.3 percent annual increase between 1956 and 1962.[6]

Television Facts from 1950 - 1962

- **By 1960, Americans watched 5-1/2 hours of television a day.**
- **Television stations collected $1.74 billion in advertising in 1962, up from $57.8 million in advertising in 1949.**
- **Between 1949 and 1955, television advertising volume increased an average of 61-1/2% a year.**
- **The increase in advertising leveled off to 6.3% annual increase between 1956 and 1963.**

Newspaper reporters who had ridiculed television in its earliest years now stood amazed at television's reach and, occasionally, its power. As early as 1949, print journalists had marveled at television's potential to transfix audiences. When 3-year-old Kathy Fiscus fell into a South

Pasadena, California, well in April 1949, Los Angeles television station KTLA kept reporters on the scene for 28 hours as rescuers tried to save her. The story, transmitted to television stations in the Far West in a primitive network hookup and later picked up by stations nationwide, impressed newspaper reporters with its drawing power. "I haven't seen anything like this since the end of World War II," observed a telephone operator for the *Salt Lake City Tribune*. "Even tiny children, almost too young to talk, are calling for news about Kathy."[7] Los Angeles newspaperman Will Fowler remembered the story years later as a turning point for television news. "This was the first time that the cathode ray tube had out-and-out scooped the newspapers," Fowler said. "There was no argument, not even a rebuttal."[8]

The United States Senate hearings conducted in 1951 by Senator Estes Kefauver's Crime Investigating Committee provided a similar demonstration of television's prowess. At times the hearings into the problem of organized crime captured 100 percent of the television viewing audience. The hearings transformed television overnight "from everybody's whipping boy" to a public benefactor, wrote the editors of *Broadcasting* magazine after the hearings. "Its camera eye opened the public's."[9]

Print journalists took notice. "I was in New York at that time, and I admit you couldn't get any work out of anybody, your wife or your secretary or anybody else," marveled John Crosby, the *New York Herald-Tribune*'s radio-TV columnist, in 1951. "They sat glued to that machine." The melodramatic hearings brought the shadowy world of organized crime to life. John W. Bloomer, managing editor of the *Columbus* (Ga.) *Ledger*, said the Kefauver hearings "got a reaction that stunned even the most enthusiastic of the television drum beaters. TV suddenly came of age as a medium for dissemination of news."[10]

Similarly, the triumphant return of General Douglas MacArthur to the United States after his firing by President Truman attracted a large television audience. An estimated 44 million people watched some part of his four-day tour.[11] "We'll follow MacArthur from the time he arrives until he's down to his shorts in his hotel room," one television executive said, and the TV crews did almost that. Television cameras documented MacArthur's arrival in Hawaii, his stop in San Francisco, his triumphant Manhattan ticker tape parade, and his address to Congress. *Time* magazine opined that "the MacArthur show was TV's biggest and best job to date."[12]

But the MacArthur speech also demonstrated a benefit to newspapers of television's live coverage of special events: Such events seemed to

increase, not decrease, newspaper circulation. The *Atlanta Constitution*'s Ralph McGill, in Washington for the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) convention, conducted a spot check of area newspapers after the MacArthur speech and found that street sales were up for every newspaper.[13]

Televised news events seemed to increase readers' curiosity about those events, prompting them to buy the newspaper to read about what they had just seen. "Sensational news over radio and TV brings a flood of inquiries into our office," reported Ralph Anderson of the *Eau Claire* (Wis.) *Leader* at an editors' meeting in 1953.[14] Likewise, newspapers across the country consistently reported a boost in sales after televised special events. The *New York Daily News*, for example, sold 100,000 more copies than usual the day after the televised coronation of Britain's Queen Elizabeth II in 1953.[15] Print journalists took such news as proof that television and newspapers were not direct competitors. "They are two media of information, just as bourbon and water are two liquids," noted *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* editor Phil North in 1951, "and as many editors know so well, neither will replace the other but they are fine together."[16]

"I do not believe," wrote *New York Times* publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger in 1951, "that television has decreased our circulation at all. If anything, it has stimulated it." Sulzberger said that serious newspapers like the *Times*, which emphasized news rather than entertainment, had the least to fear from television. The *Times*' executive editor, Turner Catledge, agreed. "We do not regard TV as a direct competitor of the type of newspaper we publish," Catledge wrote a colleague in 1951. But both Sulzberger and Catledge predicted that television could threaten those journals that relied upon entertainment and features to attract readers; their audience would be lost to their electronic rival, a far more effective and compelling entertainment medium.[17]

Other newspaper publishers and editors took comfort in surveys and studies showing that newspapers suffered far less from television's rapid rise than other media. "As for the reading of newspapers and magazines, the impact of the television medium apparently is so negligible as to be significant only to a statistician," wrote Jack Gould of *The New York Times* in 1949.[18]

NBC interviewed 7,500 people in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and found that radio listening had fallen by 50 percent and magazine reading by 40 percent six months after the introduction of television in the early 1950s. But newspaper reading had declined far less, by only 18 percent, from 39 to 32 minutes a day.[19] Other studies showed even less impact on newspaper reading time. Media researcher Leo Bogart concluded in 1958 that

newspaper reading was protected from substantial encroachment by its importance as a local medium.[20]

An editors' panel at the 1951 ASNE convention assessed "The Challenge of Radio and Television to Newspapers." Most panelists agreed that reaction to televised events of Kefauver and MacArthur had demonstrated television's power but doubted that newspapers' circulation and news dominance were threatened. "As a competitor in news, apart from Kefauver, apart from these special events . . . I don't think television is nearly as serious a threat as radio was," Crosby said. But a few editors were troubled, saying television should be considered a direct competitor and treated accordingly. "Yes, the battle is on, whether we like to admit it or not," said L.L. Winship of the *Boston Globe*.[21]

A Growing Annoyance to Print Journalism

Whether television posed an economic threat to newspapers or not, it became increasingly clear through the 1950s that television journalism would force newspapers to adjust. Print journalists now jostled with television cameramen for space at political conventions, presidential press conferences, and other news events. Print reporters found themselves writing about events that their readers had already witnessed first-hand on television.

At first print reporters reacted to these challenges with anger, resentment, and amazement. More than 60 million people watched the 1952 Republican National Convention, the largest audience for a live television event to that date. Television so dominated the proceedings that *Newsweek* magazine dubbed it "the television convention." The major broadcast networks sent more than 1,000 broadcasters and technicians to the International Amphitheater in Chicago.[22]

After covering the convention, some reporters were despondent at television's apparent advantage over the printed word. *New Orleans Item* correspondent Thomas Sancton reported that print reporters "have come up against a machine that scoops them automatically, and can never itself be scooped." Newspaper reporters might still be needed to provide depth reporting and background, of course, but they seemed downright irrelevant at national events covered live by the television cameras. "I had one brief memorable insight into the impact of TV on the news business," Sancton recalled of covering the convention. "Standing in a massed group of reporters at an Eisenhower press conference, two TV receiving sets

carried his image as he spoke—and also, in the background, our notebooks and moving pencils as we wrote."[23]

During the 1950s, at the conventions, as elsewhere, print journalists resented the intrusion of the new medium into news events and were dismayed at television's rapid acceptance by newsmakers. The technical requirements of television and the new medium's glamour combined to give TV correspondents the upper hand with some sources, particularly public officials.

To print journalists' dismay, politicians warmed quickly to the new electronic medium for the control it gave them over their public utterances. McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution* complained at the 1956 Democratic National Convention that only the most famous newspaper writers could get any interviews; the delegates would much rather be on television. As one CBS producer put it, "The smart politicians just automatically seem to give us priority."[24]

President Eisenhower Acknowledges TV's Importance

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, to newspaper reporters' chagrin, also noted broadcast journalism's rising influence. Eisenhower said in a 1955 speech that television was becoming more important than newspapers in fostering understanding of public issues. Broadcasting, Eisenhower said, had a unique ability to engage and involve viewers. "In many ways, therefore, the effect of your industry in swaying public opinion, and I think, particularly about burning questions of the moment, may be even greater than the press, although I am sure my friends here of the press will have plenty to criticize in that statement," he said.[25]

Eisenhower also ceded ground to television in the thorny matter of press conferences, the subject of many press - television battles throughout the 1950s. During his first term, Eisenhower agreed to allow television and newsreel cameras into his presidential press conferences. Print reporters were aghast. *Editor & Publisher* was speaking for many newspaper journalists when it editorialized against the proposal. The magazine's editors said that "to inject television with all its equipment and other handicaps into present White House press conferences would disrupt and alter the institution as we know it."[26]

Nevertheless, filming was allowed beginning January 19, 1955. Eisenhower's press secretary, James Hagerty, defended the new practice and playfully reminded print journalists that "We are in the 20th Cen-

tury—the second part." The cameras did not prove to be disruptive, however, and about two-thirds of the first conference was later shown on film or on television, after the content was approved by the White House.[27]

Editor & Publisher grudgingly admitted afterward that the filming was worthwhile for newspapers because 90 percent of the president's remarks were authorized for broadcast or direct attribution after the filming. Before the policy change, reporters could paraphrase the president's remarks but not quote him directly without permission, and relatively few direct quotations were allowed.[28]

To print reporters, television seemed in the 1950s to have taken over the press conference, a venerable institution whose very name reflected the extent to which it had long been dominated by newspaper reporters. Broadcasting had first intruded on the press conference in the national political conventions in 1952. "The press conference is an instrument vital to democratic processes and it is being overwhelmed by paraphernalia," complained *New York Times* correspondent James Reston after the Republican National Convention in 1952. Reporters claimed that convention press conferences were being wrecked by the intrusion of showoff television correspondents accompanied by bulky cameras.

The chaos brought by the new medium often eliminated the opportunity for important follow-up questions, and partisan audiences attracted by the television cameras violated decorum. Print reporters were now actors in a TV show, with TV reporters asking most of the questions. "It is difficult to pursue your question when someone is insisting on a phony entertainment angle," lamented William S. White of *The New York Times*. A group of print reporters proposed press conference ground rules to permit follow-up questions and forbid partisan audiences, but the proposals went nowhere.[29]

Print reporters resented the fact that their questions at news conferences elicited news that benefited television crews, whose reports were then broadcast before the newspapers went to press. To newspaper reporters, at least, broadcast journalists contributed nothing to news conferences except bright lights, softball questions, and frequent delays. "I look upon them as parasites," one New Orleans editor said of television reporters in 1957. Russell Harris of the *Detroit News* took an equally hard line, admitting with pride, "I've pulled many a plug out of the wall."[30]

For a time in 1957, print reporters from three of the four Los Angeles daily newspapers refused to attend any press conference at which television news crews were present. Print reporters wanted the broadcast-

ers relegated to separate sessions. "They should handle their own news instead of cashing in on our brains and experience," said *Los Angeles Times*' city editor Bud Lewis. "The TV people are afraid of separate conferences, because they just don't have the trained reporters to handle them."[31] The impractical proposal for holding separate news conferences never caught on, however.

Newspapers Adapt to Television

Newspapers ultimately turned to other, more effective ways to adapt to the challenge of television as the medium's audiences increased through the 1950s. Most significantly, newspapers editors and publishers adjusted editorial content to take television audiences into account. This was necessary because television viewing was changing the expectations that readers were bringing to their newspapers.

In particular, readers now expected newspapers to flesh out the sketchy accounts they'd seen on television and to cater to interests that television had created. Accordingly, newspapers tried to fulfill these expectations. For example, since readers were now watching sporting events on television, sports writers began to write fewer play-by-play accounts in favor of feature and interpretive articles. Sports editors also began to increase coverage of sports given wider popularity by television, such as boxing and wrestling.

Chicago Herald-American sports editor Leo Fischer declared in 1951 that sports fans would buy only the newspaper that complemented their television viewing.[32] Other editors agreed. A 1955 survey of 272 editors at Associated Press newspapers in 46 states found that television had created more "casual" sports readers who were demanding to read about events they had already seen. Editors surveyed said they believed that better, simpler writing and more human interest features were needed to appeal to this expanding readership.[33]

At *The New York Times*, the nation's leading daily newspaper, editors were mindful of television's impact in crafting the *Times*' coverage of an event. Robert E. Garst, the *Times*' assistant managing editor, noted in 1956 that the newspaper's reporters regularly monitored television coverage of a news event to determine if they'd missed anything. "We merely try to give the reader all the answers to incidents he might have seen on TV," Garst said.[34]

Catledge, the *Times* executive editor, said in 1956 that television had altered both sports and political coverage at the newspaper. In both areas

Times reporters were attempting to provide ample details about what viewers had seen and to supply information about interests that broadcasting had created. TV broadcasts, Catledge said, had also accelerated an effort at the *Times* to shorten and simplify news articles. "In short, our view is that TV has opened up new vistas of interest, new areas for coverage, and has suggested methods by which newspapers can actually meet its thrust," Catledge said.[35]

But television exerted conflicting pressures on editors about what kinds of news they should publish. On the one hand, by pre-empting newspapers' ability to get breaking news first, television seemed to encourage the trend toward interpretive reporting, which was newspapers' apparent strength against their electronic competitor. On the other hand, the entertainment fare that dominated television's schedule threatened to encourage newspapers to print more features to meet the competition. Many editors viewed these conflicting pressures with dismay.

New York Times Sunday editor Lester Markel, no stranger to overstatement, likened the editors' consternation to an episode of *delirium tremens.* "American journalism is suffering a severe case of D-T-V's," Markel declared in 1954. Markel, long an advocate of interpretive articles in newspapers, said the press could best compete by emphasizing the delivery of detailed news with ample perspective and background.[36]

The immediacy of television had other effects on newspapers. Color television, though in its infancy in the 1950s, promised to make broadcasting an even more threatening rival to print. To compete, newspaper publishers placed greater emphasis on using color in newspapers. While color printing dated to the late 19th century, technical improvements after World War II had made it far more practical. "Newspaper color has captured the imagination of both advertisers and newspapers," declared Robert U. Brown of *Editor & Publisher* magazine in 1958.

Spurred by demands of national advertisers, by the late 1950s half of all newspapers in the United States were printing some spot color, and one-quarter were printing full color, with color most often used in advertising.[37] Forty to 50 newspapers were running news photographs in full color by 1958. "The rapid approach of full-scale color television," an *Editor & Publisher* correspondent observed in 1957, "has perhaps contributed more than any other single factor to accelerate development of ROP [run-of-the-paper] color.[38] Color printing was firmly established in American newspapers by the 1960s, when color television finally gained a foothold in American homes.

Television Poses an Economic Threat

In the middle and late 1950s, after a decade of watching television grow in influence and advertising, newspaper publishers and editors were becoming more wary of television as a competitor. Some print journalists resented broadcasting's rapid rise, and broadcasters resented criticism from newspapers. In 1958, NBC president Robert W. Sarnoff decried newspapers' increasing "print hostility" to television. He said newspapers tended to treat television harshly, both in news coverage and in criticism, because of television's increasing competition with the print medium.[39] Taking note of Sarnoff's criticism, *Editor & Publisher* editor Robert U. Brown declared in 1958 that the newspaper - television honeymoon was finally over.[40]

The honeymoon's end was hastened by continued rising costs in the newspaper business throughout the 1950s. "The newspaper industry is witnessing the serious results of the strangling effects of rising production and operating costs," warned an *Editor & Publisher* editorial in 1958. Rising costs had forced the closings of some papers and the merger of others.[41] *Editor & Publisher's* yearly summary of newspaper costs showed that in the 15 years following World War II, increases in expenses had outpaced increases in revenue in all but two years, 1955 and 1959. Rising newsprint and labor costs explained the majority of cost increases, which steadily eroded newspapers' profit margins and made television seem all the more threatening.[42]

Newspaper animosity toward television had been increasing through the decade. In the mid-1950s some newspapers had refused to print television programming logs unless television stations paid for them as advertising. Newspapers in Nashville, Tennessee; Chico, California; and Oklahoma City were among those that discontinued free logs in 1953 and 1954. The trend was encouraged editorially by *Editor & Publisher,* which argued that newspapers should not give free publicity to their competitors. A 1954 television industry survey found that television stations had to buy the program logs in one-half of the communities surveyed.[43] But this practice faded by the late 1950s as television gained an even wider audience and many editors came to believe that television, competitor or not, was important to readers.

In the late 1950s, publishers increasingly worried about the growing loss of national advertising to television. Even though newspapers remained the leading advertising medium, their share of total advertising revenue dropped steadily through the 1950s due to competition from

television, radio, and other media. From 45.1 percent of total advertising revenues in 1935, newspapers had dropped to 31 percent of total advertising by 1962, with much of the difference due to national advertising lost to television.[44] While newspapers' local advertising revenues nearly doubled from 1950 to 1960, reaching $2.9 billion, national advertising revenues increased only by half, to $778 million.[45]

National advertisers found it easier to place advertisements on national radio and television networks than to "deal direct with a lot of pesky hometown newspapers," observed advertising executive Gene Alleman in 1957. Many newspapers lost some of their national automotive advertising beginning in 1956 when Detroit manufacturers began placing ads themselves rather than farming out national advertising budgets to local dealers.[46]

Newspapers responded to the changing advertising market. In 1956, the American Newspaper Publishers Association's Bureau of Advertising launched a campaign to woo back national advertisers lost to television.[47] Many newspapers increased their advertising and promotion budgets to sell themselves better to their communities and their advertisers. "Daily newspapers of the country today are spending more money on sales and promotion than in their history," declared C. B. Lafromboise, manager of the Washington Newspaper Publishers Association, in 1955.[48] The National Editorial Association, the trade association of more than 5,000 weekly and small daily newspapers, founded the Weekly Newspaper Representatives, an organization to solicit national advertising on behalf of member newspapers, as a way to regain national accounts lost to the competition.[49]

Television also forced newspapers to deliver afternoon editions to readers' homes earlier in the day, before families began their evening television viewing. Reader surveys by the American Press Institute found that afternoon newspapers were especially hurt by the rise in television viewing. "So the big battle between television and the newspaper is for the reader's time," said API's Benjamin H. Reese in 1954. George Wise of the *Bloomington* (Ind.)*Herald-Telephone* said he believed that many afternoon newspapers were losing that battle. "We have found that with television to turn to," Wise said in 1954, "people just don't spend as much time with their newspapers."[50] W.C. Todd of the *Gary* (Ind.)*Post-Tribune* surveyed 40 newspapers in 1955 about the effects of television and found that many were moving up their deadlines. "With television making its big play between 6:30 and 9:30 p.m.," Todd said, "it becomes a necessity to get the evening papers in the readers' hands as early as possible."[51]

TV Transformed Newspapers

In 1954, Richard Lloyd Jones, publisher of the *Tulsa Tribune*, had accurately foreseen the newspapers' coming battle with rising costs and with television. "Our road ahead won't be easy," Jones said. "It's going to take real planning, budgeting, and the best of judgement and initiative." Jones said television would be a thorny problem for newspapers, a heavily unionized and static industry selling a product both expensive to produce and difficult to distribute. He noted that 500 employees, 18,000 tons of newsprint, and a fleet of delivery trucks were required to deliver the *Tribune* each day. "At the same time, in television, we see a literal newcomer deliver a picture with a voice accompaniment to the same area, with 33 employees."[52]

By 1960, Jones' colleagues in newspaperdom finally shared his assessment of television as an economic threat to print. Television and television news, once objects of ridicule, were now worthy of respect, and newspapers had taken the first steps toward adapting to a transformed media marketplace. Newspapers were beginning a long process of adjusting themselves to television, a process that would continue into the 1990s.

This process changed the content of American newspapers. Even in the 1950s, reporters and editors realized that newspapers' relevance as a spot news medium—already weakened by radio—was now disappearing. Television could not only provide the details of a spot news story much quicker than print, it could even surpass radio in its impact on mass audiences. Slowly but surely, newspapers began to alter their content to take the competition into account. More and more newspapers shifted their emphasis to providing details that television couldn't—lengthy background pieces, for example. Editors also demanded increased coverage of news events for which television created a demand. These changes in newspaper content came slowly, to be sure, but efforts to update newspaper content were accelerating by the late 1950s.

There was little newspapers could do to offset television's economic threat. Network television's ability to blanket the country with a national advertising campaign further eroded newspapers' share of all national advertising. This threat seemed insignificant in the early postwar years, with the economy booming and television in its infancy. But television's inroads into advertising at both the national and local levels would become a significant problem by 1960, when rising costs, suburbanization, and other factors were combining to trim newspapers' profits

nationally. In the 1960s and later, these economic threats to newspapers would combine to force consolidations across the newspaper industry.

What was most striking about print journalism's adaptation to broadcasting was its slowness. Newspapers were painfully slow to recognize the threat of television and to change in response to it. In this way, newspapers' reaction to television was much like their reaction to radio in previous decades. This sluggish response to changed business conditions in the past could have profound implications for the present, when newspapers once again must adapt to new forms of competition. Today's publishers could well learn from their peers in the 1950s the perils of delay in adapting to new competition.

Endnotes

[1]Frank Tripp column, 12 September 1948, reprinted in Frank Tripp, *On the Newspaper Front With Frank Tripp* (Rochester, N.Y.: Gannett Newspapers, 1954), 55-56.

[2]Paul W. White, "Spot News Is Better on Radio," *Broadcasting-Telecasting*, 9 February 1953, 84; Sig Mickelson, "Growth of Television News, 1946-57," *Journalism Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1957): 304.

[3]Jerry Walker, "Tele News Coverage Dull Without Editing," *Editor & Publisher*, 16 February 1946, 40. See Kristine Brunovska Karnick, "NBC and the Innovation of Television News, 1945-1953," *Journalism History* 26 (Spring 1988):26-34, for background on the development of television news in the early postwar years. While scholars have documented the early history of television news, few studies have explored newspapers' reactions to its new electronic competitor.

[4]*The First 50 Years of Broadcasting: The Running Story of the Fifth Estate*, by the editors of *Broadcasting* magazine (Washington, D.C.: Broadcasting Publications, 1982), 88-89. The first convention coveted by the networks had been the 1940 Republican convention, held in Philadelphia and broadcast in New York over a single 67-mile-long cable.

[5]John Crosby column, 23 June 1948, in John Crosby, *Out of the Blue: A Book About Radio and Television* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), 240-242; Robert E. Kennedy quoted in Robert U. Brown, "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor & Publisher*, 24 July 1948, 72.

[6]FCC and industry statistics quoted in *Broadcasting Yearbook*, 1966, A-157-158; *Broadcasting Yearbook*, 1957-1958, 11; Wilbur Schramm, ed., *Mass Communications* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960), 458; and *Advertising Today Yesterday Tomorrow* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), 222, 238.

[7]Quoted in Will Fowler, *Reporters: Memoirs of a Young Newspaperman* (Malibu, Calif.: Roundtable Publishing, 1991), 160-161.

[8]Ibid., 163. Young Kathy died before she could be rescued.

[9]Quoted in *The First 50 Years of Broadcasting*, 106.

[10]*ASNE Proceedings*, 1951, 164; John W. Bloomer, "The Impact of TV on the Press and Public," talk before the Georgia Press Institute reprinted in *Advancing Journalism*, ed. John E. Drewry (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1953), 1-8.

[11]"The MacArthur Show," *Newsweek*, 30 April 1951, 57; *The First 50 Years of Broadcasting*, 104.

[12]"Mac on TV," *Time*, 30 April 1951, 91.

[13]*ASNE Proceedings*, 1951, 158-159.

[14]Quoted in "TV Increases Demand for Press Coverage," *Editor & Publisher*, 12 December 1953, 49.

[15]Quoted in "Proof," *Time*, 15 June 1953, 63.

[16]*APME Red Book*, 1951, 119.

[17]Arthur Hays Sulzberger memo to Turner Catledge, 26 March 1951; Turner Catledge letter to E.C. Hoyt, 23 March 1951, in Turner Catledge papers, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Starkville, Mississippi. Hereafter cited as Catledge papers.

[18]Jack Gould, "What is Television Doing to Us?" *New York Times Magazine*, 12 June 1949, 7.

[19]NBC study results, quoted in "What TV Is Doing to America," *U.S. News & World Report*, 2 September 1955, 39.

[20]Bogart, *The Age of Television*, 154. A synopsis of 1950s research into television's effect upon newspapers, magazines, and books is Bogart's chapter "Television and Reading," pp. 132-162.

[21]*ASNE Proceedings*, 1951, 146, 153.

[22]"Television Convention," *Newsweek*, 14 July 1952, 84-85; "Radio-TV is Intent of the Convention," *New York Times*, 7 July 1952, 9; "Eye of the Nation," *Time*, 14 July 1952, 22. The 1948 Republican convention, by contrast, was so dominated by print reporters that *Editor & Publisher* dubbed it "a newspapetman's convention." It was, as it turned out, to be the last convention not dominated by the requirements of the television cameras. (Robert U. Brown, "GOP Sweats It Out With Good Old Press," *Editor & Publisher*, 26 June 1948, 11.)

[23]Thomas Sancton, New Orleans *Item*, 20 July 1952, quoted in "Video Will Change Coverage of News," *Nieman Reports*, January 1953, 14-15.

[24]Quoted in "Press v. Picture," *Time*, 27 August 1956, 54.

[25]"Remarks to the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters," Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The Public Papers of the Presidents*, 1955 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1959), 527-531.

[26]"White House TV," *Editor & Publisher*, 4 April 1953, 36.

[27]James Hagerty quoted in "First Photographed Press Conference," *Life*, 31 January 1955, 22-23.

[28]"Press Gains From Filming of Ike's Parley," *Editor & Publisher*, 22 January 1955, 8.

[29]James Reston and William S. White quoted in Robert U. Brown and George A. Brandenburg, "Reporters at Convention Ask TV `Ground Rules,'" *Editor & Publisher*, 12 July 1952, 7, 69. See also T.S. Irvin, "TV Scoops Newspapers on Convention Boost," *Editor & Publisher*, 12 July 1952, 67; Burton W. Marvin, "What Will Television Do to Politics, Radio and Press—and to TV Itself," *Quill*, September 1952, 12-14; and Walter T. Ridder, "The Decline and Fall of the Press Conference," *Quill*, September 1952, 7, 14.

[30]Quoted in "The News—and TV," *Newsweek*, 29 April 1957, 73; "Jab to the Nose," 6 May 1957, *Time*, 90-91.

[31]Quoted in "Jab to the Nose," *Time*, 6 May 1957, 91.

[32]Leo Fischer, "TV's Challenge to Sports Writer: Story Behind Victory," *Quill*, April 1951, 7; "What TV is Doing to America," *U.S. News & World Report*, 44.

[33]Associated Press survey quoted in *APME Red Book*, 1955, 205.

[34]Robert E. Garst memo to Turner Catledge, 19 June 1956, Catledge papers.

[35]Turner Catledge to John Paul Jones, 19 June 1956, Catledge papers.

[36]Lester Markel, "Let Us Stick to News: TV Can't Compete," *Editor & Publisher*, 10 April 1954, 12. See also Lester Markel, "Yes, the Printed Word Has a Future Despite Television and Cinerama," *Quill*, May 1956, 20.

[37]Robert U. Brown, "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor & Publisher*, 13 September 1958, 120; George Pieper, "Newspaper Color for Millions," in *Printing Progress: A Mid-Century Report* (Cincinnati, Ohio: International Association of Printing House Craftsmen, Inc., 1959), 419-430

[38]Arville Schalenben, "In a World of Color Most Newspapers Persist with Drab Black and White," *Quill*, June 1958, 15; Robert B. McIntyre, "E & P Presents: ROP Color as a Newspaper Achievement," *Editor & Publisher,* 30 March 1957, 9.

[39]Robert W. Sarnoff speech quoted in "Press-TV 'Conflict' Linked to Ad Dollar," *Editor & Publisher*, 21 June 1958, 82.

[40]Robert U. Brown, "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor & Publisher*, 19 July 1958, 64.

[41]"Newspaper Economics," *Editor & Publisher,* 26 July 1958, 6.

[42]Robert U. Brown, "Revenue Outpaces Expense," *Editor & Publisher,* 16 April 1960, 11.

[43]"The Press v. Broadcasters," *Time*, 8 February 1954, 49; "Radio-TV logs," *Editor & Publisher*, 23 January 1954, 34; National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters survey, cited in Sydney W. Head, *Broadcasting in America,* 2d. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), 231.

[44]McCann-Erickson statistics, cited in *Advertising Today Yesterday Tomorrow, 218.*

[45]McCann-Erickson statistics, quoted in *The Mass Media: Aspen Institute Guide to Communication Industry Trends*, eds. Christopher H. Sterling and Timothy R. Haight (New York: Praeger, 1978), 124-131.

[46]Gene Alleman, "TV Raids on Hometown Ads Worry Publishers," *National Publisher*, June 1957, 2. *National Publisher* was the publication of the National Editorial Association.

[47]"Comparison of 'Circulation,'" *Editor & Publisher*, 18 February 1956, 6.

[48]*National Publisher,* October 1955, 15.

[49]Alleman, "TV Raids on Hometown Ads Worry Publishers."

[50]Oral history interview with Benjamin H. Reese, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, New York, New York; George Wise quoted in George A. Brandeburg, "Seltzer Hits 'Flabby' Investigative Sinews," *Editor & Publisher*, 29 May 1954, 9.

[51]W.C. Todd, "Television: Do We Fight It or Capitalize It?" *Circulation Management*, April 1955, 15-16.

[52]Richard Lloyd Jones, speech to National Editorial Association reprinted in "The Road Ahead," *National Publisher*, April 1954, 23-24.

Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers: Two Southern Liberal Newspaper Editors Face Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration

by Alex Leidholdt

Virginius Dabney, the Pulitzer Prize-winning editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, *and Lenoir Chambers, the editor of the* Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, *took diametrically opposed stances during Virginia's attempts to obstruct public school integration between 1954 and 1959. Dabney, who had earned a reputation as one of the South's leading racial moderates, used his platform to support the South's policy of massive resistance. Chambers was Virginia's only white newspaper editor and one of the few in the South to urge compliance with the Supreme Court's* Brown *v.* Board *desegregation mandate. Chambers earned a Pulitzer for his lonely stand. This article explores the influences that led these editors to take their divergent stands.*

The Crucible of their Careers

In 1958, all of America was watching Virginia, where Governor J. Lindsay Almond had ordered public schools in three locations closed in defiance of the US Supreme Court's *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* mandate. Showcasing Virginia as the model

Alex Leidholdt is an Assistant Professor at Purdue University's Department of Communication.

for opposition to the decisions, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., who presided over the machine that controlled the state's politics, was leading the South's rebellion within the US Senate. Mob violence had erupted in Little Rock, Arkansas, a year earlier when that city's school board had tried to implement the decision.

In the 1950s, the print medium was the public's principal source of news and advice, and it possessed enormous potential for influencing popular opinion. Using the rhetorical strategies of slanting, candid advocacy, and blatant agitation according to the interest and integrity of the individual publications, southern newspapers had long taken stands on civil rights issues. The press' reaction to the *Brown* decree figured powerfully in the debate over integration.

School desegregation was to become a signal event for southern liberal journalists, a fork in the road for many. For Virginius Dabney, the Pulitzer Prize-winning editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* editor Lenoir Chambers, massive resistance to integration of the public schools formed the crucibles of their journalistic careers. Despite possessing strikingly similar backgrounds, these longtime liberals, whose newspaper establishments were separated by less than 100 miles, took strongly opposing positions throughout the state's resistance.

Before and during the closure of the schools, Dabney (whose family background, professional stature within the region, and strategic position at the helm of a leading newspaper in the state's capital provided him with unique capability for defusing Virginia's racial crisis) would opt to defend Jim Crow. He would insist that racial justice could exist under a system of segregation, brand supporters of integration as irresponsible extremists, fan the fear of "racial amalgamation," and expound the racist arguments of northern segregationist writer Carleton Putnam.[1]

In his memoirs, Dabney disclaimed responsibility for the *Times-Dispatch*'s editorial stance during this time. He attributed his pro-resistance position to the paper's management, stating that despite his personal reservations, he had deferred to management's right to set editorial policy.[2]

Although there is some truth to Dabney's rationale, this explanation is not convincing and does not exonerate Dabney of his responsibility. So prominent an editor would have held considerable leverage with management and should have used it in a matter of such principle. Had management overridden his objections, a genuinely committed editor would have threatened to resign or sought another position outright.

Conversely, the *Virginian-Pilot*, under Lenoir Chambers' leadership, practiced exceedingly responsible journalism; it was the only white newspaper in the state and one of the few in the South to oppose massive resistance. The *Pilot*'s editor conducted an elaborate five-year editorial campaign urging moderation and compliance with the Court's mandate. In 1960, Chambers earned the Pulitzer Prize for his lonely editorial struggle to reopen the state's schools.[3]

This article explores the formative influences that shaped the liberal views of Dabney and Chambers and led them, despite their closely analogous backgrounds and earlier leanings, to assume divergent positions during Virginia's massive resistance to public school integration. Although a number of books, articles, dissertations and theses have examined Dabney's career as a prominent southern liberal, and a recently published book investigates Chambers' leadership during Virginia's school integration crisis, no research has adequately contrasted the development of these two major southern newspaper editors.[4]

Dabney & Chambers Share Privileged Beginnings

Virginius Dabney was born just after the turn of the century into the family of renowned University of Virginia educator and historian Richard Heath Dabney. The young Dabney grew up within the university community, where he was home-schooled by his father, a freethinker, and his aunt. Dabney's father embraced fully the traditional racial attitudes of the South. He had supported the disenfranchisement of blacks during Virginia's 1901-1902 constitutional convention, and he had urged that blacks be prohibited from receiving educations.[5] Despite the fact that Richard Heath Dabney served as the prime influence in his son's intellectual development and in his mature thinking, the two would disagree on a number of racial matters, such as the need for a federal anti-lynching law.[6]

Dabney received an excellent education (atypical for a young southerner of his era), with particular emphasis on conversational French and German.[7] At the age of 11, he had his eyes opened to another culture when he spent a summer in and near Paris with his ardent Francophile father.[8] The future editor received his high-school education at Virginia's Episcopal High, an elite preparatory school. As a 16-year-old senior when the United States entered World War I, he narrowly missed military service in Europe.[9]

After graduation, Dabney enrolled at the University of Virginia. At the time the institution possessed a lackluster reputation and dubious distinction throughout the region as "the country club of the South," because many of its students gave social affairs more attention than their studies. Students there and at most other southern colleges and universities of that day rarely questioned the social status quo, particularly in regard to racial matters. By Dabney's own admission, "The race problem did not exist for [him] during [his] college career, and [he] gave it no thought whatsoever."[10] After a shaky start, the editor-to-be blossomed into a fine student and graduated Phi Beta Kappa. A year's additional study earned him a Master's degree.

Undecided about his future career, he accepted a position teaching French at his old prep school. Dabney's year as an instructor at Episcopal was inconsequential with the exception of his discovery of H. L. Mencken's writings, which he found "highly stimulating and amusing."[11] Mencken's savage satire of the South, "The Sahara of the Bozart," which had been published the previous year, had evoked cries of dismay throughout the former Confederacy. Mencken had lambasted the southern states for their lack of artistic and intellectual accomplishment. "There are single acres in Europe that house more first-rate men than all of the states south of the Potomac,"[12] he wrote.

Mencken, who in addition to his various journalistic duties at the *Baltimore Sun* edited the prestigious literary and social journal, the *American Mercury*, would play a vital role in Dabney's development as a young southern liberal. The "Sage of Baltimore" stretched the imaginations and stimulated the thinking of many of the Southland's young artists and intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s. The flourishing of southern letters and social criticism during this era was due in large part to Mencken's energetic mentorship of a corps of young disciples.[13]

Lenoir Chambers was born ten years earlier than Dabney into a similarly privileged family, in Charlotte, North Carolina, only a generation after the Civil War. The history and aftermath of that conflict loomed large in his childhood. The cultural climate and regionalism of the day were reflected in his public school's graduation address, which was "devoted to a masterly analysis of Southern life [and] Southern thought."[14] Chambers spent the following three years at Virginia's prestigious Woodberry Forest preparatory school.

As a student at the University of North Carolina, Chambers displayed an interest in journalism. He wrote for the college's periodicals and served as editor of the campus newspaper. Like Dabney, he was an

excellent student; he graduated third in his class and Phi Beta Kappa. After graduation he accepted a position at his previous alma mater, Woodberry Forest, where he coached and taught English and history for several years.[15]

A year's additional study at Columbia University's School of Journalism in 1916-1917 exposed Chambers not only to the American metropolitan North but also to a broad divergence of literary and political thought. Some of the period's leading activists, including Max Eastman (editor of the notorious *The Masses*) and John Reed, propounded their radical views at Columbia. No record of Chambers' reactions has survived, but a young intellectual of his caliber would certainly have evaluated these issues and likely weighed them against the morés of his region.[16]

Upon America's entry into World War I, Chambers attended officers' training school and earned a commission as a first lieutenant in the Army.[17] His confrontation with the enemy was limited to brief command of a company in trench combat with German troops in Alsace, where his unit was shelled and repelled an enemy advance.[18] Later in life he would recall the war with revulsion, blaming it on "human stupidity and blindness and cruelty and the arrogant ordering of men's lives."[19]

Chambers found Europe more sophisticated than New York or Washington, and especially his native North Carolina. He described France as "the most civilized and cared-for country" he had ever seen.[20] He observed that blacks there enjoyed privileges denied them in the segregated American South. "In my hotel lives an American Negro prizefighter, a fine-looking figure of a man, very well dressed. He eats...where I eat sometimes, and he talks very pleasurably and intimately with the French."[21] Chambers also was impressed by the multinational and multiracial composition of the Allied forces: "Great numbers of them. Every nationality, race, color, and variety of uniform."[22]

When he returned to Chapel Hill after the armistice to serve as director of the University of North Carolina News Service, he found his formerly unexceptional alma mater transforming itself into an institution of national prominence, well on its way to becoming the South's preeminent university—a phenomenon compared to the mediocrity that characterized southern higher education at the time. The University of North Carolina Press was pioneering the South's publication of books on contemporary political, social, economic, and racial topics, many of them authored by blacks. The university's sociology department and Institute for Research in Social Science were engaged in scientific investigation of southern society and culture.[23]

Dabney Finds a Mentor in Mencken

In 1922 Dabney, with his father's assistance, secured a reporting position at the *Richmond News Leader*, then edited by renowned Civil War historian Douglas Freeman. Dabney's venture into journalism began inauspiciously and for a time did little to advance race relations. Three weeks into the job, he committed a youthful error by libeling John Mitchell, Jr., the city's most prominent black citizen and the publisher of the *Richmond Planet*. The cub reporter nervously waited out the year until the statute of limitations had expired. He soon found his legs, however, and took to his new career with gusto. Cognizant of his protected upbringing, he relished opportunities to learn about the real world.[24]

Only three years into Dabney's reporting career, Hamilton Owens, the editor of the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, tapped him as a contributor to the paper's editorial page. This was an apocryphal moment in the future editor's professional life. Mencken's commentary regularly appeared on the *Sun*'s op-ed page, and Dabney soon came to Mencken's attention. The young reporter was exhilarated to find himself mentioned by Mencken in a book review in the *American Mercury*.[25] A few months later, Mencken published an article Dabney had written about Virginia for the *Mercury*.[26] The star of the editor-to-be was ascending; and for days after, he recollected in his memoirs, "[he] was walking on air."[27]

Despite this initial success, Dabney's style in future submissions never fully satisfied Mencken. "I can't get rid of the feeling that the tone is wrong for us," the *Mercury*'s editor wrote back, rejecting an article criticizing a group of now-forgotten mountebanks. "You are too indignant. We ought to deal with such frauds in a more satirical fashion, praising them as 100 percent Americans and revealing their imbecility more artfully. At times you actually denounce them. We never do that to Christian men."[28] Other editors of periodicals appreciated Dabney's talents more, and his name began to appear with increasing frequency in *Scribner's*, the *Nation*, and other national journals.[29]

Dabney acknowledged that Mencken powerfully influenced him during this period. "[His] questioning of many accepted beliefs appealed to my youthful mind," he recalled. "I had no idea of following him blindly, but he made me think."[30]

Although Dabney greatly appreciated Mencken's fulminations, the scholarly and reserved Freeman was less enamored of the Baltimore journalist and deplored his influence on impressionable young reporters.

Freeman, the *News Leader*'s editor, later confided to *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* editor Louis Jaffé, who had enlisted the Richmond editor's help in locating an associate for an opening Jaffé would ultimately fill with Chambers, that "[Dabney had] been badly infected by the germ of Menckenism and he sometimes [had] seizures that [carried] him to extremes of statement."[31] Although Jaffé did not share Freeman's distaste for Mencken, the *Pilot*'s editor expressed his concern that Dabney lacked the maturity for the *Pilot* job: "My principal doubts as to him have to do with his judicial balance, his analyzing and synthesizing talents, and his interest in the more serious social, economic, political and international questions that our editorial pages hold out to discuss and illumine."[32]

In 1928 Dabney accepted a position at the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, where he served as a general and political reporter and wrote a regular Sunday article. Although the new assignment gave him more responsibility and pay than his previous job had provided, he felt stifled and saw little chance for promotion. Freeman advised him that Virginia's major newspapers were edited by comparatively young men who planned to stay put throughout the Depression and that he should try to secure a reporting position with one of the Baltimore or New York papers. Louis Jaffé offered different advice. He suggested that Dabney retain his job until he completed the manuscript of *Liberalism in the South*, which he was writing for the University of North Carolina Press. Jaffé felt that the publication of this book would solidify Dabney's reputation and increase his employability. In the end, Dabney took Jaffe's recommendation and stuck it out at the *Times-Dispatch*. Jaffé's advice would prove prescient.

As Dabney researched and wrote his book, he enhanced his connectedness with other southern liberals, and his criticism regarding the many problems that plagued the region matured. In his Sunday articles he began to crusade against the anti-evolution bills that were proposed in many southern states, and he chastised textile mill owners who exploited their workers and settled strikes and labor disputes violently.

Increasingly his work began to focus on race relations and the inequities of the Jim Crow system. He was one of only two southern journalists to condemn the sentencing of Angelo Herndon, a young black Communist, to two decades of hard labor for organizing a demonstration of workers to protest the inadequacy of relief programs in Georgia. Dabney later also attacked the poll tax.[33] Although his thinking on racial matters would never transcend "separate but equal," his views on race were advanced for a white southerner of the era.[34]

Dabney Downplays the Nazis

In 1934 Dabney traveled to Germany with the assistance of a grant from the Oberlaender Trust. Regardless of the purpose stated in his grant application—that he desired to "study periodical literature"—he confided that the real mission of his trip was to develop an "objective" assessment of the Reich.[35] He intended to write innocuous articles for the *Times-Dispatch* from Germany and, upon his return, to appraise the country more critically.

In his memoirs Dabney professed that "despite loud denials from certain quarters," it had been common knowledge at the time that Jews were being harassed. However, prior to his trip he expressed egregious naiveté about their persecution. "Not only have the atrocities been overemphasized, in my opinion, but they have been exaggerated," he wrote to Jaffé. "I fail to understand why there is such a terrific howl every time the Nazis do something which some other government or party has done before without a comparable outcry."[36] Dabney went on to justify an assault on an American professor who refused to give a Nazi salute, and he claimed that a Jewish professor who had committed suicide to escape torment had really taken his life because he had embezzled student funds.

Dabney's reason for downplaying Nazi atrocities during this period may have been due to his recollection of inaccurate press accounts of war crimes during World War I.[37] Nevertheless his views disturbed Jaffé, whose parents and brother were Jews. He could not bring himself to believe that Dabney's "exculpatory analogies" were sound; the editor expressed relief when Dabney returned to Richmond and published a series of articles highly critical of the Nazis.[38]

In retrospect, Dabney appears to have displayed a surprising dearth of ambition for a seasoned reporter during his trip to Germany. Even taking into account his *sub rosa* agenda and the fact that he was accompanied by his family, Dabney seems to have sleepwalked through one of the century's most significant stories. Asked by the North American Newspaper Alliance to report on one of Hitler's bloody purges, the "night of the long knives" on June 30, 1934, Dabney declined. "I was not in a position to do this," he later explained, "as I had no idea myself at that stage just what the inside story was. Furthermore, if I had tried to find out, given my altogether limited contacts, I might have gotten myself shot, or at a minimum have been thrown out of Germany. I wanted to complete my six months in Central Europe, an invaluable experience for my future work, and then to express myself freely and frankly concerning the Nazi atrocities."[39]

William L. Shirer, stationed in Paris, chomped at the bit, writing in his diary on this date: "What a story!...Wish I could get a post to Berlin. It's a story I'd like to cover."[40] And in his autobiography, he recalled that for a journalist that summer, "Nazi Germany, as abhorrent as it was, was the place to be."[41] Many prominent correspondents, including Dorothy Thompson, wore a badge of honor because they were ordered out of the country at this time for writing books and newspaper accounts that displeased Hitler and his minions.[42]

Dabney's apparent lack of initiative notwithstanding, the *Times-Dispatch*'s publisher cabled him that he had been appointed chief editorial writer, with the understanding that he would be promoted to editor if his performance proved satisfactory.[43]

Chambers Rises Quickly at the *Greensboro Daily News*

One year before Dabney began his professional career, Chambers resigned his position at the University of North Carolina to join the staff of the *Greensboro Daily News*. He had conducted an elaborate and selective search for his first real newspaper job and had chosen the *News* because of its reputation as a nonpartisan and highly literate paper. He worked briefly there as a reporter, quickly rose to the position of city editor, and was soon made associate editor (editorial writer).[44]

His predecessor as associate editor of the *News* was Gerald W. Johnson, who later wrote for the *Baltimore Sun*, where he became known as "Baltimore's second sage." (H. L. Mencken retained his claim to the original title.)[45] Johnson and Chambers would remain close friends and correspond regularly for the rest of their lives. Throughout Chambers' lonely stand against the South's massive resistance to public school integration, he received scant support from his southern peers; but his connectedness with Johnson, who was widely regarded as the most insightful critic of the region, provided the *Pilot*'s editor with encouragement and validation.[46]

Johnson monitored Chambers' early editorial efforts at the *News* from afar, freely critiquing his replacement. Dissatisfied with his protégé's first editorial, he cautioned him: "You are under the most solemn obligation to speak as much of the truth as you are able to speak...[and] to use all the brains God gave you all the time, even when it is likely to be highly unpleasant and even dangerous to use them....The newspaper editor who is afraid to stand up to be laughed at, or sworn at, is a...slacker."[47]

Although most North Carolina newspapers at the time were politically partisan, the *Greensboro Daily News*, edited by Earle Godbey, practiced a policy of genuine independence.[48] Godbey's editorial page was renowned throughout the region for its enlightened views and its willingness to take unpopular stands.[49]

Looking back on the *News*' role in encouraging moderation, Chambers later wrote that during his Greensboro years courage had been required for the paper to adopt its progressive stance. Johnson, Godbey and Chambers had resolutely set about to "lift the state not only from the mire of its old roads but from the clinging habits of allegiance that had lost their validity."[50] The paper's editorial staff endeavored to force fellow southerners to examine anew the problems that plagued their region. It strove to direct their attention to the future rather than the past.[51] The *News*' tradition of responsible journalism undoubtedly nurtured Chambers' development of his own editorial philosophy.

In late 1929 Louis Jaffé, upon the advice of Gerald Johnson, offered Chambers the position of associate editor of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.* Through racial activism that included a Pulitzer Prize-winning campaign against lynching, Jaffé had achieved national prominence for himself and the *Pilot.*[52] Johnson strongly recommended Chambers to Jaffé. "He has the stuff—education, intelligence, a graceful style, intellectual balance, liberal spirit, and as for personality he is simply marvelously equipped," Johnson wrote.[53] *Montgomery Advertiser* editor Grover Hall, whose courageous editorials attacking the Ku Klux Klan had earned him a Pulitzer Prize and national recognition, also suggested Chambers: "It strikes me that whoever is helping Godbey...is fit to be on any paper."[54]

Chambers had become increasingly exasperated with the *Greensboro Daily News*' management. He saw the influence of the liberal editor waning and the partisan managing editor's power increasing with the paper's ownership. The aftermath of a textile strike in a North Carolina town that autumn struck the blow that finally drove Chambers to consider leaving his comfortable position with the *News.*[55] A front-page report written by the managing editor whitewashed the murder and wounding of a number of the strikers by the town's sheriff and his heavily armed, heavily drinking, and hastily sworn-in deputies.[56]

On the day following publication of the report, the paper carried an editorial that almost certainly was written by Chambers, severely reproving law enforcement authorities and calling on the state legislature to act to head off such violence in the future:

> Surely it must have sunk in to the state...that in no instance of disorder anywhere in the state these months has any sheriff, deputy sheriff or policeman handled any situation confronting him in a manner to create confidence in him or in what he stands for. The state has little truth about this Marion killing; perhaps it will never have the full truth. But it knows a squad of officers thrown face to face with a real problem not only did not solve it but so acted that the end was tragedy.[57]

Johnson relayed to Jaffé that the *News'* managing editor, who "always believed in better and more murders," had given Chambers "a sharp case of spiritual and dam [sic] nigh physical vomiting." Johnson advised Jaffé to offer Chambers the associate editorship.[58] After an extended period of negotiation, he accepted and moved to Norfolk.

The work at the *Pilot* was fairly divided between the two men, with Chambers doing a little more writing than the editor. Chambers wrote extensively on issues ranging from international to regional and racial, including lynching.[59] Despite the narrowness of his seniority in both age and journalistic experience, Jaffé influenced his younger colleague profoundly during the 15 years of their close association. Not only did Jaffé's dedication to the principle of fair play bolster Chambers' own liberal convictions, but the editor's exposure of his staff to the diverse current opinion, expressed in the publications he made available each day, broadened Chambers' outlook and strengthened his editorial capacity.[60]

Anti-Semitism Brings Heightened Sensitivity

Chambers' sensitivity to racial and religious prejudice was undoubtedly heightened by anti-Semitism suffered by Jaffé, with whom he shared a warm personal relationship.[61] Jaffé's conversion to Episcopalianism in the 1920s notwithstanding, his religious heritage was cited by some of the *Pilot*'s readers as the reason for his controversial stands. According to one of his associate editors, Jaffé knew that some of his adversaries were given to muttering behind his back, "That's what you get from a Jew editor."[62]

Certainly anti-Semitism was at the core of the great personal tragedy of Jaffé's life, his divorce from his first wife and his total estrangement from their son who, as a young man, adopted his mother's Gentile maiden surname. An obsession with protecting her child from the perceived stigma of his Jewishness, exacerbated by her own developing

mental illness, drove her to shut out of their lives the man who had converted to Episcopalianism to marry her.[63]

Jaffé's Jewish roots also enhanced his identification with underdogs on a broader level. The lynching of Leo Frank in 1915 had dramatically underscored for Jaffé and other southern Jews their lack of immunity from the mob violence being directed primarily at blacks.[64] And the *Pilot*'s editor closely followed and wrote prodigiously about the anti-Semitic activities of the Ku Klux Klan, the German-American Bunds, Henry Ford and Father Charles Coughlin.[65] Most significantly, Jaffé sounded an early warning in his editorials regarding Hitler's dangerous rise to power and the horrors faced by German Jews.[66]

During his associate editorship at the *Pilot*, Chambers' commitment to his liberal philosophy was challenged with tempting offers from both the *St. Louis Star-Times* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. He turned down the increases in salary and prestige, citing the incompatibility of his views with both papers' editorial policies.[67]

Dabney's Editorship Gives Him a Platform

Dabney's promotion to chief editorial writer at the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* in 1934 ended his frustrating 12-year apprenticeship, and his promotion to editor two years later afforded him a prominent platform and vastly increased his visibility as a leading southern liberal. He further strengthened his reputation by contributing regularly to many of the country's most prestigious periodicals, through a prolific authorship of books, and by displaying leadership in several organizations that sought to improve race relations. The connectedness he had forged with like-minded progressives through *Liberalism in the South* also provided him with an entrée into this small but vital coterie.

Perhaps nothing illustrates the metamorphosis of Dabney's views on race during this period better than his interactions with Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The two worked closely and energetically together throughout most of the remaining decade to address the most egregious racial wrongs in the South, most notably lynching. White perceived Dabney to be among the three "outstanding and best known white liberals of the South," surpassed only by Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and the *Louisville Courier-Journal*'s Mark Ethridge.[68] But as it belatedly became clear to Dabney that the NAACP intended to push the envelope beyond "separate but equal" and

pursue the artful legal campaign that eventually culminated in *Brown v. Board*, he would turn his back on the organization and use his considerable influence as a leading southern spokesman to stymie much of its agenda. Carefully positioning himself as a moderate, who held the rational middle ground between white reactionaries and radical blacks, Dabney would in fact become an effective propagandist who did much to block racial progress.

White's and Dabney's early partnership was mutually beneficial. The NAACP's executive secretary furnished the editor with important background information regarding lynching and the congressional bills intended to eliminate mob violence.[69] From his editorial platform and through his articles in national journals of opinion and his syndicated and reprinted editorials, Dabney, with his impeccable southern credentials, articulately crusaded against racial violence.[70] In return, White, as head of the country's preeminent civil rights organization and via his national network of influential racial progressives, worked to add luster to Dabney's reputation and energetically lobbied the Pulitzer Prize committee for an award for the Richmond editor. White's publicity campaign was consistent with the mission of his organization. By positioning Dabney at the pinnacle of southern journalism, he hoped to sway other editors in the region to adopt similarly enlightened racial views.[71]

By the mid 1930s nearly all of the South's liberals could agree on the need for federal anti-lynching legislation. Previously, southern senators, who because of their seniority occupied key positions of leadership, had through parliamentary maneuver, filibuster, and obfuscation torpedoed numerous attempts to implement such a law. In 1922 they had dispatched the Dyer bill, and in 1935 they had killed the Costigan - Wagner bill.[72] But by 1937, when the Gavagan and the Wagner - Van Nuys bills were wending their way through the House and Senate respectively, several prominent southern papers and an increasing number of the region's church, labor, and student bodies dismissed the states' rights arguments and Negrophobe posturing of Mississippi senator Theodore Bilbo and his ilk and demanded passage of the legislation.[73]

Dabney played a central role in galvanizing support for these bills. Buttressed by research provided by NAACP chief counsel Charles Houston who, as dean of Howard University's law school, would train many of the association's future litigators (Thurgood Marshall, for example), the *Times-Dispatch*'s editor incisively cut through the arguments of his opponents.[74] Dabney wrote:

> This newspaper's primary objective is to put a stop to the seemingly endless series of mob murders which have disgraced the South and America before the world. That impresses us far more than the preservation of something generally referred to as 'State sovereignty' or 'States' rights.' When the phrase, 'the rights of the States,' degenerates into a mere shibboleth behind which the State and local authorities can ignore and flout the law of the land by permitting lynchers to go unpunished year after year, then the *Times-Dispatch* believes that intervention by the Federal Government is not only desirable but necessary.[75]

Walter White was elated by this editorial and others by Dabney:

> Like a pebble dropped into a still pond the repercussions of your superb editorial spread. Besides members of Congress, we are sending one to every newspaper in the United States with a circulation of 10,000 or over—577 of them—and also to the 200 or more Negro newspapers. It is well within the range of possibility that your editorial may turn the tide and we are deeply grateful.[76]

White went on to enclose copies of *New York Herald Tribune* and *Post* editorials lauding Dabney's stand, as well as a personal note from Eleanor Roosevelt.[77]

Dabney Lobbies for a Pulitzer

Basking in the national exposure his anti-lynching campaign had generated, Dabney asked White to nominate him for the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished editorial writing. The request delighted the NAACP's leader. "I am ashamed of the fact I didn't think of it myself," he wrote. "In addition to writing each member of the [Pulitzer] Committee, I am asking Joe Gavagan [the sponsor of one of the anti-lynching bills] to write also telling how much your...editorial did to help remove the sectional issue in the minds of thoughtful people in considering the anti-lynching bill."[78] In a subsequent letter to the editor, White revealed his motivation for the nomination: "Doing so is much more important than the matter of [individual] recognition. Award of the Pulitzer Prize to the *Times-*

Dispatch would dramatically call attention to the rapidly changing South and would unquestionably inspire others to follow the trail you have blazed."[79] (Although Dabney's early aspirations for the award would be thwarted, he eventually earned a Pulitzer Prize for distinguished editorial writing in 1948.)[80]

Dabney may have aligned his editorial page with the NAACP's position on lynching, but he was less willing to identify himself publicly on a personal level with the organization. When queried by White regarding the suitability of Richmond to host a bi-racial meeting publicizing the need for federal anti-lynching legislation and whether the editor would be willing to serve as presider, Dabney begged off, warning that Virginians were so conservative and suspicious of northerners that such an event would antagonize rather than convert them.[81]

Without a doubt, Dabney's hosting such an event in the former capitol of the Confederacy would have earned him the hostility of the overwhelming majority of the city's white citizenry. The tobacco-perfumed city, in which gargantuan statues of the icons of the "Lost Cause" towered over pedestrians and motorists, revered its past and remained traditionally southern in its racial attitudes. Whites there—unlike their metropolitan Virginian counterparts in the Washington, D.C., suburbs and in Norfolk—almost uniformly approved of arch-conservative Senator Byrd's policies.[82]

Dabney's collaboration with the NAACP in its campaign efforts to outlaw lynching continued throughout the last years of the 1930s. He was impressively prolific on the subject, playing an important role in shifting public opinion to favor the legislation.[83] Despite this energetic campaign and the optimistic predictions that the bill would finally pass, southern legislators again managed to block the legislation through distortion and a seven-week filibuster.

The staggered NAACP marshaled its forces to fight still another battle. White asked Dabney to appear as a witness before a Senate committee in support of the legislation. Dabney's response bewildered and disappointed the NAACP's leader:

> I am afraid I ought not to accept this invitation, because... I am less certain that beneficial effects would follow the enactment of a Federal bill than I was a year ago. The reason is that I have noted various evidences of intense feeling in various parts of the South against such an enactment. [The filibuster's] orgy of misrepresentation and distortion seems to have had its effect. I notice that

> this is reflected in the less enthusiastic attitude of some of the Southern papers which were outspokenly for the bill last year. They seem to share my feeling that the prejudice stirred up would largely nullify the chances of enforcement.[84]

Dabney's reasoning is puzzling. After serving as one of the most influential leaders in the hard-fought campaign to persuade southerners of the need to adopt federal anti-lynching legislation, he relinquished the helm and set his editorial position in accord with public opinion and the editorial stances of his peers further south. On this issue, with which he was so closely identified, he now seemed content to follow rather than to lead.[85]

Perhaps Dabney's explanation should be taken at face value, and he truly was convinced that the legislation was dead and that further attempts to revive it would only "intensify sectional feeling."[86] But his desire to distance himself from the NAACP's agenda on this issue may have been partially triggered by his increasing estrangement from White and symbolized a widening rupture between Dabney and the civil-rights organization.

The NAACP's victory in 1938 in *Gaines v. Missouri*, which mandated that state either to integrate the University of Missouri's law school or create another facility of equal quality for blacks, reverberated throughout the South. The region's colleges and universities would have to open the doors of their graduate and professional schools to blacks or develop genuinely equivalent systems of postgraduate education. When White broached the possibility of integrated postgraduate education at the University of Virginia, Dabney conceded that "logic [was] all on the side of admitting Negroes...on the same basis as whites," but he strongly advised against such an initiative at Virginia's flagship university because it would result in "much ill-feeling and trouble."[87]

The NAACP Moves to End "Separate But Equal"

Shortly thereafter, Chief Counsel Houston upped the ante at the NAACP's convention in Richmond, declaring that the organization would no longer content itself with "separate but equal" and intended instead to advocate the integration of the state's graduate and professional schools. Dabney could no longer contain himself. In an editorial entitled "Far Too Radical for Us," he put readers on notice that if the NAACP

were given an inch, it would take a mile. He asserted that the organization's real mission was to dismantle the South's system of segregated education completely, and he played his ultimate card: intermarriage. Should public schools be integrated, he predicted, "racial amalgamation would go forward at greatly accelerated speed."[88]

P. B. Young, editor of the South's most widely distributed black newspaper, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, called the editorial to White's attention, offering this pronouncement: "Editors like Dabney, who seem to be a little thin-skinned when it comes to according Negroes full civil liberties, are always dragging [intermarriage] as a red herring across the trail."[89] White expressed his disappointment in Dabney to Young and interpreted the editorial as an attempt to muddy the waters and stir up conflict.[90]

Dabney's editorial foreshadowed a sweeping attack he would make on the civil rights movement four years later in the *Atlantic Monthly*. In "Nearer and Nearer the Precipice," he claimed that black extremists and white reactionaries had so polarized race relations that a race war loomed large on the horizon. Philip Randolph's proposed march on Washington, the NAACP's demands for political and social equality, and the black press' focus on racial injustice had, he wrote, created the conditions in the South in which white racist demagogues such as Mississippi's John Rankin could flourish. Moreover, by advocating immediate racial reforms, the activist black leadership had weakened blacks' commitment to the war effort and had bred disloyalty. Particularly disturbing to the editor was the increasing level of criticism being directed at white southern racial moderates such as himself. If this continued, he warned, "the white leaders in the South who have been responsible for much of the steady progress of the Negro in the past, and who can bring about a great deal more such progress in the future, will be driven into the opposition camp."[91]

The *Atlantic Monthly* article prompted a devastating point-by-point critique of Dabney's arguments by Young, who accused the editor of engaging in highly irresponsible journalism by formulating an argument out of "erroneous statements, assumptions, and trivial matter."[92]

Much to Dabney's credit during this period, he consistently acknowledged that blacks had never been treated fairly in the South.[93] He continued to advocate important reforms in race relations, such as salary equalization for black and white teachers.[94] And he briefly transcended "separate but equal" to urge the repeal of segregation on Virginia's streetcars and buses, a position he did not see to be inconsistent with his support for segregated schools.[95]

The contradictory positions assumed by the editor prompted one black newspaper to editorialize: "For some time now Mr. Dabney has been a sort of liaison man between the white newspapers and the Negro newspapers and between Negroes and whites. He seeks to substitute mollification for freedom and to admonish southern whites to be tolerant with their Negro neighbors and fellow citizens. In the face of all of this, is Dabney, the Virginia editor, our friend or foe?"[96]

By 1948 when Dabney received the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished editorial writing (most likely for his criticism of the poll tax and the South's one-party politics; he was one of the few winners in the history of the award who did not submit an entry), he was in the process of moving away from his earlier liberal philosophy.[97] By the time of *Brown* v. *Board*, the editor was openly referring to himself as a conservative and professing high esteem for arch-conservative Virginia senator Harry Byrd.[98] Perhaps, as Dabney had warned in his *Atlantic Monthly* article, the repeated criticism directed at him and other southern liberals had alienated him further from the positions advocated by his former allies in the civil rights movement.

By the beginning of Virginia's massive resistance to public school integration, Dabney's views on race, while not entirely consistent with the sentiments of the management of Richmond Newspapers (the owners of the *Times-Dispatch* and the *Richmond News Leader*), more closely approximated their position. Although the two papers had earned an earlier reputation for their progressive views under the leadership of John Stewart Bryan, his son and successor, D. Tennant Bryan, possessed neither the intellectual abilities nor the liberal outlook of his father.[99] Publisher Bryan, vice president and general manager John D. Wise, and his replacement, Alan S. Donnahoe, all closely aligned themselves with the Byrd machine and continued their support for resistance until late in 1958, when it became apparent that the courts would strike it down.[100] Dabney's counterpart at the *News Leader*, brash young James J. Kilpatrick, also enthusiastically embraced massive resistance, becoming its most widely influential propagandist. Despite his growing conservatism, Dabney was often uncomfortable with the *Times-Dispatch*'s management, particularly Wise, whom he described as bordering on the "reactionary."[101]

Chambers Changes the *Ledger-Dispatch*

In 1944, a decade after Dabney assumed responsibility for the *Times-Dispatch*'s editorial page, Chambers was named editor of the *Pilot*'s

sister paper, the *Ledger-Dispatch*. At the *Ledger* he established a more progressive racial stance than that of the previous editor. Some subscribers resented the changes. "There is plenty of discussion among your readers concerning your new policy of pro-Negroism," one reader complained. Chambers refused to identify people by race in the paper's reporting and editorials, as was often done in the South, or to publish letters he believed would "incite emotionalism and have an inflammatory effect" on racial relations.[102]

Despite the fact that Chambers was greatly pleased by his promotion, in many ways his six-year stint as the *Ledger*'s editor was dispiriting for him. The newspaper was considered less prestigious than the *Pilot*, where many staffers looked down their noses on the afternoon paper. The *Ledger* did not publish a Sunday edition, and fewer decisionmakers and members of Chambers' social circle subscribed to it. And his relations with his new associate editor, Joseph Leslie, frequently were uncomfortable. Leslie, who was related by marriage to a powerful member of the Byrd machine and who held the stereotypical political and racial views of the South, had deeply desired the position Chambers now occupied.[103]

Undoubtedly Chambers missed the rich and stimulating atmosphere of the *Pilot*'s editorial suite and the harmony with which he and Jaffé had viewed the issues of the day. Although Chambers did not eschew intellectual conflict, he abhorred personal disagreements, particularly with his coworkers.[104] He nevertheless persevered at the helm of the secondary paper until, upon the death of Jaffé in 1950, he assumed the editorship of the *Pilot*.[105]

Unlike Dabney, who had achieved national prominence from his leadership in the anti-lynching movement and his authorship of books and magazine articles, Chambers at the time of the *Brown* v. *Board* decision was little known beyond portions of Virginia and North Carolina. His involvement in racial organizations was not noteworthy and, despite the fact that he contributed occasional editorials to other presses, his influence had been confined principally to the readership of his papers' editorial pages.[106]

Chambers served a city that was much more complex and contradictory than Dabney's. One longtime observer described it as "a blend of N's—Navy, NATO, natives, and newcomers, especially North Carolinians."[107] Norfolk's strategic location had made it a great port that had attracted residents from many other states and countries. The federal government employed a large segment of the city's work force and exerted a powerful influence on the city and its economy.[108] Although its elector-

ate generally supported Byrd's policies, the senator's machine was much less popular there than in Richmond.[109] But notwithstanding Norfolk's comparatively cosmopolitan atmosphere and the claims of its leaders that its racial relations were particularly advanced, the city was strongly impacted by the morés of the South. A large percentage of its workers had migrated from rural areas of the state, where white supremacy was unquestioned, and many residents were poor and uneducated and felt economically threatened by blacks. Many middle-class residents also were committed to the South's traditional pattern of segregation.[110]

Although Chambers would base his editorial support for the *Brown* mandate primarily on his belief in the sanctity of American democracy and the duty of public officials to practice responsible leadership, the legacy of Louis Jaffé certainly figured in shaping the paper's editorial stance. Chambers wrote, "The *Virginian-Pilot* has a long record of trying to do what it could for justice and opportunity for Negroes. My predecessor, Louis I. Jaffé, won a Pulitzer prize in 1928, for editorial work directed for the control of lynching....This is not a wildcat newspaper. It does not crusade. But it does try to appeal to reason and to encourage all educational processes that overcome prejudice in the end."[111]

Clearly the management of Norfolk Newspapers, which owned both the *Pilot* and the *Ledger*, by affording its editors a high degree of autonomy, greatly facilitated the efforts of Jaffé and Chambers to promote racial justice. Colonel Samuel Slover, chairman of the board, despite his own conservative beliefs (which included an appreciation of Senator Joseph McCarthy and close ties to the Byrd organization) removed himself almost entirely from editorial matters, only expressing his views on the papers' endorsement of presidential candidates.[112]

With the death of publisher Henry Lewis in 1954, Slover considered luring John Wise away from Richmond Newspapers.[113] While such a decision would have pleased Dabney immensely, it would have been disastrous for the *Pilot*. Undoubtedly the ultra-conservative and poorly educated Wise, whom Dabney described as combative, would have attempted to force his views on the scholarly and courtly Chambers. Almost certainly, Chambers would have resigned or retired.[114]

Fortunately, Slover chose instead to appoint his nephew, Frank Batten, to fill the vacant position. The selection of Harvard-educated Batten, who was then only 27 years old, would prove to be a propitious one from both a business and an editorial standpoint.

Batten granted his editors continued freedom to set their papers' editorial policy, but he made clear his own disapproval of the state's refusal to implement the *Brown* mandate. He quickly developed a close and

mutually respectful relationship with Chambers, with whom he often discussed the resistance during lunches together. Batten would eventually order a reversal of the *Ledger*'s pro-resistance editorial policy and lead the city's business community in its efforts to end the resistance.[115]

Chambers never championed integration *per se* in his editorials. His genteel upbringing in the segregated South had limited his association with blacks largely to menial and janitorial workers; and his birth, education, and position set him apart from the masses.[116]

Chambers Believed Desegregation Was Inevitable

Although the *Virginian-Pilot* and the *Ledger-Dispatch* under his editorship were among the most racially progressive newspapers in the South, consistently working for the betterment of minorities, they remained white newspapers, as much a part of the Jim Crow system as was the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. The *Ledger* and *Pilot* staffs were poorly informed about many events in the city's black community. Chambers, his liberal agenda notwithstanding, knew little about the daily lives of nearly a third of Norfolk's population. His racial advocacy was not motivated by social activism. "He never took the attitude that [*Brown* v. *Board*] was long overdue after all these years of oppression," one of his associate editors later recalled.[117] In a letter to Byrd, who likely coined the term "massive resistance," Chambers summarized the *Pilot*'s position on desegregation:

> We have never urged swift or sweeping mixture of the races in the public schools. We do feel certain that mixing in varying degrees is inevitable in a future that is difficult to measure in time; and we think strongly that government and citizenship, and all leadership, have the duty to try to appraise these problems, calmly, carefully, with good spirit, and with justice.
>
> Much that has been done in the South reflects, I am afraid, a different spirit. We conceive it our duty in these circumstances to do what we can to encourage a climate in which the best minds and spirits of Virginia (and other states), and not only the most extreme or the best organized, can make their wisdom and intelligence count in dealing with these grave and complicated problems.[118]

Chambers' progressive stances on racial issues—particularly his editorial support of compliance with the *Brown* decision—was highly unusual, given his relatively advanced age. He would earn his Pulitzer at 69. Nearly all white southerners at his stage of life took a much more conservative approach to racial relations. For this elderly age group, integrating of public schools was virtually inconceivable. The court's decision represented a threat to sacrosanct tradition. Regarding the difficulty with which various generations of white southerners accepted the ending of Jim Crow, Daniel Singal writes, "For those who came of age in the 1930s...it would be a relatively easy task; for others...just a few years older, it would take a long and hard struggle."[119] Unlike Dabney, who grew more conservative as he aged, Chambers never abandoned the liberal social and racial views he had adopted earlier in life.[120]

Massive Resistance: Virginia's Issue of the Century

The United States Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown* v. *Board* struck the foundations of southern society with an impact exceeded only by that of the Civil War. Most of the white southern press responded predictably by lending its support to segregationist posturing.[121] Nevertheless, a number of the region's editorial writers practiced responsible journalism during the crisis.

Between 1957 and 1964, six southern newspaper editors—Buford Boone of the *Tuscaloosa News*, Harry Ashmore of the *Arkansas Gazette*, Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Lenoir Chambers of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, Ira Harkey, Jr. of the *Pascagoula* (Miss.) *Chronicle*, and Hazel Brannon Smith of the *Lexington* (Miss.) *Advertiser*—were awarded the Pulitzer Prize for their editorials urging peaceful compliance with the Court's mandate and attacking racial and religious terrorism.[122] In many ways these journalists were the spiritual heirs to trailblazing liberal southern editors such as Louis Jaffé, Grover Hall, and Julian Harris, of the *Columbus* (Ga.) *Enquirer-Sun*, who 30 years earlier had earned Pulitzers for leading the fight against lynching, the Klan, and southern backwardness.[123]

Throughout Virginia's massive resistance to public school integration, beginning with the Court's decision and ending with verdicts issued early in 1959 by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, the *Virginian-Pilot* was the state's only white newspaper to support the implementation of *Brown* and attack the Byrd machine-orchestrated efforts to stymie integration. [124]

Hodding Carter, who as editor of the *Greenville* (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times* had earned a Pulitzer in 1946 for editorials "on the subject of racial, religious, and economic intolerance," called the *Brown* decision and the ensuing court decisions, administrative orders, and congressional acts the South's greatest opportunity for leadership in this century. "But," he wrote, "most of the press, no less than most of the politicians, responded miserably." However, "in Virginia," Carter observed, "the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* came out in favor of the Supreme Court decision and never wavered. If [James Jackson] Kilpatrick's *News Leader* brayed, 'This tyranny must be resisted step by step, inch by inch,' the *Virginian-Pilot* hailed the decision as a 'superb appeal to the wisdom, intelligence and leadership of the Southern state.'"[125]

Although in the wake of *Brown*, Dabney aligned the *Times-Dispatch*'s editorial page with the Byrd machine, he never led the charge for massive resistance in the way that Kilpatrick did. Dabney's editorials resembled little the fiery writing of the *News Leader*. And to his credit, Dabney criticized the most blatant excesses of the state's legislature.

Dabney's Disgrace Is Acquiescence

Generally, however, by his own admission, he "acquiesced."[126] This was Dabney's disgrace. During Virginia's issue of the century, at a time when political leadership was sorely wanting and journalistic leadership desperately needed, he bent to the prevailing winds. As one of Virginia's leading intellectuals and a celebrated historian and political and social analyst, and as the Pulitzer Prize-winning editor of the state's most widely circulated newspaper, Dabney enjoyed immense credibility and powerful prestige. He chose to align these strengths with the forces of massive resistance.

The *Times-Dispatch*'s editor undoubtedly felt some ambivalence about his paper's posture; clearly he was uncomfortable with the rancor and heady emotionalism of the times. Perhaps concerned with his own historical reputation, Dabney went to great lengths, in both his editorials and his articles for national news magazines, to conceal from readers his own sentiments regarding massive resistance.

Frequently he presented the views of carefully selected third parties, such as medical researchers who believed that blacks were inherently inferior.[127] In the case of "Virginia's 'Peaceable, Honorable Stand,'" published in *Life* magazine and reprinted in *Reader's Digest* and *US News & World Report*, Dabney raised the most incendiary issue possible for

white southern readers—that integration would lead to black boys engaging in sex with white girls. Still, Dabney claimed that he was simply stating the views of the commonwealth's political leaders and white citizens.[128]

Sometimes, as P. B. Young had astutely pointed out, Dabney dragged red herrings across the trail, as when white mobs attacked Autherine Lucy, who had attempted to integrate the University of Alabama. "It would be interesting," he wrote, "to find out whether Reds, camouflaged as indignant Southerners, brought discredit on Alabama and its State university."[129] And although the *Times-Dispatch*'s editor attempted to portray himself as an objective and rational observer, his arguments were nearly always weighted so that a preponderance of the evidence supported continued segregation.

Virginia's massive resistance and the lack of courage displayed by Dabney and most of their peers in the southern press disgusted Chambers. In the midst of the school crisis, he summarized his views to his friend Gerald Johnson, the prominent author and editorial writer for the *Baltimore Sun*:

> The *Virginian-Pilot* has opposed nearly everything the state government has done since May 1954, because nearly everything the state government has done has been wrong—wrong in principle, wrong in detail, wrong in pretense, and disastrous in effect. We knew—it took no special knowledge—that much of what the state government attempted in legislation was unconstitutional, and we said so many times.
>
> Southern journalism troubles me....and what the politicians have done...is beyond description. The result has been an argument—in so far as the issues were ever argued—on an unbelievably low level of intelligence. I have no particular regrets about losing a fight that is well fought.... but I don't like being pushed around by editors or politicians whose statements of their own case have no merit whatsoever.[130]

Chambers hailed *Brown II*, which mandated that public school integration should proceed with "all deliberate speed," as "a wise attempt to adjust constitutional principles to practical problems."[131] And he

exhorted the state's political leaders to act with wisdom and not attempt to thwart the Supreme Court's will with delaying maneuvers and obstructionist tactics. "Somewhere in the South," he wrote, "a state will rise to leadership in this long and probably difficult duty. We hope it will be Virginia."[132] Chambers' great respect for the Court was not shared by Dabney, who referred to the justices as "nine political appointees" and *Brown* as a "sociological and psychological decision."[133]

Not heeding Chambers' advice, the Byrd machine attempted to provide state funding that would enable parents to send their children to private schools as a means of continuing segregation. Chambers warned that the legislature's actions "would involve the disestablishment, or dismantling, of the public school system as we know it today" and ultimately would likely be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.[134] Dabney dismissed the dangers of the plan and urged his readers to support tuition grants.[135]

Chambers Asks "How Many Schools Are Expendable?"

When Kilpatrick disinterred and popularized the long-forgotten and long-dismissed "doctrine of interposition," which called for the invocation of state sovereignty to negate attempts by the federal government to usurp rights the states believed were afforded them under the Constitution, Virginia's General Assembly immediately and with great fanfare passed an interposition resolution. Some resisters viewed the resolution as a symbolic protest, but others, including Byrd, believed it to be a legal means of subverting the Court's mandate. Dabney termed the resolution "an effective protest against the Federal encroachments upon the power of the states."[136] Chambers saw it simply as "an exercise in fantasy."[137]

Byrd, heartened by the near-unanimous support for resistance pledged by the region's congressional representatives in their adoption of the "Southern Manifesto," which he and Senator Strom Thurmond had designed, now oversaw the development and implementation of a hard-line plan that would shut down Virginia's schools should they be integrated. Chambers recoiled, and in a lead editorial, "How Many Schools Are Expendable?," expressed astonishment that the General Assembly would even consider such an action.[138] This plan, he wrote, was an appalling reality. The hard work that Virginia had invested in building up its school system would be undermined. "Once the standards are gone," he warned, "the work of a generation may be destroyed."[139] Dabney, too, was taken aback by the increasingly reactionary tenor of the legislature.

"We are certain that the General Assembly will not adopt any plan it believes will result in shutting down the entire public school system, or any substantial part of it," he wrote hopefully.[140]

In the fall of 1958, when Governor J. Lindsay Almond closed Norfolk's white secondary schools, Chambers demanded that they be reopened and exhorted municipal officials, parents, and teachers to take "responsibility for reversing this cruel and unjust policy."[141] Throughout the closure, the *Pilot*'s editorial staff battled proponents of massive resistance. In what Senator Byrd called "a war of propaganda," Chambers' unrelenting campaign provided leadership for pro-school forces and exposed the sham of massive resistance.[142] During this period, the *Times-Dispatch*'s editor almost entirely avoided mention of the closing and its effects on students. Instead, he directed his readers' attention to the aggressiveness of the NAACP, the ineptitude of the Court, the hypocrisy of the North, and the certainty that integration would result in "racial amalgamation."[143]

On January 1, 1959, Chambers reflected on the harm wrought to Virginia's students, her commerce, and her prestige in the previous year. Deploring the harsh consequences of the closing, he wrote:

> This is not a policy which Virginia can continue. The year that has run out has carried Virginia, and especially Norfolk, where the penalty exacted has been the heaviest, far down a defeatist road. We cannot continue this way. The state is bound by every obligation of governmental principle and human dignity and decency and its own self-interest, to find a better policy than the one we live under.
>
> That policy is collapsing before our eyes. But there will be small gain, or none at all, if in substitution the government of Virginia thinks it can stand still, or move backward in a changing age. It cannot. The question Virginians must ask themselves on this New Year's Day is what they can, and will, do in 1959 to recover from the tragedy of 1958.[144]

One month later Norfolk's schools were reopened as a result of two crucial court decisions. Thanks in part to the moderating influence of Chambers' editorials, the integration went forward without incident. In 1960 Chambers received a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials written during the school closing.[145] *The New York Times* called him "a voice of reason on a political battleground that was a testing ground in the South. The

Pulitzer Prize in this instance crowned a long career that has been dedicated to the defense of civil liberty and public morality."[146]

Dabney Lacks a Mentor

The background and upbringing of Chambers and Dabney differed significantly from those of most southerners of the era. Both young men received elite educations and were introduced to important influences from outside the South.

Dabney's father exposed him at an early age to an older and more civilized culture, and Mencken's social criticism led the young editor-to-be to question many of the region's morés and traditions. Chambers' education at the University of North Carolina and his subsequent ties to Chapel Hill, first in his capacity as a news director and later as an alumni leader, linked him powerfully to the bastion of southern liberalism. His study at Columbia University reinforced his liberal tendencies, and his wartime experiences in France opened his eyes to a larger world and confronted him with attitudes and behaviors that he contrasted with those of his homeland. The early histories of Dabney and Chambers as aspiring young journalists include many similar circumstances and experiences.

When the two future editors' early newspaper careers are examined, a divergence begins to emerge. Dabney's ambition, work ethic, professional connections established as a result of his authorship of *Liberalism in the South*, and his regular contributions to prestigious publications focused attention on him and solidified his reputation as a leading southern moderate. Mencken's writings continued to stimulate the Richmond reporter throughout his early professional career; Dabney found the Sage of Baltimore's polemics and iconoclasm attractive.

But exposure to Mencken's columns and the scant journalistic advice he offered to Dabney in a few brief meetings and Mencken's characteristically terse notes never approached the proportions of mentoring. Dabney never served a sustained apprenticeship in an editorial suite, working in day-to-day intimacy with a senior editor and engaging in the rigorous intellectual debate that would have strengthened his ability to analyze and reason. He never worked in close concert with a strong and committed role model like Jaffé and never observed firsthand an editor's courage in sticking to his guns in the face of popular outcry. Nor, apparently, did he ever sufficiently personalize his liberal journalistic contacts to become part of a network for regular exchange and exploration of ideas. He never

observed at close range for protracted periods the racial integration Chambers witnessed in New York City while a student at Columbia and overseas during the war.

Chambers Defies Tradition

Chambers' close collaboration with the liberal editors-in-chief of the *Greensboro Daily News* and the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* bred in him an acute awareness of a newspaper's obligation and capacity to influence public opinion responsibly and lead a community in positive directions. Though frustrating to his career aspirations, the long serial apprenticeship to the two exceptional editors sharpened his reasoning powers and instilled in him an independence and intellectual honesty that would serve him well during the lonely editorial campaign he would one day conduct. The network of enlightened intellectuals with whom he maintained contact provided a sort of think-tank for reinforcement of ideas and a wellspring of potential support. His close association and friendship with Jaffé brought home to him intimately and at length the evils of prejudices from which his impeccable southern pedigree had shielded him. This experience could only have intensified his liberal sympathies.

In contrasting Dabney's performance with that of Chambers during massive resistance, it is necessary in fairness to Dabney to point out the difference in the political makeup of the two editors' cities. Richmond was an uncompromisingly southern city with a relatively stable population consisting mainly of native Virginians. A pro-integration editorial policy there would have incurred the wrath of nearly all the white citizenry.

Norfolk, though also populated heavily with dyed-in-the-wool southerners including workers imported from rural pockets of racism, was somewhat tempered by the additional residence of Navy personnel and their families, many of whom had lived in integrated parts of the country and abroad. A stance supporting the *Brown* decision would have been less lonely in Norfolk than in Richmond. But editors such as Ashmore and Carter stood firm in their support for compliance with *Brown* in environments at least as hostile as Richmond to the concept of integration, and there is every indication that Chambers would not have been swayed by additional opposition in Norfolk.

It is important to iterate that throughout the period of massive resistance, the publisher and the vice president and general manager of Dabney's employer, Richmond Newspapers, aligned themselves closely with the Byrd organization's defiance of the Supreme Court mandate.

Had Dabney been committed to the cause of justice for blacks or to the primacy of federal law, he would have stood his ground in the face of any objection from his employers, at any price. The possibility exists that a different stand on the part of the company's management—a philosophy approaching that of Norfolk Newspapers' Frank Batten—would have placed Dabney on the *Brown* side of the fence editorially. However, his writings for other publications during the period suggest strongly that he personally opposed the integration of the schools.

One needs also to compare the influence of the universities attended by the two editors. Both Virginia and Carolina were typical southern universities that offered unexceptional political and social programs in small-town settings during the editors' student years there. The University of Virginia would remain obstinately conservative for years to come, incapable of communicating to interested alumni the liberal thoughts and stimulation to which Chambers was exposed at Columbia and which he later would tap at the University of North Carolina.

A look at Dabney's elementary schooling, conducted at home by his father and aunt, raises the question of early parental imprinting of racial attitudes. Dabney would have learned at a young age of his father's low regard for the black race and the depth of that sentiment, which inspired the father's political activism to keep blacks oppressed. Although the son would come to disagree at least in part with these racist views and as a journalist would campaign for the betterment of blacks, traces of the father's indoctrination appear to have lingered, in the form of doubts as to the equality of blacks with whites. Virginius Dabney's wish to improve the condition of blacks may from the beginning have stopped short of integration in the schools, and black leaders' pushing for this development may have turned him against them. No evidence exists of any such racist tendencies on the part of Chambers' parents.

Despite Dabney's many laudatory stands in the racial arena—his advocacy of federal anti-lynching legislation, eradication of the poll tax, salary equalization for black teachers, allocation of enhanced resources for black schools and colleges, and desegregation of Richmond's streetcars and buses—he displayed remarkable naiveté in his assessment of blacks' discontent with the Jim Crow system and their disenchantment with white southern liberals who urged the slowing of efforts to dismantle it.

Brown v. *Board of Education* Evokes Chambers' Leadership

In the end, Virginius Dabney proved himself more foe than friend to the civil rights movement. In the wake of the *Brown* decision, the

Pulitzer Prize-winning editor, carefully positioning himself as a moderate who desired what was best for both races, functioned as a skilled propagandist to advance the cause of continued racial separation. By focusing on hot-button issues such as crime rates in integrated schools, black out-of-wedlock births, and "racial amalgamation," he fueled rather than helped defuse the massive-resistance hysteria.

Lenoir Chambers was limited in his familiarity with racial issues. He was not a social activist. He probably would have finished out his editorial career urging only fairer treatment of blacks within the confines of "separate but equal," had not the Supreme Court issued its landmark ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

Virginia's defiance of the mandate—massive resistance—evoked from Chambers a quality of leadership rare within the southern press. He saw the resistance as a sham; and its misrepresentation, intellectual dishonesty, and emotionalism disgusted him. The flouting of a precept of our democracy—a unanimous Supreme Court decision at that—was not to be tolerated.

Chambers rose magnificently to the challenge and never wavered. All of the liberal influences in his long career would serve to fortify him in one the century's great journalistic wars.

Endnotes

[1]Morton Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 168; John Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 220-221; Virginius Dabney, "Virginia's Peaceable, Honorable Stand," *Life*, 22 September 1958, 54-55; Virginius Dabney to Carleton Putnam, 22 July 1963; Virginius Dabney Papers, Manuscripts Division, University of Virginia.

[2]Virginius Dabney, *Across the Years* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), 232-233.

[3]Wm. David Sloan and Laird Anderson, comp. *Pulitzer Prize Editorials: Americaís Best Editorial Writing, 1917-1993* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994), 147-149.

[4]Dabney, *Across the Years*; Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South*; Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists*; John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); Bruce Brown, "The Writings of Virginius Dabney on Matters of Race" (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1987); Marie Nitschke, "Virginius Dabney of Virginia: Portrait of a Southern Journalist in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1987); Barbara Battle, Virginius Dabney: Southern Liberal in the Era of Roosevelt (master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1968); John Matthews, "Virginius Dabney, John Temple Graves, and What Happened to Southern Liberalism," *Mississippi Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (1992); Alexander Leidholdt, *Standing Before the Shouting Mob: Lenoir Chambers and Virginiaís Massive Resistance to Public School Integration* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

[5]Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists*, 11.

[6]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 40, 120.

[7]Ibid., 8-10; Virginius Dabney, "Reflections," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 93, no.3 (1985): 279-290.

[8]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 20-24.

[9]Ibid., 66.

[10]Ibid., 100.

[11]Ibid., 104.

[12]H. L. Mencken, *A Mencken Chrestomathy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 184-195.

[13]H. L. Mencken, *Thirty-five Years of Newspaper Work*, ed. Fred Hobson, Vincent Fitzpatrick and Bradford Jacobs (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 150-162; Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 59-63; Fred Hobson, *Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1974).

[14]*Charlotte Chronicle*, 18 May 1907.

[15]Lenoir Chambers to Morrow Press, 25 August 1959, Chambers Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[16]Richard Baker, *A History of The Graduate School of Journalism*, Columbia University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 83-85.

[17]Chambers to Columbia University, 16 March 1956, Chambers Papers; Chambers to Morrow Press, 25 August 1959, Chambers Papers.

[18]*Stars and Stripes*, 7 May 1919.

[19]Chambers to Max Schuster, 15 April 1933, Chambers Papers.

[20]Chambers to Grace Chambers, 19 July 1918, Chambers Papers.

[21]Ibid., 19 March 1919.

[22]Ibid., 19 July 1918.

[23]Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 129-134; Virginius Dabney, *Liberalism in the South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 349-351, 408.

[24]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 106.

[25]H. L. Mencken, "The Library," *American Mercury* 8, no.32 (1926): 506.

[26]Virginius Dabney, "Virginia," *American Mercury* 9, no.35 (1926): 349-356.

[27]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 116.

[28]H. L. Mencken to Dabney, 8 August 1927, Dabney Papers.

[29]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 118.

[30]Ibid., 120.

[31]Douglas Freeman to Louis Jaffé, 15 October 1929, Louis Jaffé Papers, Manuscripts Division, University of Virginia.

[32]Jaffé to Freeman, 12 October 1929, Jaffé Papers.

[33]Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South*, 125-126.

[34]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 120.

[35]Dabney, "Reflections," 279-290.

[36]Dabney to Jaffé, 3 December 1933, Jaffé Papers.

[37]Earle Dunford, *Richmond Times-Dispatch: The Story of a Newspaper* (Richmond: Cadmus Publishing, 1995), 297.

[38]Jaffé to Dabney, 7 December 1933, Jaffé Papers; Jaffé to Dabney, 11 October 1934, Jaffé Papers.

[39]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 127.

[40]William Shirer, *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934-1941* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 11.

[41]William Shirer, *The Nightmare Years, 1930-1940*, vol. 2, *20th Century Journey: A Memoir of a Life and the Times* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), 108-109.

[42]Ibid., 118, 138-139.

[43]Dabney, "Reflections," 283.

[44]Robert Mason, telephone interview by author, 19 November 1992.

[45]William Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 289-290.

[46]Fred Hobson, introduction to *South-Watching*, by Gerald Johnson (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), vii-xxviii.

[47]Gerald Johnson to Chambers, 13 September 1924, Chambers Papers.

[48]Mason, telephone interview by author, 19 November 1992.

[49]Dabney, *Liberalism in the South*, 406-407; Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926), 181.

[50]*Greensboro Daily News*, 13 January 1970.

[51]Ibid.

[52]John Hohenberg, *The Pulitzer Prize Story II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 257.

[53]Johnson to Jaffé, 14 October 1929, Jaffé Papers.

[54]Grover Hall to Jaffé, 18 October 1929, Jaffé Papers.

[55]Jacquelyn Hall et al, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 218-233.

[56]*Daily News*, 3 October 1929; Benjamin Stolberg, "Madness in Marion," *Nation*, 23 October 1929, 462-464.

[57]*Daily News*, 4 October 1929.

[58]Johnson to Jaffé, 16 October 1929, Jaffé Papers.

[59]Chambers to John Custis, 6 March 1935, Chambers Papers; Alonzo Dill, letter to author, 20 November 1992.

[60]Alonzo Dill, telephone interview by author, 20 November 1992.

[61]Chambers to Johnson, 11 March 1936, Chambers Papers.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Loraine Davis to Alice Jaffé, 10 May 1970, author; Jaffé to Margaret Davis, 5 October 1936, author.

[64]Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1987), 156-158.

[65]See for example: *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 11 September 1937, 5 November 1936.

[66]See for example: *Virginian-Pilot*, 24 March 1933, 17 September 1935, 24 February 1939.

[67]Chambers to E. Roberts, 19 February 1937, Chambers Papers; Chambers to J. Custis, 13 April 1935, Chambers Papers.

[68]Walter White, "Decline of Southern Liberals," *Negro Digest*, January 1943, 44.

[69]Walter White to Dabney, 19 January 1937, Papers of the NAACP, University of Virginia.

[70]*Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 2 February 1937; Virginius Dabney, "Dixie Rejects Lynching," *Nation*, 27 November 1937.

[71]White to Carl Ackerman, 26 April 1937, Papers of the NAACP; White to Dabney, 26 April 1937, Papers of the NAACP.

[72]Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), 42, 167.

[73]Ibid., 172-173.

[74]Charles Houston to Dabney, 26 January 1937, Papers of the NAACP; Carl Rowan, *Dream Makers, Dream Breakers: The World of Justice Thurgood Marshall* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), 46-47.

[75]*Times-Dispatch*, 2 February 1937.

[76]White to Dabney, 12 February 1937, Papers of the NAACP.

[77]Dabney to White, 17 February 1937, Papers of the NAACP.

[78]White to Dabney, 23 April 1937, Papers of the NAACP.

[79]Ibid., 26 April 1937.

[80]Sloan and Anderson, *Pulitzer Prize Editorials*, 104-107.

[81]White to Dabney, 26 April 1937, Papers of the NAACP.

[82]J. Harvie Wilkinson III, *Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 178.

[83]See for example: *Times-Dispatch*, 6, 8, 14, 20, 21, 23 January 1938.

[84]Dabney to White, 5 January 1939, Papers of the NAACP.

[85]Virginius Dabney, "Civil Liberties in the South," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Winter 1940, 86.

[86]Dabney to White, 17 January 1939, Papers of the NAACP.

[87]Ibid., 3 January 1939.

[88]*Times-Dispatch*, 17 July 1939.

[89]P. B. Young to White, 26 July 1939, Papers of the NAACP.

[90]White to Young, 9 August 1939, Papers of the NAACP.

[91]Virginius Dabney, "Nearer and Nearer the Precipice," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1943, 98.

[92]Young to Dabney, 20 January 1943, Dabney Papers; Young to Dabney, 12 January 1943, Dabney Papers.

[93]*Louisville Courier-Journal*, 22 April 1943.

[94]Thurgood Marshall to Dabney, 31 October 1939, Papers of the NAACP; Virginius Dabney, ìThe Negro and His Schooling,î *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1942, 460.

[95]*Times-Dispatch*, 13 November 1943, 21 November 1943; Dabney to JaffÈ, 16 November 1943, JaffÈ Papers.

[96]Unidentified newspaper, Dabney Papers.

[97]Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South*, 167; Sloan and Anderson, *Pulitzer Prize Editorials*, 104-107; Dabney, "Reflections," 283.

[98]Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists*, 215.

[99]Mims, *The Advancing South*, 189-194; Dunford, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 13-15.

[100]Ibid., 14-15; Dabney, *Across the Years*, 235.

[101]Ibid., 166.

[102]Randolph McPherson to Henry Lewis, 19 July 1948, Chambers Papers; Chambers to McPherson, 28 July 1948, Chambers Papers.

[103]William Meacham to Dabney, 30 April 1950, Dabney Papers.

[104]Mason, telephone interview by author, 19 November 1992.

[105]Robert Mason, *One of the Neighborsí Children* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1987), 147.

[106]Leidholdt, *Standing Before the Shouting Mob*, 23-24, 28.

[107]Guy Friddel, *What Is It About Virginia?* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1966), 44.

[108]Leidholdt, *Standing Before the Shouting Mob*, 55-56.

[109]Wilkinson, *Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics*, 191-194.

[110]Leidholdt, *Standing Before the Shouting Mob*, 58-59.

[111]"1959 Biographical Data," Chambers Papers.

[112]Mason, letter to author, 12 September 1996; William Prieur to Harry Byrd, 14 December 1943, Harry F. Byrd, Sr., Papers, Manuscripts Division, University of Virginia.

[113]Lenoir Chambers, Joseph Shank, and Harold Sugg, *Salt Water & Printerís Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865-1965* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 381.

[114]Dunford, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 14, 300-302, 322.

[115]Leidholdt, *Standing Before the Shouting Mob*, 53-54, 98-99, 118-119, 122-123.

[116]Elisabeth Burgess, interview by author, 2 August 1990; Mason, *One of the Neighborsí Children*, 159.

[117]Mason, telephone interview by author, 17 July 1990.

[118]Chambers to Harry Byrd, Sr.,, 23 May 1957, Chambers Papers.

[119]Daniel Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 301.

[120]Dabney, "Reflections," 283.

[121]Alfred Hero, *The Southerner and World Affairs* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 395.

[122]Sloan and Anderson, *Pulitzer Prize Editorials*, 138-159

[123]Ibid., 29-30, 37-41; Mims, *The Advancing South*, 185-189.

[124]*Harrison v. Day*, 106 S.E. 2d 636 (1959); *James v. Almond*, 170 F.Supp. 331 (1959).

[125]Ann Waldron, *Hodding Carter: The Reconstruction of a Racist* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1993), 160-162; Hodding Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1969), 64.

[126]Dabney, *Across the Years*, 233.

[127]Virginius Dabney, "School Crisis in Dixie!" *The American*, 30.

[128]Dabney, "Virginiaís ëPeaceable, Honorable Stand." *Life*, 52, 55.

[129]*Times-Dispatch*, 10 February 1956.

[130]Chambers to Johnson, 7 January 1959, Chambers Papers.

[131]*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 349 US 294 (1955); *Virginian-Pilot*, 1 June 1955.

[132]Ibid.

[133]*Times-Dispatch*, 12 November 1958, 30 September 1958.

[134]*Virginian-Pilot*, 4 January 1956, 5 January 1956.

[135]*Times-Dispatch*, 8 January 1956.

[136]Ibid., 20 January 1956.

[137]*Virginian-Pilot*, 4 February 1956.

[138]Ibid., 28 August 1956.

[139]Ibid., 29 August 1956.

[140]*Times-Dispatch*, 26 August 1956.

[141]*Virginian-Pilot*, 29 September 1958.

[142] Byrd to J. Gravatt, 20 October 1958, Byrd Papers.

[143]*Times-Dispatch*, 20 September 1958, 30 September 1958, 9 October 1958, 19 November 1958.

[144]*Virginian-Pilot*, 1 January 1959.

[145]Sloan and Anderson, *Pulitzer Prize Editorials*, 147-149.

[146]*New York Times*, 8 May 1960.

How World Vision Rose From Obscurity To Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972-1982

by Ken Waters

When Stan Mooneyham became president of a relief agancy named World Vision, he began purchasing time on television to air documentary-style programming, special reports and telethons urging people to donate funds to alleviate poverty and distress in the Third World. Beginning in 1972, the organization experimented with television as a direct response device, adapting their mail fundraising approach to an electronic format. Using appeals to urgency, ethnocentrism and Christian humanitarianism—coupled with celebrity endorsements—World Vision quickly evolved in just ten years time from a small, unknown charity to one of the world's largest agencies of its kind.

In 1969, when Stan Mooneyham became president of a Monrovia, Calif. - based Christian charity named World Vision, annual contributions to the agency totaled $4.5 million. When he resigned 13 years later, contributions topped $94 million.[1] The increase in income allowed World Vision to grow from an obscure agency providing life-sustaining assistance to 30,000 orphans and poor children in 20 countries, to an international charity helping more than a million people in 100 countries each year. The growth allowed World Vision to

Ken Waters is an Associate Professor of Journalism at Pepperdine University in Malibu, California.

join the Red Cross, CARE, Catholic Relief, Oxfam and UNICEF as "social institutions as important in many ways as, say, the churches or professional organizations."[2]

World Vision executives say when Mooneyham became president, the organization was unable to meet its financial commitments to relief and development projects. They say the organization's rise to international prominence resulted from a decision he made in 1972—to enlarge the scope of the agency's communication and fundraising through programs aired with purchased time on commercial television.[3]

What evolved during this first decade of World Vision television programming was a format and presentation style that combined elements of the documentary, the commercial, the infomercial and the docu-drama. The organization, in fact, pioneered a genre of interactive television programming that still stands as a model other international charities have tried to copy with varying degrees of success. The significance of this pioneering role is that World Vision was able to use television to raise money that its leaders claim (and audited annual reports confirm) saved millions of children and adults from disease and starvation.

In the process, the organization became, "one of the largest and most globally integrated aid organization[s], . . . particularly prominent in the use of the media and modern marketing techniques, including the telethon."[4] Because of its focus on African relief needs in the early 1980s, the organization already had a significant infrastructure in place in Ethiopia before the world "discovered" the deadly famine of 1984. It was World Vision's airplane, in fact, that ferried international news crews, such as Michael Buerk's BBC contingent, to areas of need in Ethiopia.[5]

This study examines World Vision's programming efforts during the critical years in which the organization established the genre of television fundraising for Third World victims of poverty and disaster. World Vision's entry into television fundraising in 1972 continued a tradition of media experimentation set by the organization's founder, Bob Pierce. Pierce was a prominent member of America's post-World War II evangelical Christian movement, a close friend of Billy Graham and others who used television to further their evangelistic efforts. Yet in the 1970s and 1980s World Vision's televised fundraising went largely unnoticed by the media, and academic researchers transfixed on the emerging phenomena of the televangelists.[6] An examination of World Vision's programming, however, shows that Christian believers during the 1970s were embracing a worldview that combined piety with political and personal action, but not just the political action proscribed by televangelists like Jerry Falwell

and Pat Robertson. The one existing academic study of World Vision, in fact, refers to its earliest media programs as the "evangelical social action film."[7]

The study relies on a viewing of nearly all World Vision television fundraising programs aired between 1972 and 1983. Where possible, scripts housed in the archives of the organization and its advertising agency were also consulted. Oral interviews were conducted with key decisionmakers from World Vision and its advertising agency. Memos and other data from the World Vision archives were also studied.

Establishing the Corporate Culture

The impetus for the agency's founding began in the late 1940s when Bob Pierce was the Los Angeles organizer for an evangelistic group called Youth for Christ.[8] Pierce was asked by the organization to represent Billy Graham in China and undertake a series of preaching engagements requested by Chaing Kai-shek. Before departing, Pierce received a well-publicized sendoff during a Hollywood Bowl crusade conducted by Graham.

In China, Pierce said he realized that proclaiming religion to hungry people was not an effective communication strategy; words of salvation were better heard when people were not subsumed by stark issues of survival. Further, visible acts of Christian love, like providing food, lent a heightened credibility to the religious message he was preaching.[9] Pierce's experiences and success in preaching in China led to further speaking engagements throughout Asia. By 1950, Pierce had begun a weekly radio broadcast carried on the ABC radio network. He capitalized on this national visibility to cajole the US State Department into granting him credentials to cover the Korean War as a United Nations War correspondent. Throughout the war, Pierce often used a borrowed 16 millimeter camera to record scenes of the needs of Korean civilians caught in the crossfire of the war.

Once back in the US, Pierce used this footage to illustrate speeches and sermons delivered in American churches. Soon the volume of donations reached a point that Pierce founded World Vision in 1950 to provide the infrastructure and support for his growing activities. The level of donations from American evangelicals was noteworthy considering that many evangelicals in the early 1950s thought the film medium to be a creation of the devil, an inappropriate way for Christians to communicate. Pierce's successor, Stan Mooneyham, called Pierce a "prophet" for

helping change the way Christians in the post-war era thought about compassion toward those in need.[10] Graham credits Pierce with providing the inspiration, and the introductions to Hollywood producers and directors, which led to the founding of Graham's World Wide Pictures, a Hollywood movie studio that churned out Christian films during the 1970s and 1980s.[11]

Pierce Influenced by "Conversionists"

Pierce's methods, like those of Graham, were influenced by a stream of American evangelicalism that historian George Marsden calls the "conversionists."[12] Marsden is among several evangelical historians who contend that in the late 1800s, the rise of modernism and the influx of non-Protestant immigrants from Europe undermined the cultural and spiritual hegemony of Protestantism in the United States. Protestantism began to evolve into two large groups: Conservative Christians, often called fundamentalists, who began creating a powerful subculture of beliefs, fueled by newspapers, magazines and other means of communication; and the more liberal Protestants who felt modernism and religion could ultimately accommodate each other. Protestants' pull on society and culture, therefore, lost its common core of unity as the 19th century drew to a close.

In 1925, following the Scopes trial verdict, conservative fundamentalism was thoroughly discredited as a force influencing mainstream cultural norms and values. Many believers, therefore, adopted an "outsider" view of themselves, preferring to disengage from influencing the cultural or national debate to focus instead on personal piety and salvation. Within this fundamentalist tradition, however, another ideal emerged—the notion that culture, too, was a creation of God and could be redeemed by Christians. This was not an accommodationist approach as much as one which stressed evangelizing culture through the infusion of the biblical worldview and biblical values. This view held that Christians could remain outside the negative pull of culture and therefore remain loyal to biblical principles, while confronting and redeeming civic and political life. In essence, these Protestants, who today are known by the term "evangelicals," felt that they could call for the transformation of culture from inside the culture, acting as leaven throughout society.

Concomitant with this belief was the notion that using emerging communication technologies such as radio and television was not evil; rather, "communication technologies are potent forces that will transform

evil into good."[13] The most noteworthy product of this philosophy is the televangelists, who began preaching Christianity over television in the 1950s. Explaining why he began televising his sermons in 1952, Rex Humbard noted: "I saw this new thing called television and I said, 'That's it.' God has given us that thing. . . .The most powerful force of communication to take the Gospel into . . . every state in the Union."[14]

Youth for Christ, the organization that provided the platform for the emergence of Pierce and Graham, stood firmly in the conversionist movement. Early Youth for Christ rallies, in fact, were characterized by "Christian vaudeville and fervent revival-style preaching."[15] Youthful evangelists sometimes competed to see who could wear the most outlandish garb, including battery-operated ties bathed in light. The most controversial introduction into Youth for Christ crusades was that of "MacArthur the Gospel Horse." The horse, which Graham complained often upstaged him publicly, was brought on stage to answer Bible and doctrinal questions, much to the delight of the audiences.

By the end of the 1940s, Youth for Christ estimated that more than one million people had attended one of the 900 rallies held throughout the country. Buoyed by success in America, Youth for Christ ambassadors spread out in "invasion teams" to some 46 other countries by 1948.[16] The global awareness fostered by returning Youth for Christ ambassadors energized the mission activities of many churches and denominations within the evangelical movement, an awareness that no doubt led to Pierce's generally enthusiastic reception when he spoke about poverty and the spiritual needs of Asian children.

Evangelicals Move to Television

Pierce resigned from World Vision in 1967, after a series of disagreements with World Vision's board of directors over the spiraling expenses of his film productions.[17] Mooneyham, his successor, had most recently worked as a vice president for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, planning several of the evangelist's international crusades and conferences. Mooneyham's personality, characterized by high risk taking, was well suited to the entrepreneurial corporate culture of World Vision.[18] A former newspaperman and editor of his college newspaper, Mooneyham had confessed to being disappointed when he felt God asking him to become a minister, because he aspired to a career as a professional journalist. After helping World Vision stem the gush of red ink he inherited from Pierce, Mooneyham convinced the World Vision board to let him pro-

duce a fundraising "documentary," as long as the production paid for itself with the initial donations.[19]

Working with Mooneyham was Russ Reid, the owner of an advertising agency which is now based in Pasadena, California. As a young man, Reid had organized Youth for Christ rallies in western Canada. Later, he served as Vice President of Marketing for Word Records, a large Christian music publisher based in Waco, Texas. One of Reid's responsibilities was to produce a 15-minute television program of music and interviews with Word Records artists, hosted by TV personality Bud Collier. The program package included several commercials advertising a Word Records - produced album called "America's Best Loved Hymns." The TV show helped sell as many as 5,000 copies of the album each week.[20]

In 1970, in response to a rise of complaints about claims made by program-length commercials, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) banned those commercials. Although no complaints had been lodged against Word Records, its programs were affected by the ban. The FCC ban, however, did not pertain to paid religious programming, even if a portion of the program was used to solicit funds. Because World Vision was a nonprofit, religious organization, Reid convinced television station managers that its televised "documentaries" fell under this exemption. During the next decade, therefore, World Vision programs appeared on hundreds of independent television stations across America.[21]

Documentaries Show a World in Need

In the summer of 1972, Mooneyham and television personality Art Linkletter began filming a 60-minute program, "Children of Zero," in Vietnam, Hong Kong and Korea. Linkletter was invited to host the show based on the assumption that a well-known television personality would provide "tune-in value."[22] As filming in Saigon was completed, Mooneyham issued a news release stating that the time had come to use television to show a world in need.[23] "What we want to do is put the average American family inside the skin of these Asian kids and let them feel with us what it is like to be born in a developing world," he said. Reflecting a Christian worldview that favored both piety and social action, Mooneyham also noted: "God is not only interested in the 'sweet bye and bye' but also in the nasty here and now," and that, "World Vision is a vehicle that stands between Christian concern and human need."

With Linkletter as narrator, "Children of Zero" opened in Saigon, amid the noisy cacophony of street scenes and abandoned, homeless boys

gambling on street corners. Lasting some 30 minutes, this first segment concentrated on Nguyen Van Huu, a 14-year-old boy living in a World Vision - operated home for street boys. As the camera followed Huu on a typical day at school, and playing with friends, Linkletter sermonized about living conditions on the street, the future of these boys, and how World Vision was helping them. At several intervals, Linkletter and Mooneyham chatted together—at a shoe shine stand and in the living quarters of the boys' home. In these segments, Linkletter questioned Mooneyham about Vietnam's poverty and how World Vision was working to alleviate the distress. Mooneyham was thus positioned as the credible expert whose organization and its good works should be supported by the American public. Furthermore, the World Vision program provided American viewers a rare glimpse into the war's effects upon civilians.[24]

The theme of the program's final vignette showed the results which donors to World Vision had already achieved by helping children in South Korea. In this segment, Kim Yung Suk, a former World Vision orphan, told Linkletter and Mooneyham of her plans to become a nurse, and she thanked World Vision and its donors for helping her overcome poverty.[25] Each of these documentary-style segments was followed by an appeal for donations made by an off-camera narrator speaking over footage of hungry children. In addition to these appeals for funds, the commercial breaks between the segments also featured testimonials from formerly sponsored children who, like Kim Yung Suk, had gone on to lead successful lives. The intent here was clear: the World Vision product of child sponsorship works.

In addition, Mooneyham signaled the simple rhetorical themes that permeated all World Vision programs, communication strategies that work well on television: that of reducing large social problems to a personal level; of stressing action and urgency, demanding an immediate response; and of downplaying the evangelical roots of the organization, favoring instead a mass appeal to a broad base of Christian values and morality. As "Children of Zero" ended, Mooneyham pointed to the success of Kim Yung Suk, the Korean nurse, noting that people should "measure results in units of one." He added that it is difficult to comprehend the needs of so many children, but if the viewer concentrated on one child, "one mouth to feed, one heart to fill with happiness, one part of God's creation you can help mold," that the burden of these children would become comprehensible. Then, with a sense of urgency, he declared: "If you don't help that one child, nobody will." Although World Vision had a strong Christian heritage, this first and subsequent

productions couched the organization's Christian motivation in "language that the average person could understand. We did not want to hide the Christian purpose, but to express it in general terms more appropriate for a television audience."[26]

Response to this first program was significant enough for World Vision to embark on a second program.[27] "They Search For Survival" was released in 1974. Scriptwriter Gary Evans of the Russ Reid Co. was sent to Africa in advance of the filming so he could tightly script the majority of the narrative before the film crew arrived. The major advantage of this approach, according to Evans, was that the program could be planned in a logical fashion, creating a "fundraising unit, building our writing and presentation with information and stories that would back up the appeal."[28] The pre-filming survey saved the organization money because actual filming time and expenses were minimized by strong advance planning and script writing. [29]

Shorter five to ten-minute stories were filmed in Niger, Cambodia and Bangladesh, focusing on the plight of refugees and their children. Missionaries from several denominations were interviewed about World Vision - assisted efforts to help with emergency food and clothing.[30] Several of the commercial-type appeals offered viewers the opportunity to donate $15 to purchase a Cambodian "Survival Kit" containing food, clothing and cooking utensils. The practice of establishing "dollar handles" to help donors visualize in tangible terms how their gift could help people became a regular fixture in all future World Vision programs. This appeal, once again, was an attempt to simplify the message of world hunger in a simple act which achieved immediate results, a strategy that made for good television and successful fundraising.

Telethons Foster Interactive, Direct Response

Even as "They Search for Survival" was still airing, Reid proposed that World Vision create more focused direct-response telethon programming. The documentary approach still lacked the immediacy of breaking news, an urgency and timeliness Reid felt would motivate people to make more frequent donations.[31] Reid said the inspiration for the telethon did not come from the Muscular Dystrophy Association (MDA), the pioneer agency using this approach, but from a small agency that sent Bibles into Eastern Europe. The World Literature Crusade telethon was not well-produced, according to Reid, but it demonstrated to him that the Christian message could be adapted to the telethon format. The resulting

World Vision experiment, "What Will You Say to a Hungry World?" premiered in August 1975 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Four other World Vision telethons aired during the next five years.

World Vision's approach to telethon fundraising differed from the one-day network-focused model used by the MDA, which purchased television time on several stations around the country to present a marathon show lasting up to 24 hours. The World Vision formula was to purchase five-hour blocks of television time in a single city on a single night and thus avoid a large one-day outlay of cash to purchase air time all at once. It also allowed the Russ Reid Agency to test different appeals and format changes which would make the next presentation of the telethon more economically efficient. Producer Gary Evans noted that the telethon was not the documentary with commercials that characterized the first two World Vision specials; rather it was a tightly scripted fundraising program designed to lead people to ask "how much?" when the appeal for funds was finally made.

Telethon's Fast-Paced Format

Viewing the telethons in sequence, it is difficult to tell if the content drives the evolution of the format; or if "what works" to motivate response from television viewers led to the faster-paced content relying on shocking images, a real or imagined sense of urgency, and appeals to American ethnocentrism.

The format consisted of taped stories from overseas focused on people who needed assistance; live studio appeals for donations made by hosts such as Mooneyham, Linkletter and other celebrities; commercial-style "fact breaks" providing brief bits of information about world hunger and its effects on children; and an occasional dramatic reading or monologue on hunger presented by a celebrity. Appeals for funds were interspersed throughout the various elements of the program. Among those endorsing World Vision in live or taped segments were Billy Graham, Senator Mark Hatfield, Senator George McGovern, astronaut James Irwin, actors Dennis Weaver and James Whitmore, future First Lady Nancy Reagan, the Muppets, actresses Julie Andrews and Carol Lawrence and a host of athletes and other movie stars.

The first World Vision telethon combined live studio presentations with taped segments. Several weeks of publicity by the Russ Reid Agency had created a strong level of local awareness of the telethon, and overall

viewership met World Vision's expectations. With the success of this initial presentation, similar telethons were then staged in several dozen American cities.[32]

The logistical difficulties of staging live telethons around the country soon drained Mooneyham and Linkletter. Thus the second telethon, "The Cry of a Hurting World. . . I'm Hungry," moved to a totally taped format, one that could be presented on any television station at any time when affordable air time could be purchased. The format for this and subsequent telethons was even more quickly paced than the first presentation.

Research based on viewer response indicated that most viewers watched the program an average of 12 minutes before changing the channel. Hence in the second telethon, the elements leading to the appeal for funds took on a faster pace, a pacing which infomercial producers would later find elicits the maximum possible audience response.[33] While overall income dipped slightly as World Vision moved from a live format to a totally taped format, the most important financial barometer—pledges gained per cost of the show—improved. [34]

The third telethon, "Come Love the Children," was released in 1979. The show was hosted by Art Linkletter and Carol Lawrence, with Mooneyham assuming his familiar role as the authority on the Third World. Although this program format generated millions of dollars in donations, its success was blunted somewhat as Russ Reid Company media buyers found it increasingly expensive to purchase air time, especially in contiguous five-hour blocks. Thus there was some concern on the part of Mooneyham and Reid about whether to proceed with a fourth telethon.[35] After much discussion, World Vision released a fourth telethon in 1980, but it was created in one-hour modules which could stand alone or be united into two, three, four or five-hour blocks. This approach to programming alleviated the need to purchase five-hour blocks of time and allowed World Vision to test a variety of approaches to story content, formatting, and what viewers would be asked to fund.[36]

Stark Imagery, Urgent Appeals

The format and content of the World Vision telethons were intimately linked, one affecting the other. In other words, as the format's pacing increased to accommodate the short attention span of television viewers with remote controls, the content was in turn altered. Television, the tool through which World Vision communicated, became, in essence,

the master of the content. Using stark imagery and eerie music, rather than an abundance of words, the overseas segments often depicted matchstick thin children, their faces covered with flies, listlessly looking into the camera. Often these children were too lethargic even to eat. These shorthand images were designed to shock viewers into action and to play upon existing stereotypes of the hopelessness and helplessness of people living in poverty in the Third World.

Along with the stark images, a more urgent appeal accompanied the images—an appeal which emphasized the need for immediate action while attempting to make viewers feel guilty because of their relative abundance. In the second telethon, Mooneyham told the story of a four-year-old girl living in northern Kenya. In the opening scene-setting shot, a crippled child crawled by the camera and disappeared into a mud and thatch hut. The camera then moved to Mooneyham standing in front of the hut where the viewer was introduced to Ataba, the four-year-old girl. Directly addressing the camera, Mooneyham told viewers that every day Ataba faithfully led her blind grandmother across the hard-baked earth, by means of a tether, to the Africa Inland Mission feeding center. At the center, the grandmother received nutritional supplements and other medicines.

After relating Ataba's story of love for her grandmother, Mooneyham then addressed the viewer directly, while children played in the dusty background. "When you think about this little child, you realize everybody can do something [to help another person]. My question right now is, 'Are you doing something?'" Mooneyham then proceeded to relate the biblical story of a prostitute who anointed Jesus' feet with oil. Jesus told an astonished and agitated crowd that the woman had done what she could to show her love for Him. Mooneyham then concluded with: "I hope that's what he's going to say about you. Make that call now."

Donor testimonials also were used to solicit funds. With Mooneyham seated beside him in a studio, Mario de Vito, a Roman Catholic believer,[37] told viewers that after watching the first World Vision telethon he felt God telling him to sell his house and help starving children. With the assent of his wife and two young boys, de Vito eventually gave the organization a check for $47,000. Mooneyham complimented Vito's generosity, eliciting the response, "I consider it a small sacrifice." DeVito concluded his testimony by telling Mooneyham that God rewarded the family's faithful and sacrificial giving with a series of miracles, eventually allowing the family to purchase a new house with virtually no down payment. The implications for other viewers were obvious.

In assessing donor response to the telethons, World Vision's in-house research analyst Ed Gruman noted that the greatest response from donors came immediately after the presentation of graphic or emotional footage from a crisis spot.[38] Gruman's findings are consistent with the nature of television with its emphasis on action and immediacy, realities Mooneyham and Reid acknowledged as future programs were prepared. By the mid-1970s, the large increase in donations to the graphically-oriented relief appeals of the third and fourth telethons allowed World Vision to undertake a vast expansion of its projects in Africa and Latin America.[39]

Half-Hour Crisis Specials

During 1978 and 1979, Mooneyham hosted two half-hour shows—one on the crisis in Uganda, the other on the Vietnamese Boat People—that attempted to capitalize on life-and-death news headlines, and to challenge Americans to donate to a crisis appearing concurrently on nightly news broadcasts. Neither World Vision program generated an acceptable level of financial pledges per dollar spent on production. Still, the boat people program was considered a success by World Vision executives because it generated international attention for the organization, and because the lessons learned from its filming informed the creation of future one-hour specials.

In 1978, World Vision chartered an old freighter and began plying the South China Sea in search of fleeing Vietnamese. Dubbed "Operation Seasweep," the rescue operation became the basis for the fundraising program, "Escape to Nowhere." The program opened with news footage of a refugee boat landing on a Malaysian beach as the narrator told viewers these were people "the world does not want." The clear implication was that Americans had also abandoned the Vietnamese people, and should feel guilty enough to help the refugees in their hour of need. Mooneyham then appeared on-screen to interview two refugees who said they had risked death and the threat of marauding pirates on the South China Sea, only to find an unwelcome reception in Malaysia. An eerie music track reinforced the image of bleakness and despair of the first segment. A short commercial followed, asking people to contribute funds to help the refugees.

While the first segment focused on the need, the second spot highlighted World Vision's response. This segment was filmed on board "Seasweep" as the mercy ship assisted a refugee boat adrift on the South

China Sea. The cameras rolled as sick Vietnamese were quickly brought on board for medical treatment, and Mooneyham learned from the captain the details of the group's attempts to reach safe haven. The camera depicted the weary, drained condition of the refugees, yet their leader said in a voice-over in broken English that the people would rather die than return to the oppression of communism.

As the medical personnel completed their work, the refugees were given extra food, water, clothing and a compass, and they set off for Malaysia. An emotional Mooneyham was shown waving to the refugees as their boat sailed away. As the boat became a tiny speck on the water, Mooneyham's voice rose as he told viewers that "Seasweep" could not rescue the refugees and take them to a refugee camp because Asian governments in the area had made it clear that "Seasweep" would not be welcome in their ports of entry if it came bearing "illegal refugees," as the boat people were then viewed.

"Escape to Nowhere" ended with Mooneyham appealing to viewers to remember that their ancestors were welcomed to America even though they also had been refugees: "From that day until this, we have never refused to open our hearts, our hands, yes, and our doors to any people who sought to live as free men." He concluded his appeal by urging Americans to exhibit compassion toward the Vietnamese in a blatant appeal to the American myth that the US is the upholder of liberty, freedom and compassion for the rest of the world.

The initial response to "Escape to Nowhere" was slow, until the plight of the boat people, and the work of World Vision's "Seasweep," were publicized in a variety of international news reports.[40] Still the presence of the World Vision rescue boat spurred the American government and the United Nations to undertake worldwide efforts to help the boat people, and World Vision received international acclaim for its efforts.[41]

The Ingredients of Success: Hunger & Disease in Africa

Even as Mooneyham was desperately trying to rally World Vision to fund ever-increasing assistance to the Boat People, a famine of apocalyptic proportions was brewing in Africa. Accompanied by actress Carol Lawrence, Mooneyham went to Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia to gather footage for "Crisis in the Horn of Africa," which premiered in 1981. This program used a blend of graphic, action-oriented footage and an in-studio setting similar to that of a newsroom. Donor response to "Crisis in the Horn of Africa" eventually totaled $9.23 pledged for every dollar spent in

production and air-time purchase. This stands as the highest pledge ratio of any World Vision program produced during the 1970s and 1980s. The program also served to alert World Vision viewers to the calamity in Ethiopia that would reach its peak with the famine in 1984 and 1985.

In the program's first segment from Somalia, Mooneyham stood in the midst of hundreds of straw dwellings erected at the Las Dhure refugee camp. Built to accommodate 30,000 people, Las Dhure was home to 76,000 people when World Vision television crews arrived. Here the cameras focused on emaciated children, some covered with flies, as viewers confronted the horrors of war and its effects upon innocent children and mothers. Another segment was filmed in northern Kenya, where tribal cattle raiding had occurred for centuries.

During a trip to a remote village, Mooneyham and Lawrence (unplanned and unscripted) drove into the midst of a pitched battle. One cattle rustler lay sprawled in the blood-soaked sand, eliciting a gasp of horror from Lawrence. Meanwhile Mooneyham and American missionary Dick Hamilton carried a wounded villager to the van for transport to a hospital. As this segment ended, Mooneyham pledged that he and World Vision would provide emergency food and agricultural assistance to the traumatized villagers. Back in the studio, reliving the terror of that day with Lawrence, Mooneyham announced that all of the children in the village were now sponsored by World Vision, meaning they and their families would receive guaranteed assistance with supplemental food, education, healthcare and other needs.

The final segment was filmed in Bume, Ethiopia, a dusty village in the drought-starved southern portion of the country. Mooneyham and a film crew arrived in a dilapidated DC-3 airplane to find 2,000 villagers sitting quietly under a large tree, expecting that the DC-3 was bringing them badly needed food. Mooneyham told the throng he had no food, but that he would get some as quickly as possible. "It's the hardest thing I've ever done," he told the viewer, noting that without food the people would resort to eating bitter leaves and roots. "I've got to deliver something," he said a few minutes later. To do so, he noted, World Vision must change its plan to survey the need and then plan a project. The gravity of the situation he encountered demanded immediate response.

As Mooneyham finished his dialogue with the viewer at home, he was confronted (again, unscripted) by a short, balding woman named Amila. Her shabby leather shawl, draped over one shoulder, exposed a breast too dried out to feed her children. But there was fire in her voice as she told Mooneyham she came expecting food and all she found was a

film crew.[42] Mooneyham thanked her for her candor and vowed to get food to her the next day. In consultation with government relief officials and his Ethiopian director, Tesfatsion Dalellew, Mooneyham learned that getting food to this area would be very difficult and funds were not readily available.

When the cameras stopped rolling, Mooneyham insisted that the Ethiopia field staff of World Vision find food immediately, and an agreement was made with Ethiopian government officials to purchase food for delivery the next day. That next day, with the cameras rolling again, Mooneyham was unloading grain from the DC-3 and he told viewers, "because of faithful giving of people like you, we were able to keep a solemn promise." Mooneyham then added that World Vision had purchased food "on faith" trusting viewers to supply the needed funds after the fact. The final scene in this segment showed Mooneyham meeting Amila for a handshake of friendship. "When human life is at stake, you don't pause to count the cost, you act!" Mooneyham explained to the viewer.[43]

"Crisis in the Horn of Africa" was the final production involving Mooneyham. He resigned in late 1982, after a contentious meeting with the World Vision International Board of Directors. The issues reportedly discussed at that meeting included what the board felt was his dictatorial leadership approach, the need for an international president with a less ethnocentric American communication style, and the disintegration of his marriage.[44] After Mooneyham's resignation, World Vision executives agreed to appoint two people to fill his position: an international president overseeing the global efforts of the organization, and an executive director in charge of fundraising in the United States.

While the international board wanted a different approach to communication, World Vision's United States fundraising efforts flourished using the television fundraising model Mooneyham and Reid developed. Using "Crisis in the Horn of Africa" as a model, the Russ Reid Company continued to produced dozens more programs during the height of the Ethiopia crises and right up until today. Celebrities such as Alex Trebek, Gary Collins, Mary Ann Mobley, and Sara Purcell replaced Mooneyham as host of these programs. With increased funding leading to more and more assistance projects, World Vision built up even more credibility with the US government and large corporate donors, leading to even more donations from those sources. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) channeled millions of dollars to

World Vision - operated Ethiopian feeding centers during the height of that country's crisis.[45]

World Vision as Television Fundraising Pioneer

Although World Vision was the first international aid agency to successfully use television to raise funds, it was not the only agency to recognize the power of television to generate income. After leaving World Vision, Mooneyham was asked to serve as an adviser to the Rev. Larry Jones, the founder of a Christian relief agency named Feed the Children. During the mid-1980s, Mooneyham gave a short motivational message on Feed the Children's half-hour fundraising program, a program patterned after the model he and Reid developed for World Vision. Until his death in 1994, Mooneyham continued to give advice and counsel to Rev. Jones as Feed the Children grew. Today the organization continues to use a similar format, airing a weekly half-hour fundraising special shown on 80 independent stations and cable's Family Channel.[46]

Even before Mooneyham's departure from World Vision, other international aid organizations—those with a Christian motivation and those with no religious affiliation—produced television programs hoping to chip away at World Vision's monopoly in this arena of fundraising. In 1978, Food for the Hungry aired "I Was Hungry. . .," hosted by the organization's founder, Larry Ward, and actress Tippi Hedren. Prior to starting FFH, Ward served as a World Vision vice president. The FFH program relied on Ward's production skills and was created with a small budget. The production quality was amateurish and the program did not contain the appeals to urgency or the emotional qualities that characterized the World Vision programs. Food for the Hungry has not attempted program-length fundraising since that first experiment.

In 1984, the evangelical charity World Concern aired a "variety" special, using music and light-hearted entertainment to entice viewers to give money to help Third World children. Several former executives with the Russ Reid Agency assisted World Concern with that production. While the production quality was equal to that of a World Vision program, the appeal to help starving children did not mix well with light-hearted musical entertainment that was sprinkled throughout the program. World Concern did not air future programs on television.[47]

One of the better-known agencies, Christian Children's Fund, began using spokesperson Sally Struthers in 1976. Struthers appears in numer-

ous one and two-minute commercial spots for the agency's childcare programs. The format for these ads, still aired on cable television, is in essence a mini-version of the World Vision appeal—a spokesperson telling viewers about the urgent needs of children and asking people to respond. As Struthers talks, televised images of hungry children fill the screen. According to its official history, however, Christian Children's Fund has not aired a 30- or 60-minute fundraising program.[48]

The humanitarian wing of the United Nations, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) aired "Celebrate the Children" in 1984. Russ Reid, the program's producer, said the child-focused two-hour effort raised considerable funds. However, UNICEF balked at committing additional seed money for the purchase of television time necessary to make this type of fundraising a long-term success.

World Vision has remained the pre-eminent organization in televised fundraising for international humanitarian work, while most other agencies have used television only sporadically. That the organization had a head start in generating the programming expertise and relations with television stations is a factor that has allowed World Vision to keep that pre-eminent position. Another, and perhaps more important reason, is that World Vision—in keeping with the conversionist approach to culture—felt free to experiment with various formats and messages and to craft an appeal that reached as large a potential audience as possible. The other Christian agencies did not have the financial strength or theological beliefs necessary to mount a long-term use of television.

Organizations like UNICEF, in appealing only to humanitarian values, lacked entree to the largest potential audience willing to hear a message about helping the poor—namely Protestant Christians. According to long-time World Vision producer Martin Lonsdale, now a vice president for television production, the continual airing of World Vision programming has greatly benefited all agencies involved in raising funds through the child sponsorship scheme.[49] According to Lonsdale, who meets regularly with sponsorship directors of several dozen aid agencies, the aid community recognizes that the continual presence of World Vision programs focused on the needs of people, and specifically the needs of children, has created a brand name awareness for sponsorship that has helped all agencies use this fund-raising product—which can be advertised through direct mail, magazine and newspaper space ads, and radio spots.

World Vision's Conversionist Approach

World Vision's programs appealed to its evangelical Christian constituency and those who were motivated by humanitarian, rather than evangelical, values. An examination of both these audiences helps shed light on the historical and social factors that created a strong response to World Vision's message.

World Vision was founded by evangelicals and the evangelical philosophy of the "conversionist" approach influenced its programming. In World Vision's circumstances, the appeal to evangelical values stressed that the preaching of salvation needed to be accompanied by a visible sign of Christian compassion. Inherent in the World Vision fundraising appeal, which relied heavily on the construction of messages evoking guilt, was the implicit message that by responding, the donor gained a bit of personal salvation from the guilt of being a wealthy Christian in a world marked by rampant hunger. This message found favor among hundreds of thousands of Christians attracted to World Vision's programs.

World Vision's success might also be explained by looking more closely at trends within the evangelical movement during the 1970s. As World Vision began its telethon programming in 1975, Baptist lay minister Jimmy Carter was running for president. The year of Carter's election, 1976, was declared by several magazines as the Year of the Evangelical.[50] Likewise, evangelical ministries such as Pat Robertson's "700 Club" and Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour" rallied conservative Christians to political action, leading to the seeming merger of evangelicals and conservative political leaders.

The 1970s was a heady time for evangelicals because of media preoccupation with the televangelists, who had not yet seen their credibility plunge as a result of financial and moral irregularities that would occur in the 1980s. Still, the evangelical movement did not have a consistent platform, nor was it united politically, despite media stories depicting a monolithic movement.[51] *Christianity Today* noted that in the 1970s, Christian believers—Protestant and Catholic alike—were torn by issues such as abortion rights, homosexuality, the role of women in church leadership, and the continuing debate over the literal interpretation of the Bible.[52] In assessing this situation at the end of the decade, evangelical theologian and historian Carl F. H. Henry, the founding editor of *Christianity Today*, said that the evangelical movement, despite its advances, continued to "remain on the margin of national life and public conscience" because it had not placed "worldly culture on the defensive."[53]

The advantage of the World Vision programs is that their message was not controversial; few evangelicals could argue with the need to reach out to help people in the name of Jesus, to give a cup of cold water or bread to those less fortunate. The Christian responsibility to respond to a hungry world transcended the culture wars in America, and the fact that the message was transmitted through television made it all the more compelling. Hoover notes, "The greater influence of television lies not in its ability to brainwash or radically change people's minds on a particular issue, but in its ability to coalesce an audience around a particular issue."[54] Indeed, the World Vision message also appealed to liberal Protestants who watched their call for Christian social action discredited, and then later co-opted, by evangelical agencies like World Vision, which stressed social action as a means of evangelism.[55] The success of the World Vision message with Christians, then, can be attributed to two factors. First, the connection of biblical teachings stressing aid to the poor appealed to the evangelical wing of Christianity. Second, the message stressing social responsibility appealed to liberal Christians concerned with putting their beliefs into action.

World Vision Used Narrative Appeal

While its appeal was based on Christian values, much of the content of World Vision's programming appealed to generally-accepted cultural values. These included compassion and justice for the less fortunate, extending a hand of assistance to those who are down and out, and the belief that America is the world's God-ordained savior in the crusade against Godless communism and dictatorial oppression. The World Vision programs reinforced these notions with visual footage emphasizing stereotypes of the noble African or downtrodden Asian who needed to be rescued by people blessed with abundance.

Anthropologist Jonathan Benthall contends that an understanding of the role myths and narratives play in everyday communication further explains the appeal of programs like those aired by World Vision.[56] He maintains that both journalists and aid agency communicators have perpetuated a folktale-like mythology about the helplessness of Third World victims of poverty and hunger, and the role of Westerners in alleviating that need. This narrative story subconsciously frames the expectations of journalists writing about international disasters like famine, and it is the underlying narrative that runs throughout World Vision's television programming. In the folktale, there is a hero, perhaps

an expatriate field worker or a foreign correspondent; a villain, occasionally someone like Pol Pot or Idi Amin; a donor, someone who provides assistance; and magical helper, in this case money or technology that can alleviate the misfortune discovered by the hero. Benthall further asserts that there is a false hero, usually a charity that is squandering money or using unethical fundraising tactics; and occasionally there is a dispatcher. The dispatcher is someone who first notices a "lack" or a misfortune. Completing the cast of characters is a princess, "any person of rank and/or charisma who intervenes and rewards."

Benthall's most important observation is that "even when only a part of a narrative relating to disaster is shown on television—for instance, pictures of starving babies, or an aeroplane setting off from a familiar airport bringing supplies, or an ambassador thanking the public for their generosity—viewers come to recognize it as part of the total narrative convention."[57] In other words, viewers seeing only a small part of the story know enough about the overall story to fill in the gaps, and they have a built-in expectation that everyone lives happily ever after.

Benthall admits that his ideas, heavily borrowed from a morphology of folktales espoused by Russian critic Vladimir Propp, are not to be taken as a formalized theory.[58] Yet his conception provides a powerful explanation as to why audiences may have responded so readily to the World Vision appeal to help the world's "damsels in distress." Viewers already knew the story line, and were waiting for someone to ask them to become the donor providing the magical agent to help people in poverty to live happily ever after. World Vision's chief researcher, Ed Gruman, noted, "People say they contribute because: 1) they need a means to show their love to those who stand in need of a demonstration of love; 2) they believe in the goals and performance of the organization requesting their support."[59]

Fighting Stereotypes to Tinker with "What Works"

That World Vision's programs played on stereotypes and reinforced notions related to the poor was not lost on Mooneyham.[60] In a memo written to World Vision's television producers, he railed against the "three and a half minute rule," a reference to the need to cave in to "what works" best on television—namely a system that Horsfield says "includes contextual characteristics such as the tendency to simplify and sensationalize events and issues and to promise and provide instant gratification" with

an emphasis on power, happiness and success as ultimate values.[61] Mooneyham, instead, asked producers to "make the story as informative as we can for the viewer and . . . treat them with the integrity which both the story and the viewer deserve."[62]

Several attempts were made to insert historical and cultural information into scripts in such a way that they reflected favorably on the people, particularly the women, featured in the program. Two variety specials focused on children, and a weekly program focused on missionary success, were also aired by World Vision during Mooneyham's presidency.[63] These programs failed to raise enough funds to justify the continued purchase of air time. Likewise, whenever World Vision added telethon segments extolling the cultural virtues of a particular country, or the success of long-term development projects, viewership and telephone response rates plummeted.[64]

So Mooneyham bowed to the reality that because it was expensive to film and produce a program, and even more difficult to purchase television time to air programs, the message needed to be tightly focused and simplistic in keeping with the dictates of television. In the process, truth may have been skewed as graphic images delivered a deceptive message that people on the television screen would die without direct immediate intervention by the donor. Still, like their televangelist counterparts, Mooneyham and Reid were steeped in an evangelical belief espousing "dramatic change and interventions of God, making their message more adaptable to television's predilections toward sensationalism."[65]

While the messages may have occasionally misrepresented the total reality of the need, they did generate millions of dollars to help those who needed temporary assistance. They also helped viewers understand that long-term solutions—nutritional training, agricultural improvement, education, sanitation and such—were necessary to avoid a repeat of famine and chronic poverty.

While alerting Americans to the needs of people in the Third World, World Vision created through its television programming the seeds of credibility that would make it a key player in the coordination of world response to the Ethiopian famine that would occur in 1984. By pioneering a vision of how television could be used to compel people to respond to a hungry world, World Vision grew from an obscure agency in the 1950s to one of the better-funded and more prominent American charities of the 1980s and 1990s.

Endnotes

[1]Total compiled from a review of the organization's annual reports from 1973 to 1983. Copies obtained from the World Vision archives. The author faced difficulties finding adequate financial figures for television program income and relied on annual reports, interviews with World Vision executives, and memos found in the organization's archives to piece together the progression of growth from a fundraising standpoint.

[2]Jonathan Benthall, *Disasters, Relief and the Media*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 1993), 155.

[3]These executives include Ted. W. Engstrom, president emeritus, World Vision. Personal interview, 9 December 1993, Monrovia, Calif.; Martin Lonsdale, Senior Director of Marketing, World Vision. Personal interview, 18 November, 1993, Monrovia, Calif.; and Ed Gruman, Director of Decision Support, World Vision. Personal interview, 18 November, 1993, Monrovia, Calif.

[4]Benthall, 123.

[5]Michael Woolridge, the BBC radio correspondent who accompanied Buerk, claims World Vision has not received enough credit for its role in alerting the world to the devastating Ethiopia famine of 1984 and 1985. He said this during a personal interview, 18 March, 1995, London.

[6] Scant mention is made in Robert Abelman and Stewart M. Hoover, eds. *Religious Television: Controversies and Conclusions* (Norwood, NJ: Hampton Press Inc. 1990); Razelle Frankl, *Televangelism: The Marketing of Popular Religion* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987); Stewart M. Hoover, *Mass Media Religion: The Social Sources of the Electronic Church* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988); Peter G. Horsfield, *Religious Television: The American Experience* (New York: Longman Inc., 1984); George Marsden, ed. *Evangelicalism and Modern America* (Grand Rapics, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984); and Janice Peck, *The Gods of Televangelism: The Crisis of Meaning and the Appeal of Religious Television* (Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press Inc. 1993).

[7]John Robert Hamilton, "An Historical Study of Bob Pierce and World Vision's Development of the Evangelical Social Action Film," (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1980).

[8]c.f. Marilee Dunker, *Man of Vision, Woman of Prayer* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1980); Ted W. Engstrom, "World Vision: Past and Present," speech to field director's conference, Monrovia, California, 1981; Richard Gehman, *Let My Heart Be Broken* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960); and Norm Rohrer, *Open Arms* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers, 1987).

[9]Franklin Graham with Jeanette Lockerbie, *Bob Pierce: This One Thing I Do* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1983), 58-77.

[10]Audio tape of Bob Pierce memorial service, Los Angeles, California, 11 September 1978. Among the dozens of missions and churches receiving aid from World Vision were Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Pentecostals and a variety of nondenominational groups. Among the stipulations for receiving World Vision funding were: the agency requesting funds had to tell how the planned project would assist the spreading of the Christian message in a local geographical area; and aid projects must be carried out in such a way that everyone benefited—aid recipients must not be discriminated against based on their religious beliefs.

[11]Graham. 17-18.

[12]Peck, 66, 67.

[13]Quentin Schultze, "The Mythos of the Electronic Church," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987), 258.

[14]Quoted in William Martin, "Giving the Winds a Mighty Voice," in Abelman and Hoover, 65.

[15]James Hefley, *God Goes to High School* (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1970), 19.

[16]Joel A. Carpenter, "From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition," in Marsden, 15.

[17]Engstrom, personal interview.

[18]c.f. William Martin, *A Prophet with Honor: The Billy Graham Story*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991), 331.

[19]Engstrom, personal interview; and Hamilton, 187.

[20]Russ Reid, personal interview, 7 January 1994, Pasadena, CA.

[21]Jerry McClun, Senior Vice President, Russ Reid Company, personal interview. 22 December 1993, Pasadena, California. For a detailed discussion of the impact of the FCC's decisions on religious programming, see Horsfield, 8-15.

[22]From the outset it was a World Vision policy that their lead celebrity spokespeople must visit projects overseas so they could provide a first-hand testimony to the organization's work. Reid said the selection of Linkletter as host was critical to the first special because few people outside the Christian evangelical community knew Mooneyham. "Linkletter was one of the most trusted people in America at the time. We borrowed his repuration, and his sincere endorsement of World Vision was very important" (From Reid, personal interview). A *Business Week* article from 1972 mentioned Linkletter's "extraordinary credibility with the public." See "A Celebrity's Pitch raises some doubts," *Business Week*, 20 May 1972, 32.

[23]"Children of Zero: A 'Special' Special for the Whole Family," news release, 22 May 1972. From World Vision archives.

[24]Nearly eighty reporters who had covered Vietnam during the height of the war met at a conference at the University of Southern California in 1983. They noted that for the most part their coverage of the war ignored the victims of the war—the Vietnamese and the veterans. (see Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 5th edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1984), 614

[25]Sponsorship was a concept developed by the Christian Children's Fund. Donors were asked to make a monthly pledge to meet some of the needs of a particular child in the Third World. In return the donor received a picture and description of the child, periodic progress reports, and the opportunity to correspond with the child. For more on the history of sponsorship, see Edmund W. Janss, *Yankee S!* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1961); and Larry E. Tise, *A Book About Children: the World of Christian Children's Fund, 1938-1991* (Falls Church, Virginia: Hartland Publishing Co., 1992).

[26]Reid, personal interview.

[27]World Vision executives and its board established a policy that over time a program must bring in four dollars in donations for every dollar spent on production and air time purchase costs. The ratio was calculated over the entire length of time the film aired, not necessarily during a pre-determined fiscal year accounting period. Still, decisions about the wisdom of continuing to air a show were made based upon initial donations received during the first few months a show aired. As sophisticated computer tracking models were developed, the organization was able to predict fairly accurately how a program would do based upon donor response to the first few airings. Telephone interview with Martin Lonsdale, 23 October 1996.

[28]Gary Evans, Senior Vice President, Russ Reid Agency, personal interview. 10 December 1993.

[29]Evans, personal interview.

[30]World Vision's philosophy has been to fund existing groups in Third World countries. During the 1950s through the 1970s these groups were divided between missionaries from Western countries and indigenous churches or humanitarian agencies founded on Christian principles. Now the organization works almost exclusively through local development committees or indigenous churches unless there is not a so-called "partner agency" available.

[32]Neither World Vision nor the Russ Reid Agency kept a list of cities where the first telethon aired. In fact, records of airings during the entire decade were not archived in either the World Vision or Russ Reid Company archives.

[33]Summarizing years of research on this topic, World Vision's Ed Gruman noted: "The modular approach within W.V. tv programs, of making a complete need presentation every 12-15 minutes or so, is well suited to bringing a 'sale' to a close. Many people [during research] commented about how depressing or how awful the depicted circumstances were, leading us to speculate donors may not watch much after making their phone call." Ed Gruman, memo to World Vision executives, "Latest Survey of Television Respondents at Telecomm Ctr," 25 September 1985. World Vision archives.

[34]McClun, interview.

[35]Ed Gruman, personal interview, 7 January 1994, Monrovia, California.

[36]Martin Lonsdale, in-house World Vision producer, phone conversation 23 October 1996. The names of these one-hour programs were: "Africa's Weeping. . . And Who's Listening?" "The Silent Crisis," "Love Plus One," "All God's Children," and "Our Forgotten Family."

[37]By 1980, some 20 percent of the organization's donors would be Roman Catholic, a statement of how television expanded the universe of potential donors to the organization. Source: Gruman, "Latest Survey.

[38]Gary Evans, "Evaluations and Recommendations for Changes in Telethon 2," memo to W. Stitt, R. Reid, B. Screen, B. Kliewer, J.McClun, 17 October 1977. World Vision archives.

[39]According to Martin Lonsdale (telephone interview October 23, 1996) funds flowed into World Vision so quickly that a new division was created to find and fund worthy projects in Africa, leading to the eventual establishment of a strong indigenous World Vision Africa regional presence. "Those telethons and the funds they created changed the face of World Vision from a primarily Asian ministry to a truly international one. The funds catapulted World Vision into a whole new plateau," Lonsdale said.

[40]c.f. "Desperate Voyage," BBC Everyman Series, July 1979.; "Exodus 78," *Stern*, November 1978: 41-60; "CBS Reports: The Boat People," 16 January 1979; "CBS Evening News," 16 November 1978; "NewsCenter 4," Los Angeles, 29 November 1978; and "KHJ News," Los Angeles, 7 December 1978; ABC News, 12 July 1979; "CBS Nightly News," 12 July 1979; "Refugees rescued by U.S. Shop Tell of Abuses by Malaysians," Associated Press story printed in the *Los Angeles Times*, 15 July 1979, A-13; John Saar, "A Helping Hand," *Newsweek*, 30 July 1979 n. p.; and Paul Dean, "Coming to the Aid of the Boat People," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 July 1979, IV-1.

[41]In addition to chartering, and eventually purchasing, a boat to assist refugees, Mooneyham spoke out against what he saw as the callous or indifferent response of Asian governments and the U.S. He told People magazine that, "The U.S. has a larger responsibility to the refugees of Vietnam than to any other nation. They are the driftwood of our war. We created in them a desire for freedom." That same article said of Mooneyham, "There is probably no other individual in the world with more understanding of and experience with refugees than Mooneyham." See "Stan Mooneyham Gets Help at Last in his Fight to Save the Boat People," *People Weekly*, 6 August 1979, 78.

[42]Amila's ambush of Mooneyham is an interesting anecdote when looked at within the context of a recent Journalism & Mass Communciation Monographs article by Jo Ellen Fair. In the article, Fair notes that Ethiopian and Somali women shown in famine reports from the 1980s were portrayed as victims, their emaciated breasts a symbol of poverty and powerlessness. While the image of Amila is consistent with Fair's contention, her strong voice and demand upon Mooneyham and World Vision portrays an empowered woman voicing her displeasure with the system of bureaucracy in place in Ethiopia at that time. The majority of visual images of women in the World Vision programs, it must be noted, are similar to those Fair found in network news broadcasts. See Jo Ellen Fair, "The Body Politic, the Bodies of Women, and the Politics of Famine in U.S. Television Coverage of Famine in the Horn of Africa," *Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs*, August 1996, 158.

[43]Several publications detail Mooneyham's sense of urgency in helping people, and of his impatience at government and charity bureaucrats, and indifferent Americans. c.f. W. Stanley Mooneyham, *What Do You Say To a Hungry World?* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1978); W. Stanley Mooneyham, "The Churches and Development—Caring Can't Wait," *International Review of Mission*, January, 1980; and *People*, 78-82.

[44]In late 1982, the author (who worked at World Vision from 1979 to 1989) traveled with Mooneyham to Ethiopia and Poland on what was the president's last trip for World Vision. Mooneyham discussed with me and his son, Eric, some of the issues that might be raised. World Vision had evolved from an organization controlled by American board members to an international partnership, formed in 1978, that had become increasingly uncomfortable with Mooneyham's ability to plan projects in a field country and then return to the U.S. to raise funds. Some board members had suggested that Mooneyham should not remain as both the international president and the head of the American fund-raising entity.

[45]Total donations to the organization for fiscal year 1985 were $237.4 million with $96.6 of that coming from corporate and U.S. government food donations and cash. Source: "Beyond Survival," World Vision 1987 annual report.

[46] Phone interview, Mac Macabee, Feed the Children Executive Vice President, 21 August 1997.

[47]"The Magnificent Gospel Machine," produced by World Concern, 1985. The program is profiled in "On TV Appeals: It's a Question of Blance," *Direct Marketing*, November 1985, 41.

[48]c.f. Tise.

[49]Martin Lonsale, phone conversation, 23 October 1996.

[50]c.f. "1976: The Year of the Evangelical," *Christian Century*, 29 December 1976, 1165; "Politics from the Pulpit," *Newsweek*, 6 September 1976, 49; and "Back to that Oldtime Religion," *Time*, 26 December 1977, 53-58.

[51]Detailed discussions of the diffuse nature of Protestantism in general, and evangelicalism in particular, are contained in R. Laurence Moore, *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Richard J Stellway, "Religion," in Stephen A Grunlan and Milton Reimer, eds., *Christian Perspectives on Sociology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing, 1982), 245-263.

[52]Carl F. H. Henry, "Evangelicals: Out of the Closet but Going Nowhere?" *Christianity Today*, 4 January 1980, 16-22. Other noteable articles analyzing evangelicals trends also appeared in that issue. These include the staff editorial, "Gaining Perspective after a Decade of Change," 12-14; and Billy Graham, "An Agenda for the 1980s," 23-27.

[53]Henry, 18.

[54]Stewart M. Hoover, *The Electronic Giant* (Elgin, Illinois: The Brethren Press, 1982), quoted in Horsfield, 125.

[55]Leonard I. Sweet discusses the fact that membership in evangelical churches grew in the seventies at the expense of membership in the mainline denominations in part because evangelicals became more socially conscious, engaging in political actions and social programs that had been the hallmark of the liberal agenda in the sixties. See Sweet, in Marsden,43-45.

[56]Benthall, 189-195. Benthall's analysis adapts a morphology of folktales first proposed by Vladimir Propp, who says that folktales can be analyzed by looking at the functions performed by the various personnae in the tale. See V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 2nd edition, trans. by Laurence Scott and revised by Louis A. Wagner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

[57]Benthall, 189.

[58]Jonathan Benthall, personal interview, 20 January 1995, London.

[59]Gruman, "A.S.I. report. . ."

[60]Benthall notes that the agency "has been accused of excessively emotional fund-raising campaigns," but notes that the charge should be considered in historical context as, "Most of the other agencies have also, from time to time, used highly emotional imagery." (see Benthall, pages 155-167 for an analysis of World Vision.) Justifying its reliance on emotion, World Vision has said that the needs of people are emotional and that "It would be unethical for us not to relay the severity of the situation to concerned friends." [See What's World Vision's Answer to That," (Monrovia: World Vision International, 1980), 45.]

[61]Horsfield, 18-19.

[62]W. Stanley Mooneyham, memo to Dave Toycen, no subject, 24 October 1978. Contained in archives of the Russ Reid Company.

[63]"One to One" starring Julie Andrews (1975) and "Hand in Hand" starring James Whitmore (1980) featured entertainment vignettes and singing by the Korean Children's Choir, the Muppets and other celebrities. In addition, a weekly program "Come Walk the World" was produced from 1976 to 1978.

[64]Gruman, personal interview.

[65]Horsfield, 20.

Selling Cable Television in the 1970s and 1980s: Social Dreams and Business Schemes

by William J. Leonhirth

Development of the cable television industry in the United States included two phases: efforts to gain legitimacy in competition with television broadcasting and competition among cable companies for lucrative urban franchises. Both of these phases involved promotion of cable television as the platform for an information revolution that would bring social gains. Changes in federal government policies that increased the legitimacy of cable television amd rescued cable companies from having to meet franchise requirements for an information revolution served the economic interests of cable television companies, collectively and individually, rather than attaining any social goals.

Development of the cable television industry included two phases of promotion. The first phase, which culminated in 1972, with the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC's) Third Report and Order, involved an attempt to expand the availability of broadcasting content and services, to provide a television of "abundance" rather than television based on scarcity of the electromagnetic spectrum. This phase of cable development came as the cable industry was attempting to establish legitimacy in competition with television broadcasting. While supporters of cable television argued that cable could provide more television than broadcast television, an under-

William J. Leonhirth is an Assistant Professor of Communication at the Florida Institute of Technology in Melbourne.

current of this argument was that cable also would provide the platform for an information revolution with narrow casting and two-way services. Public-access cable television had offered one alternative, but even the FCC's access requirements in the Third Report and Order failed to overcome limited and sometimes inadequate use of the opportunities.[1]

With the *Midwest Video II* decision in 1979, supporters of greater public access to mass media sought alternatives to broadcasting through interactive services, including two-way cable television.[2] Then came the rush for urban franchises in the 1980s and these arguments took on a new urgency. Cable television executives indicated that every city needed interactive services as well as greater channel capacity to prosper in a new "information age."

This article will examine these two phases of cable television development in the United States: the changing communications environment and regulatory climate of the 1970s and 1980s, which included suggestions that communication technology (specifically cable television) could address social problems of the day, and how these suggestions affected communication policymaking. Such promotion of cable television parallels contentions now that computer-based interactive services provide opportunities to address social needs of this era and are helping to guide efforts to develop government policies that promote the installation and use of these computer services.

The "Information Revolution" Begins

The late 1960s and early 1970s were a period of high expectations for an "information revolution" because of the development of cable television and other computer and communication advances. The cable industry, as well as government and public interest groups, joined in elevating expectations for the still new medium.[3] These expectations came at a time of social unrest in the country and reflected earlier anticipation of the role that a new communications medium could play in improving society.[4] Although "community antenna television" (CATV) began as a means to bring television signals to areas unable to receive such signals because of distance from broadcasting centers or unfavorable terrain, supporters of cable television promoted the greater channel capacity that cable offered over broadcasting, the possibilities of "narrowcasting" to audiences with specific interests or needs, and the prospect of using two-way cable television to provide interactive services through which viewers could make entertainment choices, shopping decisions or express political views.

Expectations for this "information revolution" included more than new electronic toys. Goals of public interest support for cable television included reconstitution of community, revitalization of democracy, and increased access to communication resources for minority and disadvantaged groups. Proposed was a two-tier delivery system of cable television services with a lower tier of community programming and an upper tier of delivery of broadcast entertainment and information.[5]

Although the FCC in 1966 essentially froze cable system expansion in urban areas, events as diverse as riots in the streets of those urban areas and Neil Armstrong's first steps on the Moon helped to create interest in new communications technology. The lunar mission in 1969 provided an example of technological success and of the rapid pace of technological change. In April 1968, editors of *Science and Technology* magazine devoted the entire issue to the coming "communication revolution." Associate Editor Charles J. Lynch noted effects of such a revolution: "Anything that can dramatically change the means of communication has potential for making great changes in our society.[6]

In 1970 Alvin Toffler introduced the term "future shock" into the US vernacular with the warning that rapid technological changes were creating psychological and social dislocations, and he advised that technological counter-measures could forestall dire effects of such dislocations.[7] Sociologist Daniel Bell,[8] political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski,[9] and others[10] advised that the world was entering a new economic era as different from the industrial era as that era was from the preceding agrarian era. The currency of the new era would be information, and the storage, retrieval, and transmission of information would be the principal occupations of the new day. Marriage of computer and telephone technologies would help to create the "communications revolution."[11] The National Academy of Engineering's Committee on Telecommunications issued a report in 1969 that listed 16 technologies, including cable television, that could help to provide solutions to urban problems.[12] Proponents of cable television saw not only the technological possibilities of the use of coaxial cable but also their applications to social problems.

The Kerner Commission Questions the Media's Role

Racial unrest that had helped to fuel urban riots in the 1960s brought questions about the role of the mass media in urban areas and the access of minorities to the media. In its report on civil disorders, the Kerner Commission did not fault news coverage of the riots but ques-

tioned media attention to minorities and urban areas.[13] The Kerner Commission reported that the mass media had failed to portray adequately the problems of minorities: "The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance are seldom conveyed."[14] In the report of the President's Task Force on Communications Policy, the Rostow panel promoted cable television to increase access to the communications media and to increase the diversity of television offerings.[15] The report indicated that the programming for a broad audience might not meet the needs of minority groups: "Additional television channels and facilities dedicated to their problems, and to the expression of their concerns, talents, and sensibilities are of critical importance to the most fundamental of our national policies – the fulfillment of our commitment to achieve for disadvantaged minorities equality of opportunity and the full enjoyment of American life."[16]

In its 1970 notice of proposed rule-making on cable television regulations the FCC indicated that cable television capabilities could help to reconstitute community.[17] In its 1974 final report, the Cabinet Committee on Cable Communications also foresaw a revitalization of democracy and reconstitution of community: "Rather than increase the alienation of individual from individual and group from group, cable could combine the shared experience of national television with a type of active participation in the political and social progress that was common in the days before urbanization eroded the opportunity for personal involvement in events that affected the community."[18]

Cable Promotes the Community Access Movement

Cable television became a factor in promotion of an access movement that took several forms. Legal scholar Jerome A. Barron sought to expand the notion of the "fairness doctrine" to all mass media to provide a right of reply.[19] Also of concern was provision of public access channels, so all citizens would have the opportunity to present their ideas and interests on cable television. Royal D. Colle, in the early 1960s, noted that cable television could provide highly specialized local programming.[20] Colle contended that community programming would meet FCC goals of increased local expression on television: "[T]he burgeoning CATV industry could be a complement to the highly centralized programming offered over broadcast television stations – it could truly be television at the grassroots."[21]

Helping to generate interest in community access television was Sony's introduction, in 1968, of the first video camera and recorder

unit.[22] Experiments in community access began, in the early 1970s, at public television stations in Boston, San Francisco, and New York. In 1971, a $500,000 grant from the Markle Foundation helped establish the Alternate Media Center at New York University, which became a focal point for development of community television.[23] Public access programming began in Manhattan in 1971, and foundation grants also went to organizations, such as the Alternate Media Center and Open Channel, to facilitate the public's use of cable television access.

Theadora Sklover, founder and executive director of Open Channel, said public groups needed to learn how to shape visual images effectively to counter the insulating effects of broadcast television.[24] Sklover criticized the notion that the nearly full penetration of television in the United States provided a "national village" for members of its audience: "This collective viewing doesn't necessarily make us a village. In fact, it may be destroying basic features of our neighborhood villages. We don't even speak to each other. We simply receive, one-way, a common production from a common source."[25]

Living in a "Wired" Society

Promotion of cable television to solve social problems reached a "critical mass" in the early 1970s as the cable industry, government, and foundation reports explicated the benefits of a "wired" society.[26] A seminal work of that period was the report of the Sloan Commission on Cable Communications in 1971.[27] The report's title indicated that cable could provide "television of abundance." Ralph Lee Smith, a member of the Sloan Commission staff, helped to popularize the recommendations of the panel with an article, "Wired Nation," published in *The Nation* in 1970.[28] Smith expanded the article into a book with the same title in 1972.[29] The subtitle of the book, "Cable TV: The Electronic Communications Highway," provided a foreshadowing of the currently proposed "information superhighway." The Urban Institute in 1971 provided a guide, *Cable Television in the Cities*, for minority involvement in cable television systems.[30] The United Church of Christ in 1972 published *Cable Television: A Guide for Civic Action* to increase public involvement in the development, regulation, and uses of cable television.[31] Grants from the Ford Foundation ($2.5 million) and the Markle Foundation ($500,000) established the Cable Television Information Center at the Urban Institute to provide assistance to municipalities in the granting of cable television franchises.[32]

Critics of the excesses of technological hyperbole described these years as the "blue sky" era of the cable television industry.[33] Critics of the promises also found a useful rhyme as a title for their critiques of cable television promises – the cable fable. *The Yale Review of Law and Social Action* in 1972 devoted an entire issue to the "cable fable" to challenge the findings of the Sloan Commission.[34] In the introductory essay for the issue, Kas Kalba contended that cable television policy making had not included adequate public participation, had not examined the long-range effects of cable development, and had not included social goals such as greater minority ownership.[35] Kalba, a member of the Sloan Commission staff, argued that rather than attempting to meet consumer needs, cable policy "repeatedly protects industry interests whether they may be those of broadcasters, cable system operators, or copyright holders."[36] Debate about cable television and its future promise came to a head in the early 1970s as the Federal Communications Commission attempted to encourage growth of the new medium without jeopardizing the commercial television broadcasting system.

The FCC Ends the Cable Freeze

Between August 1971 and February 1972, the fate of the communication revolution apparently hung in the balance. The FCC in August 1971 had announced formally to Congress plans to allow cable television into the nation's 100 largest broadcasting markets after a five-year "freeze." Supporters of the cable industry contended that without expansion into urban areas, the industry could not increase minorities' opportunities for communication access in cities or have the revenue to develop a wide range of new electronic services: home shopping and banking, entertainment on demand, and direct participation in the political process. Broadcasters indicated that "parasitic" competition from cable television systems would undermine the availability of "free" television to the public, and movie companies questioned retransmission of entertainment fare without royalty fees. In December, the White House brokered a deal to win acquiescence from the affected industries and business groups. In February 1972, the FCC approved a modified plan to end the cable freeze.

Critics and supporters of the FCC cable action, the Third Report and Order, questioned press coverage of the cable television deliberations, particularly in regard to framing of the issues under debate. In 1972 communications consultant Fred W. Friendly argued that a lack of news

coverage had resulted in a business compromise that failed to recognize the public interest: "Most newspapers and broadcast stations botched or ignored the story. After all it is a complex issue. It is my contention that with the possible exception of Vietnam and the cities, telecommunications is more important than any story the media covers, and it gives it short shrift."[37] Stuart P. Sucherman, a Ford Foundation official, indicated in a 1971 *Columbia Journalism Review* analysis that the press essentially had ignored coverage of cable television issues: "Cable TV admittedly is one of the most complex and difficult subjects – but its technological and economic implications are so vast that it could change the way Americans live."[38]

Other commentators indicated that academic and journalistic interest had propelled cable television toward greater acceptance that made the compromise feasible. Bruce Owen of the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy indicated in 1973 that academic interest in cable services had made cable more respectable to Washington policy makers.[39] Kenneth R. Goodwin, a planning official with the FCC, contended in 1973 that "widespread media coverage of the cable debate heightened expectations that the FCC would act to encourage cable growth."[40]

Speculation in the early 1970s about the effects of a cable-led "communication revolution" mirrors current interest in the development of an "information superhighway" and its economic, social, and political effects. Among issues of contention were what roles the federal government, commercial providers, public interest groups, and consumers should have in policymaking for cable television and whether minorities and the disadvantaged would have full access to its services and opportunities. Newspaper coverage of the period generally framed the cable television policy debate in terms of whether a cable-led "communications revolution" would proceed from expansion of cable television systems into the nation's 100 largest markets.

Cable Versus Broadcast

Although "community antenna television" (CATV) began as a means to bring television signals to areas unable to receive such signals because of distance from broadcasting centers or unfavorable terrain features, legal authority for regulation of cable television initially was unclear. A series of lawsuits helped to clarify the FCC's authority to regulate cable. Initial FCC efforts to regulate cable television systems

were without any statutory authority.[41] The FCC's efforts to assume jurisdiction over cable television systems resulted in a series of lawsuits that challenged the regulatory authority of the commission over cable television. In 1968, the US Supreme Court in *US* v. *Southwestern Cable* held that cable television was an "ancillary" or supplementary service to broadcasting[42] and the FCC thus had authority to regulate cable television. The high court in *US* v. *Midwest Video* in 1972 declared a goal was "to integrate the CATV service into the national television structure in such a way as to promote maximum television service to all people of the United States – both those who are cable viewers and those dependent on off-the-air service."[43] The Supreme Court's *Fortnightly* decision in 1968, to the surprise of broadcasters and regulators, provided protection for cable companies from copyright infringement lawsuits.[44]

Supporters of cable television promoted the greater channel capacity that cable offered over broadcasting, the possibilities of "narrowcasting" to audiences with specific interests or needs, and the prospect of using two-way cable television to provide interactive services through which viewers could make entertainment choices or shopping decisions or express political views. The FCC restriction on urban development had attempted to protect broadcast television and particularly the nascent UHF channels.[45] Goals of public-interest support for cable television included reconstitution of community, revitalization of democracy, and increased access to communication resources for minority and disadvantaged groups.

Central to the debate about the future of cable television in the early 1970s was the question of importation of distant signals. Although early cable television systems brought television programs to areas that could not receive over-the-air transmission, cable television companies were attempting to move into urban areas, which already were receiving programming from both network and independent broadcast stations. By 1971, 2,500 cable systems were providing programming to approximately 4.9 million viewers.[46] Cable television, which reached approximately 10 percent of the broadcast television audience,[47] had made inroads into urban areas such as New York and San Diego because of the ability to provide better color transmission and more program diversity,[48] but cable representatives argued that only availability of signals from distant cities could provide the diversity that would make cable television attractive to urban residents.[49]

Broadcasting executives argued that such importation of distant signals would be unfair competition for broadcasters, particularly UHF

stations that were attempting to survive a lack of viewer interest.[50] Although the FCC had attempted to regulate transmission of distant signals by microwave on a case-by-case basis, under pressure (presumably from the broadcast industries) the commission in its 1966 Second Report and Order barred importation of distant signals into the nation's 100 largest broadcast markets, effectively blocking cable entry.[51] In a series of proposals during the next few years, the FCC attempted unsuccessfully to resolve those issues.[52]

By the early 1970s, a number of factors prompted expectations of changes in cable policy. Appointment of Dean Burch as FCC chairman and Clay Whitehead to head the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy essentially brought into the cable-broadcasting debates officials more supportive of cable television than their predecessors.[53] *Broadcasting* magazine reported, a few months after Burch took the FCC post, that "the word is going out of the commission that the chairman is 'pro-CATV.'"[54] Whitehead endorsed "a regulatory framework that is favorable to the growth and development of the cable industry."[55] In 1968 the Rostow Commission report had endorsed development of cable as a means to provide better communication access for minorities in urban areas.[56] The cable television industry also began to restructure, as multiple system operators (MSOs) began to replace smaller cable firms.[57]

Should Cable Be Regulated As A New System of Communication?

The New York Times provided notice of new cable deliberations in March 1971, with FCC public hearings on the future of cable regulations. Although the *Times* did not provide extensive coverage of testimony at the hearings, a report indicated that one problem of such regulation was that cable potential was two-fold, both as a retransmitter of over-the-air signals and with the potential of a number of non-broadcast programs and services, "a new system of communication unto itself."[58] The report also noted broadcasters' characterization of cable systems as "destructive parasites."[59]

Times columnist Max Frankel indicated in a column a few days later that the conflict that the FCC faced was in balancing the promotion of cable television "while making certain, in the early stages, that the widest possible segment of the public will have access both to the management of the system and the material it purveys."[60] Frankel noted the parade of witnesses at the FCC hearings and the interest of many that the FCC effectively plan cable television use for the common good: "The over-

whelming plea of disinterested witnesses is that the commission retain tight control over a medium that is likely to dominate communication in a short time, carrying public, commercial, and personal news, information and entertainment."[61]

In a news story the same day, the *Times* reported that the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ was initiating a program to provide access to cable television for minorities and the poor. The advisory service was to inform citizens of their rights in regard to cable television services and was in response to "concerns that commercial interests would dominate the development of cable communications and deny access to the medium by minorities and the poor."[62]

FCC Chairman Burch in April 1971 had little optimism about quick resolution of the cable controversy when he spoke to a meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters. The *New York Times* also reported that Burch expected Congress to review thoroughly any proposals for resolution of disputes over the future of cable.[63] The *Times* carried an Associated Press dispatch later in April that President Nixon had named a cabinet-level committee to help develop cable television policy. Clay Whitehead was to head the panel with the charge to "permit full development of cable TV's potential without serious disruption of existing television services."[64]

The White House action brought disquiet from the cable television industry. *The New York Times* reported in July that Senator John McClellan, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on patents, trademarks, and copyrights, had not reassured industry delegates at a National Cable Television Association convention. The *Times* reported that McClellan, a Democrat, had referred "to the general feeling in the cable industry that President Nixon's intervention, coming close to the start of an election year, was a pointed reminder to broadcasters that they need a friend in the White House."[65] The *Times* reported that the senator also had questioned the makeup of the committee: "Senator McClellan observed disapprovingly that the six-man committee President Nixon has appointed to review cable policy has more experience in politics than in the tangled issues of communications and regulations."[66]

The *Times* reported that Whitehead, who also addressed the NCTA convention, told delegates that the White House cable committee had as its purpose not a delay in cable growth but an acceleration in development of cable policy: "Mr. Whitehead contends that the FCC is too mired in the minutiae of regulation to deal with the sweeping significance of cable policy formation."[67] Whitehead said the White House and

Congress both would have a role in development of cable policy since cable television involved not only a retransmission of broadcast signals but also provided a "revolutionary diversity and a fundamentally new system of communication."[68] Whitehead left no doubt about the complexity of the cable issues: "The only thing that comes close to it is the strategic nuclear problem."[69]

The New York Times reported a few days later that the Center for Policy Research at Columbia University had received a $124,300 grant from the National Science Foundation to study use of cable television for communication and decisionmaking on the community level. The *Times* quoted Amitai Etzioni, the center's director, as indicating that the study would determine if cable television could be used to "provide neighborhoods with their own TV networks which could be used for community dialogues with elected officials."[70] The study also was to examine use of cable television for instant polling of citizens of the community and for intercommunication between members of a community.

In June 1971, FCC Chairman Burch testified at a congressional hearing that the FCC was ready to support importation of distant signals into cities to boost cable growth. Burch told the subcommittee, *The New York Times* reported, that the importation of two distant signals would allow the cable industry to grow without threatening the prosperity of the broadcast industry. The report noted the dual nature of cable's potential:

> Further, he [Burch] said, the ultimate success of cable television would still rest on the development of services that were not dependent on broadcasting – including original entertainment programming, coverage of local affairs, rental of channels to new commercial markets, and such exotic cable uses as the delivery of facsimile copies of newspapers.[71]

The newspaper report included the position of the cable industry that importation of distant signals was necessary for urban expansion and a "prior condition of any development of its more important potential" while presenting the view of the broadcasting industry that "sees the offering of out-of-town channels as parasitic competition."[72]

By August 1971, Burch had received nearly unanimous commission support for a proposal to allow cable importation of two distant signals into the nation's 100 largest markets.[73] In an unusual step, Burch notified Congress, in a letter of intent, of the FCC's. In return, the cable systems would have to pay some retransmission fees, provide free channels for

public use, government, and education, and lease vacant channels on a common-carrier basis.[74]

The *Washington Post,* in its coverage of Burch's "letter of intent," noted the arguments of the cable industry that without out-of-town television programs, "new CATV systems will never be able to attract enough subscribers to generate profits necessary to produce original cable television programs, which would be shown exclusively to subscribers."[75] The *Post* indicated that the proposed provision of two-way capability "would allow cable systems ultimately to be used for burglar alarms, market surveys of subscribers or even remote ordering of merchandise from stores."[76]

The New York Times also noted the future potential for cable: "New cable channels would also have to have two-way capacity, allowing subscribers to send as well as to receive messages and broadening the future uses of cable systems to include such things as marketing systems and burglar alarms."[77] An Associated Press story indicated that the FCC planned to encourage cable television without unduly hurting conventional broadcasting. The AP story quoted Burch as indicating that importation of distant signals "is the guts of the document because we recognize that the importation of distant signals will be required to enable the hoped-for benefits of cable to become a reality."[78]

Edward W. Bartlett, former journalism dean at Columbia University, echoed this concern in a *New York Times* op-ed column August 20:

> To many, CATV is just a means of getting clearer or more distant signals. Yet it offers unparalleled opportunity to gain extraordinary new services. CATV systems can be designed to provide 20, 40 or even more channels. Such channels can afford communications with the neighborhood, minority groups or the constituency of a congressman or candidate. Other channels can serve schools and colleges and provide adult-education courses.[79]

Bartlett cautioned against haste in cable policy deliberations and against a lack of public participation in these deliberations. Participation also was a concern of Theodore S. Ledbetter, Jr., president of the Urban Communications Group, Inc. of Washington, DC. Ledbetter told a religious seminar in New York in September that, "Unless blacks participate in a meaningful way in the development of cable television, cable TV will not develop in any of our major urban communities."[80]

Although the cable industry generally praised the FCC plan, broadcasters and the movie industry resisted the proposals.[81] In July, Whitehead had begun his involvement in the deliberations with a meeting of representatives of the industries, but the FCC announcement about importation of distant signals had ended those talks.[82] As debate continued about the future of the FCC proposal, a group of state cable associations in November purchased an advertisement in *The New York Times.* The cable groups appealed directly to President Nixon to serve the public interest rather than "narrow commercial" interests and asked Nixon to consider the future potential of cable: "You have heard of the wired-nation concept. You can talk to the nation over cable as well as through the air."[83]

In November, Whitehead and Burch presented the affected parties with an alternative proposal.[84] In what Burch described as a compromise, representatives of the industry groups accepted, and their constituents later ratified, a proposal that tied distant-signal importation to exclusivity rights.[85] Under the plan, cable companies would be able to import distant signals into the 50 largest markets, but stations in those areas would retain exclusive rights to programming for the duration of their contracts. In the next 50 markets, such exclusivity rights would last only for two years.[86] The exclusivity provisions essentially prevented cable operations in the 50 largest markets, but analysts indicated that cable companies were able to move from a potential market of 10 percent of the broadcast audience to a potential market of 25 percent of the broadcast audience.[87]

The Post carried the details of the OTP-brokered agreement and repeated the cable industry's argument that importation of distant signals was necessary to develop cable's potential: "And only after establishing a base of subscribers, the CATV industry contended, could it begin to provide the variety of services possible with cable control-station burglar alarms, specialized television programs, broadcasts of local government meetings, or school events."[88]

The Times story on November 11 reported that Whitehead had told the cable industry that the agreement was the last chance for compromise. "If the cable operators do not yield quickly, Mr. Whitehead is warning the five-year fight over the future of cable will go to Congress, where the FCC plan will probably be changed and will certainly be delayed."[89] The November 11 story included no discussion of potential revolutionary

benefits of cable television. The front page story in the *Times* on November 12 indicated that the "agreement, reached with the strong encouragement of the White House, is designed to extend cable's growth out of the remote rural areas, where it began, into the nation's smaller cities. But it would purposively slow cable's development in the 50 largest markets where more than two-thirds of the American television audience lives."[90]

In the midst of the cable agreement, the Sloan Commission released its recommendations for development of a national cable system. Both the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* carried stories on the release of the Sloan Commission report. The *Post* report found the Sloan recommendations more liberal on distant-signal importation than the industry agreement: "These differences reflect divergent attitudes toward the possible threat cable may pose to the broadcasting industry."[91] The *Times* summarized the Sloan Commission report as finding that "cable television has the potential to revolutionize the nation's culture, journalism, politics and community needs and services."[92] In his analysis of the Sloan Commission report, *Times* columnist John J. O'Connor had little optimism that cable television would provide any improvements in television content even with the "abundance" of cable:

> That promise, covering a wider variety of entertainment, news and services, carries no guarantees. The history of broadcasting is a history of shattered promises. Educational and cultural millennia were clearly slighted with the advent of radio and, years later, of television. The result, with few exceptions, has been a broad band of mass-produced mediocrity, wrapped in the sometimes startling protection of official agencies.[93]

A *Times* editorial the same day also addressed the issue of cable abundance and the Sloan Commission report:

> The options that have emerged as a result of these studies reveal that there is no simple formula that can please existing broadcasters and cable operators. But a larger principle of public interest has come to the forefront, one that stresses a variety of educational, news and other programming on a local and national level. It is this principle that must be served by the Federal Government.[94]

The new year began with a broadcasting broadside against the White House-brokered agreement. CBS News President Frank Stanton, in a letter to Congress, argued that the cable agreement eventually would deprive millions of poor people of the benefits of "free" television.[95] *Post* reporter Robert J. Samuelson had other dire predictions in a front-page story, "Cable TV Ruling May Cut Out 50 Big Areas," in late January. "The Federal Communications Commission is on the verge of adopting regulations that should make it difficult for cable television to gain a toehold in many of the nation's cities and suburbs."[96] Samuelson noted that cable proponents argued that installation of cable systems would lead to more diversified programming while broadcasters indicated that "cable will simply multiply the amount of today's mass entertainment programming except that CATV subscribers will have to pay for it."[97] Samuelson included the cable industry argument that distant-signal importation was an important step in creation of a new communications system. "Once they have established their base, cable leaders say they will be in a better position to promote a wider variety of original new programs and services."[98]

In February 1972 the FCC approved the revised plan on a 6-1 vote with its provisions to become effective March 31, 1972.[99] Along with settlement of the issue of importation of distant signals, the FCC required cable systems to provide the capacity for two-way transmission of signals and those with more than 3,500 subscribers to make available at least one public, education, government and leased-access channel. Access to the channels would be available on a first-come, first-served basis, and cable systems would have to provide a minimum of five minutes of free production time to each group or individual that used the access channel.

The final report included acrimonious exchanges between Burch and Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, who had concurred in part and dissented in part to the majority's decision on the regulations. Johnson criticized White House intervention in the regulatory process and criticized Burch for a lack of public involvement in development of the FCC regulations.[100] He questioned the behind-the-scenes nature of the deliberations on the industry agreement in November.[101]

The *Post* had the advantage on coverage of the FCC's release of its Third Report and Order that established cable television regulations. In an article, 'FCC Ends Freeze on Cable TV, Approves New Regulations" on page A3 with no by-line, the *Post* reported February 3: "The Federal

Communications Commission yesterday approved new regulations for cable television designed to end a three-year freeze on the expansion of CATV into large and medium-size metropolitan areas." Coverage the next day included front-page stories in the *Post*, *The New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. The *Post* and *The New York Times* were not in full agreement on the impact of the FCC decision. The *Times* story carried the headline, "New Ruling on Cable TV Limits Its Big City Growth,"[102] while the *Post* bannered its coverage with "FCC Ruling Opens Door to Cable TV in Major US Cities."[103] The *Los Angeles Times* headline addressed content: "New Rules for Cable TV Issued, See Widening Program Choice."[104]

The New York Times report indicated that the new FCC rules would stimulate the growth of cable television systems in smaller cities but exclusivity provisions would check growth of the cable industry in big cities. The report noted FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson's criticism of "secret bargaining" that brought the industry agreement but indicated that FCC Chairman Burch had argued that "the industry pact, limiting the spread of cable networks, was the only practical basis for getting cable TV moving at all."[105] The report also noted the future potential for cable: "Beyond carrying broadcast signals, cable companies are being pushed to develop wholly new services. A requirement, for example, that cables have the capacity to carry messages in both directions will make them adaptable for instructional and security purposes."[106]

The *Post* account attempted to provide a historical perspective on the FCC decision: "The Federal Communications Commission announced sweeping new rules to regulate and promote the growth of cable television into the nation's metropolitan areas. It was described by agency officials as a decision that could be the beginning of a new era of mass communication."[107] The story indicated that advocates had promoted cable television as the only way to assure diversified television programs while opponents had contended that cable could become widespread "pay TV."[108] The *Post* also noted Johnson's criticism of White House interference and indicated that the "cable compromise" was included nearly word-for-word in the FCC rules.[109]

The *Los Angeles Times* story predicted rapid growth of cable systems in cities "because the new FCC rules permit cable systems to import out-of-town television signals, something they were previously barred from doing."[110] The account did not mention possible effects of exclusivity provisions on installation of cable systems in the 50 largest TV markets, although one of the final paragraphs of the story noted: "The protection for networks and syndicated programs in the top 50 markets is continued

in a rule which forbids the cable company from bringing in such a program if it is already available on a local station."[111] The *Los Angeles Times*, in noting the requirement for new cable systems to have two-way capacity, amplified the potential of the new technology: "Eventually viewers will be able to talk back to the people appearing on television."[112]

A UPI dispatch reported: "The Federal Communications Commission adjusted rules Thursday to let cable television systems for the first time import distant signals into cities on the basis of a compromise plan protecting the exclusivity of free TV programs."[113] The dispatch noted the November 10, 1971 industry agreement on distant-signal importation and Johnson's objections: "If cable is to grow, it must be in the big cities – where it is precluded. If the potential need and demand for local channels, public access channels, and minority programming are to be served, it must be in the big cities. It won't be."[114] The dispatch also noted that Burch had addressed the future potential of cable. "Cable TV has to do a lot more. We have to open the way to see if it will be the wave of the future."[115]

1980s Cable Gold Rush

With the action in 1972 the FCC weighed in solidly on cable regulation, but court decisions and subsequent technological developments made many of the requirements of the Third Report and Order moot. In its *Midwest Video II* decision, the Supreme Court invalidated federal requirements for public-access channels.[116] The high court upheld a lower court ruling that the FCC access requirements treated cable television systems as common carriers in violation of a ban of such regulation of broadcasting in the Communications Act of 1934. Although the exact regulatory status of cable television remained a subject of debate, the Supreme Court in *Midwest Video II* decided to treat cable television as the broadcasting "ancillary" of the *Southwestern Cable* case.[117]

Supporters of public access and community television turned to local and state governments to provide access mandates in cable franchises and to win support for production services to use that access.[118] Development of satellite technology and implementation of an "open skies" policy transformed the meaning of "distant signals."[119] The FCC decision in 1972, along with satellite technology, pay cable channels, and squeezing of more channels onto coaxial cables, helped to set the stage in 1980 for what *Broadcasting* described as a "Gold Rush" of cable companies attempting to win franchises in urban areas.[120]

Although the FCC, in its 1972 Third Report and Order, required cable television companies to provide the capacity for two-way transmission of signals, the FCC did not mandate provision of those services.[121] The FCC indicated that such services could include "surveys, marketing services, burglar alarms, educational feedback to name a few."[122] The federal government, in the mid-1970s, also funded several experiments with two-way cable television to discern its usefulness in addressing social problems and needs.

While US cable companies, with Warner-Amex's Qube and Cox's Indax, worked to develop two-way cable television services to gain advantages in competition for major-market franchises, by 1986 the high-profile experiments in two-way cable television in the United States were over. Warner-Amex suspended all Qube services but pay-per-view in 1984. Indax never went into commercial operation. Congress, in the Cable Communications Act of 1984, allowed cable companies to renegotiate franchise provisions for services including two-way transmission of signals,[123] but the fallout from cable systems' failures to provide negotiated services quieted cable-industry enthusiasm for interactive services for several years.[124] Increasingly available home computers set the stage for a new wave of interactive enthusiasm in the 1990s but complicated the development of television-based interactive systems in the 1970s and 1980s.

Learning to Talk Back to Your TV

The 1970s had begun with enthusiastic projections of the benefits of cable television, including two-way transmission systems. Between 1972 and 1984, the federal government, public-interest groups, and cable companies sponsored large-scale tests of two-way television. Among those projects were three tests of delivery of social services (funded by the National Science Foundation) and the commercial Qube system in Columbus, Ohio. These projects did not provide fully interactive services. Although the use of coaxial cable could allow customers to send messages back to the point of origination of the cable transmission, provision of point-to-point communication like the telephone would have required switching facilities that were available to cable companies only on an experimental basis.[125]

Foundations and the government made substantial investments in the study of the use of cable television to address social problems and to meet community needs. The Rand Corporation began its research on

cable television issues, including two-way transmission, in 1969, with grants from the Ford Foundation and the Markle Foundation. The National Science Foundation also asked the Rand Corporation to compile a cable handbook for local decision making.[126] In 1970, the Sloan Foundation provided $500,000 for a study of the future of cable television, which resulted in the Sloan Commission report.[127] In 1972, the Markle Foundation gave the Mitre Corporation $700,000 to prepare a cable-system design for large cities as a first step toward developing a real "wired city."[128]

The National Science Foundation in 1974 funded projects in Reading, Pennsylvania, ($200,000) Rockford, Illinois, ($400,000) and Spartanburg, South Carolina, ($1.1 million) to test use of two-way television to provide social services. The Reading project, which the Alternate Media Center at New York University coordinated, involved services for senior citizens.[129] The Rockford project, directed by Michigan State University, provided job training services.[130] The Spartanburg project, under the supervision of the Rand Corporation, provided general education services.[131] Although the Rockford and Spartanburg projects ended after the grant period, a community organization (Berks Community Television) took over operation of the Reading project, and it remains in operation.

Qube Offers Two-Way TV

Commercial experiments with two-way cable television began in Columbus, Ohio, in 1969;[132] in Dallas in 1970,[133] and in Kansas City in 1971.[134] Warner Cable, which became Warner Amex in 1979 after American Express bought a share of the company, formally announced plans in February 1977 to begin a test of a two-way cable television system in Columbus, Ohio. The Warner cable system was one of several in Columbus, which has a reputation as a good Midwestern test market.[135] Coaxial Communications, which Warner acquired in 1980, had inaugurated two-way communication tests in Columbus with a pay-per-view system.[136] Although the Qube system was to offer two-way interaction with customers, Warner planned a series of tests, since the system also included local programming, pay-per-view, and programming for target audiences.[137] Qube service began in Columbus in December 1977.

All Qube subscribers received a console with five response buttons for program selection or participation in viewer-choice options.[138] Qube provided 30 channels including commercial television stations, commu-

nity channels, premium pay channels, consumer information, and college courses. Local programs included "Columbus Alive," a variety and talk show, and "Flippo's Magic Circus" and "Pinwheel," children's shows. Also available were first-run movies and an adult-film channel.[139] One observer of Qube was optimistic, in 1978, about the future of two-way television. "With further development of two-way cable television as it exists in 1978 it is feasible that two-way cable television could be a fourth major television network."[140]

Two-way services that were available included fire and security alarms. Other options for customers included market testing, picking football plays, judging a boxing match, choosing an ending for a movie, picking a magazine cover, and expressing views on social and issues.[141] Reactions to presidential speeches generated some controversy. Such "polling," as the reaction measure was called, brought criticism at the time because of the size of the audience involved and the lack of randomness in the procedures.[142] Despite the diversity of services and programming, the options of two-way cable television prompted some concern. *New York Times* critic Janet Maslin, in 1982, described the Qube environment as a "nightmare" because of the extension of television passivity to other activities.[143]

Whatever their limitations, two-way systems provided a marketing tool for cable television companies seeking franchises. Although the FCC in 1972 eased restrictions on cable system expansion into urban markets, satellite transmission of programming spurred urban growth, as did interest in public interest and business services. Cities included requirements for two-way systems and extended channel capacities in their requests for proposals.[144] *Broadcasting* magazine noted in 1980 that franchise interest included public interest concerns. "Part of the rush to franchise in the cities is being generated from within, with little or no prompting from the cable operators. Many public interest groups are interested in the idea of local access programming, another key feature of almost all cable franchise proposals."[145] Analysts again contended that cable television could enhance the sense of community. Small communities, large communities, or segments of large communities could have their own cable television programs and a two-way communication system. "The medium of cable television itself will transform the social and political processes. It is a technological revolution almost unsurpassed in possible effects and impact."[146]

Within a few years, Warner had won approval to install Qube systems in Cincinnati, Dallas, Houston, St. Louis, Milwaukee and

Pittsburgh.[147] Warner initiated a two-way network to serve all its Qube systems in May 1983, but that service ended only a few months later in 1984. Warner had the only commercial two-way television system in operation, but Cox Cable, based in Atlanta, attempted to compete for franchises with its Indax system.[148] Cox Cable conducted tests of Indax in San Diego, California, and won approval to install Indax in Omaha, Nebraska; New Orleans, and Vancouver, Washington. Cox failed to get any of those systems in operation.

The Dream of Two-Way Communications Ends Abruptly

Failure to provide two-way cable television services resulted in threats of litigation from cities and lawsuits from citizens who challenged the franchises.[149] By 1984, cable companies had begun to question the soundness of investments for two-way services. "The mood of the cable industry has changed so much that no cable company would now offer anything other than a basic system in a major city."[150] Cities also had the option to sell problem franchises to other companies. When TCI proposed, in 1984, to acquire the Pittsburgh franchise from Warner, TCI President John Malone indicated that his company would remove the "Rube Goldberg" or Qube equipment.[151] *Cable Vision* magazine, in January, 1985, listed "major concessions won by cable operators" during 1983 and 1984 as Warner Amex's deferred construction of Qube in Milwaukee and Cox's deferred Indax construction in Omaha, Tucson, and Vancouver, Washington. Other cities that gave concessions to cable television companies were Portland, (Ore.); Los Angeles, Denver, Dallas, and Pittsburgh.[152]

Warner Amex curtailed its Qube operations in Columbus except for pay-per-view in January 1984 as cable companies sought to find relief from franchise requirements for two-way systems and greater channel diversity.[153] Congress in 1984 approved the Cable Communications Policy Act that essentially deregulated the cable industry. Among the provisions of the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 was a clause that allowed cable companies to renegotiate franchises that included services that were "commercially impracticable" to provide.[154] The House report on the act blamed both the cities and the cable companies for the failure of cable companies to meet franchise requirements:

> Faced with stiff competition for franchises, some cable operators simply overpromised and oversold in the franchise

> process...Cities likewise were caught up in the 'blue sky' potential of cable. Cities began to seek greater system capacity, more public access facilities and support, and one- and two-way communications systems for school and municipal offices, often at minimal or no direct charge to the government.[155]

Passage of the Act, in October 1984, followed months of negotiations between representatives of the National League of Cities and the National Cable Television Association on the appropriate role of municipalities in regulation of cable systems. City officials argued that Congress was limiting municipal authority over cable systems[156] and that municipalities needed authority to enforce franchise requirements. "The need for local authority is to represent the interests of the community in awarding bids to assure that the successful bidder lives up to commitments."[157] The cable industry countered that the proposed legislation would protect cities from the FCC's pre-emption of all authority for cable-TV regulation. "The big question looming for cities, as the clock ticks on, is whether Congress will be allowed to enact a final version (of cable television regulations) fast enough to preserve local cable authority before the FCC pre-empts that authority.[158]

Some cable executives chose not to assume full responsibility for franchise shortcomings and blamed the failure to provide advanced interactive services on high expectations of cities and the promotion of such interactive services by government and public interest groups.[159] The National Science Foundation projects provided examples. "These well-publicized public service applications led urban governments, then in the process of franchising, to expect operational two-way systems. The cable companies complied, entering bidding wars, with each company trying to outdo the other in offering elaborate two-way systems."[160]

In 1984, D. Stevens McVoy and Thomas F. Baldwin contended that two-way cable television services were developing at a rational pace: "Interactive, two-way cable television has passed through its promotional stage, which was based on hyper-enthusiasm for its prospects and the need to present a dramatic communications technology in the quest for franchises."[161]

Although cable companies were competing against each other for franchises, they were aware of other competition for two-way or interactive services. Cable companies particularly were aware of the challenge of AT&T: "[C]able is up against some much bigger industries, such as

AT&T, with a tradition of large-scale research and development. These competitors have the resources to subsidize development over a long period of time and survive some failures."[162] McVoy and Baldwin suggested that full success for two-way services would require some good fortune. "If each of these services were to prove effective, and find a consumer market at about the same time, then the entire cable industry could quickly aggregate these services and build the administrative and marketing structure to fully exploit the technology."[163]

The End of "Blue Sky" Promises

For most of the rest of the decade the cable industry, with the closing of Qube and renegotiation of urban franchises, downplayed any involvement with interactive services.[164] Gustave Hauser, who left as chairman and chief executive officer of Warner Amex before the closing of Qube, failed to win advancement from vice chairman to chairman of the National Cable Television Association in 1984, and *Broadcasting* reported that the snub was the result of the company overselling cable services to win franchises.[165] The magazine quoted unnamed NCTA board members as indicating the decision was a cable industry statement. "It [the industry] is concerned about the image of the industry as one whose members make 'blue sky' promises in competing for franchises, and then renege under the pressure of real-life business conditions."[166] Hauser downplayed the connection between franchise battles and his failure to win the post and told *Broadcasting* that "financial analysts, government officials, and the press share responsibility for the hype" that led to the unmet franchise commitments.[167]

Tests of interactive services for cable television did not stop with the demise of Qube. In 1984, Timothy Hollins was circumspect about the future of interactive communications. "The wired society will come, but rather more gradually, hesitantly and with many more pitfalls along the way than the public relations 'hype' of the last few years would have us believe."[168] GTE, an independent telephone company, began conducting tests in Cerritos, California, in 1979 to determine consumer interest in interactive services available through both cable television and telephone connections.[169] The telephone company's provision of cable television services on an experimental basis resulted in legal challenges from the National Cable Television Association.[170]

Renewal of interest in interactive cable television has come in the 1990s amid projections of cable systems with 500 channels, proposals for

telephone services through cable-television systems, and establishment of a standard for high-definition television.[171] By 1995, even Time Warner, a corporate descendent of Warner Amex, was ready to begin another test of interactive television, the Full Service Network, in Florida.[172] Time Warner announced in May 1997 that those tests would end. Passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 allows the cable television industry fully into the provision of telephone services as well as allowing regional Bell operating companies to provide television services.[173]

Cable Companies Oversold the Future

Government officials, public-interest groups, and newspapers in 1971 and 1972 framed the issue of cable regulation in terms, not just of market shares of competing media, but in terms of the success or failure of a coming information revolution. Although broadcasting interests attempted to frame the issues in terms of cable "parasites" and deterioration of "free" television and movie studios raised issues of copyright infringement, the cable industry, with the aid of government and public interest groups, framed issues of increased program choice, of increased access to communications services in urban areas, and of provision of an exotic variety of two-way services. Growth of the cable television industry, its audience, and its financial resources may have encouraged government action to increase installation of cable systems, but the possibility of a "communications" revolution provided the official rationale for reform of cable regulation.

In retrospect, the FCC's approval of the cable Third Report and Order did not result, on a widespread basis, in either the provision of two-way services or increased media access in urban areas. Program diversity has increased but primarily as the result of satellite transmission of original cable programming rather than importation of distant broadcasting signals. Government and cable industry officials indicated that without the revenue base of urban areas, cable systems would not be able to invest adequate funds in development of new programs and services. Press coverage of the cable deliberations did not frame the debate simply in terms of increased profits for cable systems or delivery of programs on essentially the same basis as network television.

Federal government policy generally extolled the role of mass media in establishment or re-establishment of community and in the promotion of democracy. Policymakers and public interest groups also extended this praise to cable television, which offered to overcome the scarcity of tele-

vision channels available on the electromagnetic spectrum. The cable industry welcomed these social goals as it attempted in the early 1970s to gain a greater foothold against broadcasting interests. Also boosting cable was the access movement that saw greater opportunity for public participation in television program origination with the greater channel capacity offered.

Cable television, through two-way transmission of information, also provided the promise that audience members could become direct participants in the communication process as active originators of content – and in the confines of their own homes. Cable industry executives also welcomed these projections as they were attempting to win urban franchises. During the 12-year period between 1972 and 1984, cable grew and prospered as an alternative means of transmission of broadcasting content. By 1984, industry and government officials acknowledged that the cable companies had oversold the "future." Profits were to come through delivery of traditional broadcast-like fare, entertainment and news, and not home interactive services. Ironically, in 1984 when "Big Brother" was to have been in interactive contact and control of all citizens, the federal government was helping private industry to bail out of the interactive business.

Endnotes

[1]Pamela Doty, "Public Access Cable TV: Who Cares?" *Journal of Communication* 25.3 (1975): 33-41; Lawrence A. Wenner, *Cable Television and the Promise of Public Access* (Ames: U of Iowa, 1976) 3-8 (ERIC ED 123 677).

[2]Wenner, 11-20.

[3]Brenda Maddox, *Beyond Babel: New Directions in Communications* (New York: Simon, 1972) 145.

[4]Anne W. Branscomb, "The Cable Fable: Will It Come True?" *Journal of Communication* 25.1 (1975): 51.

[5]Royal D. Colle, "Television at the Grassroots: CATV," *Journal of Broadcasting* 7 (1962-63): 9-10.

[6]Charles J. Lynch, "A Communications Revolution," *Science and Technology* April 1968: 15.

[7]Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[8]Daniel Bell, *Coming of the Post Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[9]Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era* (New York: Viking, 1970).

[10]John Merrill and Ralph L. Lowenstein, *Media, Messages, and Men* (New York: David McKay, 1971) 33-44.

[11]Lynch, 14.

[12]National Academy of Engineering Committee on Telecommunications, *Telecommunications for Enhanced Metropolitan Function and Form* (Washington, DC: National Academy of Engineering, 1969).

[13]*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam, 1968) 366-7.

[14]*Civil Disorders* 366.

[15]Eugene V. Rostow, *President's Task Force on Communications Policy. Final Report.* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1968) 9-11.

[16]Rostow 6.

[17]25 Notice of Proposed Rulemaking in Docket 18894, FCC 2d 38, *8 (1970).

[18]Cabinet Committee on Cable Communications, *Cable: Report to the President* (Washington: GPO, 1974) 15.

[19]Jerome A. Barron, "Access to the Press: A New First Amendment Right." *Harvard Law Review* 80 (1967): 1641.

[20]Colle, 9.

[21]Colle, 10.

[22]Ralph Engelman, *The Origins of Public Access Cable Television, 1966-1972.* Communication Monographs 123 (Columbia, SC: AEJMC, 1990) 3.

[22]Engelman, 18-20.

[24]Thomas Fairbairn, "Public Access in New York City: An Interview with Theadora Sklover," *Yale Review of Law and Social Action* 2 (1972): 229.

[25]Fairbairn, 229.

[26]Harold J. Barnett and Edward Greenberg, "A Proposal for the Wired City," *Washington University Law Quarterly* 1968 (1968): 1-25.

[27]Sloan Commission on Cable Communications, *On the Cable: The Television of Abundance* (New York: McGraw, 1971).

[28]Ralph Lee Smith, "Wired Nation," *The Nation* 18 May 1970: 582.

[29]Ralph Lee Smith, *The Wired Nation, Cable TV: The Electronic Communications Highway* (New York: Harper, 1972).

[30]Charles Tate, ed., *Cable Television in the Cities: Community Control, Public Access, and Minority Ownership* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1971).

[31]Monroe E. Price and John Wicklein, *Cable Television: A Guide for Civic Action* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1972).

[32]"Creation of Cable Information Center," *New York Times* 12 Jan. 1972, fnl. ed.: 83.

[33]Streeter 174-5.

[34]Kas Kalba, "The Cable Fable." *Yale Review of Law and Social Action* 2 (1972): 195.

[35]Kalba, 198.

[36]Kalba, 198.

[37]Fred W. Friendly, address, Publi-Cable Seminar, National Education Association, New York, 5 May 1972.

[38]Stuart P. Sucherman, "Cable TV: The Endangered Revolution, *Columbia Journalism Review* May/June 1971: 13

[39]Bruce R. Owen, "A View From the President's Office of Telecommunications Policy," *The Role of Analysis in Regulatory Decision-Making: The Case of Cable Television*, ed. Rolla Edward Park (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973) 10.

[40]Kenneth R. Goodman, "Another View From the Federal Cable Communications Commission," *The Role of Analysis in Regulatory Decision-Making: The Case of Cable Television*, ed. Rolla Edward Park (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973) 44.

[41]Beach Communications v. FCC, 959 F. 2d. 975, 977 (DC Cir. 1992).

[42]US v. Southwestern, 392 US 137, 175 (1968).

[43]US v. Midwest Video, 406 US 649, 665 (1972).

[44]Fortnightly Corp. v. United Artists Television, Inc., 392 US 390 (1968).

[45]Richard Olin Berner, *Constraints on the Regulatory Process: A Case Study of Regulation of Cable Television* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1976) 16-7.

[46]Rolla Edward Park, ed., *The Role of Analysis in Regulatory Decisionmaking: The Case of Cable Television* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973) 86.

[47]Walter S. Baer, *Cable Television: A Handbook for Decisionmaking* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1973) 7.

[48]Smith, *Wired Nation* 6.

[49]Leland L. Johnson, *The Future of Cable Television: Some Problems of Regulation* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1970) 18.

[50]Berner, 17.

[51]Harvey Jassem, "The Selling of the Cable TV Compromise," *Journal of Broadcasting* 17 (1973): 429.

[52]Don R. Le Duc, *Beyond Broadcasting: Patterns in Policy and Law* (New York: Longman, 1987) 85-7.

[53]Jassem 430-1; Patrick Parsons, *Cable Television and the First Amendment* (Lexington, MA; Lexington Books) 17.

[54]"Signs of New Stability at the FCC," *Broadcasting* 26 January 1970: 47.

[55]Clay T. Whitehead, "Cable Television: The Problems and the Policies," California Community Television Association, Anaheim, CA, 16 Nov. 1972.

[56]Rostow, 38.

[57]Park, 82-3.

[58]Christopher Lydon, "FCC Renews Request for Cable Policy," *New York Times* 11 March 1971, fnl. ed.: 78.

[59]Lydon, "FCC Renews" 78.

[60]Max Frankel, "The Ides of March: Nixon Aides Discover Good Omens," *New York Times* 16 March 1971, fnl. ed.: 21.

[61]Frankel, 21.

[62]Fred Ferretti, "Church Acts To Enlist CATV for Poor," *New York Times* 16 March 1971, fnl. ed.: 75.

[63]Jack Gould, "Burch Tells NAB He Expects Conflicts Over Public Interest," *New York Times* 1 April 1971, fnl. ed.: 83.

[64]"Nixon Names Panel on Cable TV Policy," *New York Times* 24 April 1971, ntl. ed.: 77

[65]Christopher Lydon, "Cable TV Conferees See Wide Gains But a Delay," *New York Times* 12 July 1971, fnl. ed.: 55.

[66]Lydon, "Cable TV Conferees" 55.

[67]Lydon, "Cable TV Conferees" 55.

[68]Lydon, "Cable TV Conferees" 55.

[69]Lydon, "Cable TV Conferees" 55.

[70]"Study is Planned on Cable TV Uses," *New York Times* 14 July 1971, fnl. ed.: 71.

[71]Christopher Lydon, "Burch Plan Would Let Cable TV Systems Deliver at Least Two Out of Town Channels to All Subscribers," *New York Times* 16 June 1971, ntl. ed.: 23.

[72]Lydon, "Burch Plan" 23.

[73]Jassem, 432.

[74]Cable Television Report and Order, 36 FCC 2nd 143, 190-2 (1972).

[75]Robert J. Samuelson, "FCC Moves to Promote Cable TV for Big Cities," *Washington Post* 6 Aug. 1971, ntl. ed.: A4.

[76]Samuelson, "FCC Moves" A4.

[71]Christopher Lydon, "FCC Issues Plan for CATV Market: Letter to Congress Urges a Delay in New Policy," *New York Times* 6 Aug. 1971, fnl. ed.: 63.

[78]"FCC Proposes New Cable TV Policies," *Chicago Tribune* 6 Aug. 1971, fnl. ed.: A1.

[79]Edward W. Bartlett, "CATV – Pitfalls and Horizons," *New York Times* 20 Aug. 1971, fnl. ed.: 33.

[80]"Panel Urges Blacks To Take CATV Role," *New York Times* 15 Sept. 1971, fnl. ed.; 92.

[81]Berner, 46.

[82]Don R. Le Duc, *Cable Television and the FCC: A Crisis in Media Control* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1973) 196.

[83]"Our Letter to the President," adv., *New York Times* 5 Nov. 1971, fnl. ed.; 27.

[84]Jassem, 432.

[85]36 FCC 2nd 143, 291 (1972).

[86]36 FCC 2nd 143, 181-2 (1972).

[87]Le Duc, *Beyond Broadcasting* 87.

[88]Robert J. Samuelson, "Compromise Reached in Battle Over Cable TV," *Washington Post* 11 Nov. 1971, ntl. ed: A8.

[89]Christopher Lydon, "Cable TV Weighs White House Plan: Proposal Would Set Policy for Controlled Growth," *New York Times* 11 Nov. 1971, fnl. ed.: 19.

[90]Christopher Lydon, "Cable TV Accord Sets Its Growth: Compromise Is Gained With Support of White House – Broadcasters Agree," *New York Times* 12 Nov. 1971, fnl. ed.: 1.

[91]Alan M. Krugsman, "The Sloan Report – Viewing Cable TV," *Washington Post* 9 Dec. 1971, natl,. ed.: D4.

[92]Jack Gould, "A Nationwide, Controlled System of Cable TV Is Recommended in Detailed Study by Sloan Commission," *New York Times* 9 Dec. 1971, fnl. ed.: 94.

[93]John J. O'Connor, "Psst! Wanna Buy a New Genie?" *New York Times* 19 Dec. 1971, fnl. ed.: Sect. 2, 21.

[94]"Cable 'Abundance,'" edit., *New York Times* 19 Dec. 1971, fnl. ed.: Sect. 4, 10.

[95]Jack Gould, "Stanton, in Letter to Congress, Opposes Accord on Cable TV," *New York Times* 7 Jan. 1971, fnl. ed.: 62; "Compromise Criticized," *Washington Post* 8 Jan. 1971 , ntl. ed.: E5.

[96]Robert J. Samuelson, "Cable TV Ruling May Cut Out 50 Big Areas," *Washington Post* 24 Jan. 1971, ntl. ed.: A1.

[97]Samuelson, "Cable TV Ruling" A1.

[98]Samuelson, "Cable TV Ruling," A14.

[99]36 FCC 2nd 143, 210 (1972). *Broadcasting* printed the full text of the report in its February 7, 1972 issue, and the National Cable Television Association printed the report under separate cover with the title, "Thaw: New Rules To End the Cable TV Freeze."

[100]36 FCC 2nd 143, 306 (1972).

[101]36 FCC 2nd 143, 314 (1972).

[102]Christopher Lydon, "New Ruling on Cable TV Limits Its Big City Growth," *New York Times* 4 Feb. 1972, fnl. ed.: 1.

[103]"FCC Ruling Opens Door to Cable TV in Major US Cities," *Washington Post* 4 Feb. 1972, ntl. ed.: A1.

[102]Robert Rosenblatt, "New Rules for Cable TV Issued, See Widening Program Choice," *Los Angeles Times* 4 Feb. 1972, fnl. ed.: 1.

[105]Lydon, "New Ruling" 1.

[106]Lydon, "New Ruling" 62.

[107]"FCC Ruling" A1.

[108]"FCC Ruling" A1.

[109]"FCC Ruling" A18.

[110]Rosenblatt, 1.

[111]Rosenblatt, 1.

[112]Rosenblatt, 1.

[113]"FCC Clears Cable LTLV Service for Cities, "Atlanta Constitution, 4 February 1972, fnl. ed.: 12A.

[114]"FCC Clears" 12A.

[115]"FCC Clears" 12A.

[116]FCC v. Midwest Video Corp., 440 US 689 (1979).

[117]392 US 137 (1968).

[118]*See* Robert Pepper, "The Future of Access: Is There Life after Midwest Video?" *Cable TV: Guide to Public Access*, ed. Eileen T. Bender (South Bend, IN: Indiana U, 1979): 46-9; Sue Miller Buske, "Improving Local Community Access Programming," *Public Management* June 1980: 12-4; Nancy J. Jesuale, "Noncommercial Access to Cable," *A Guide for Local Policy*, ed. Nancy Jesuale, Richard M. Neustadt, and Nicholas P. Miller, CTIC Cablebooks 2 (Arlington, VA: CTIC, 1982) 86-90.

[119]Le Duc, *Beyond Broadcasting* 95-6.

[120]"The Gold Rush of 1980: Prospecting for Cable Franchises," *Broadcasting* 31 Mar. 1980: 35.

[121]We are not now requiring cable systems to install necessary return communication devices at each subscribed terminal. Such a requirement is premature at this early stage of cable's evolution. It will be sufficient for now that each cable system be constructed with the potential for eventually providing return communication without having to engage in time-consuming and costly system rebuilding. This requirement will be met if a new system is constructed whether with the necessary auxiliary equipment (amplifiers and passive devices) or with equipment that could easily be altered to provide return service. When offered, activation of the return service must always be at the subscriber's option. 36 FCC 2nd 143, 192-3 (1972).

[122]36 FCC 2nd 143, 192 (1972).

[123]Cable Communications Act of 1984, 47 US Code. §542 (1985).

[124]John M. Higgins, "Sorting Through the Hype of Interactive Multimedia," *Multichannel News* 29 Nov. 1993: 3.

[125]Jerry Ritchter, "Interactive Cable: History, Implications, and Ptospects," *Interactive Cable TV Handbook*, 3rd ed. (Bethesda, MD: Phillips Publishing, 1983) 14.

[126]Walter S. Baer, *Interactive Television: Prospects for Two-Way Services on Cable* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1971): iii.

[127]Monroe E. Price "The Illusions of Cable Television," *Journal of Communication* 24.3 (1974): 73.

[128]William F. Mason, "Overview of CATV Developments in the US," *Two-Way Cable Television: Experiences with Pilot Projects, in North America, Japan, and Europe*, ed. Wolfgang A. Kaiser, Hans Marko, and Eberhard Witte (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1977) 65.

[129]Charles N. Brownstein, "Interactive Cable TV and Social Services," *Journal of Communication* 28.2 (1978): 142.

[130]Peter F. Clarke, F. Gerald Kline, Hazel Schumacher, and Susan Evans, "Rockford, Ill.: In-Service Training for Teachers," *Journal of Communication* 28.2 (1978): 195.

[131]Williams A. Lucas, "Spartanburg, S.C.: Testing the Effectiveness of Video, Voice, and Data Feedback," *Journal of Communication* 28.2 (1978): 168.

[132]Robin Jeffrey Brown, "Two-Way Cable Television: A Study of Experiments and Applications, Including Warner Communications Qube Project, Columbus, Ohio, 1977-78," thesis, Ohio State, 1978, 79-83.

[133]Brown, 49-50.

[134]"Dialing Up a Dialogue on Cable: Kansas City System With Two-Way Terminal, Will Test Teaching and Shopping by CATV," *Broadcasting* 31 May 1971: 45.

[135]Brown, 87.

[136]Brown, 79.

[137]Brown, 87-93.

[138]Brown, 87.

[139]Wayne Walley, "The Lessons of Qube; Pioneers Say It Led the Way," *Electronic Media* 16 Aug. 1993: 1.

[140]Brown, 133.

[141]Janet Maslin, "Television Scrutinized," *New York Times* 12 Feb. 1982, fnl. ed.: 34C.

[142]Don Shirley, "Criticism of the Columbus Poll," *Washington Post* 17 July 1979, natl. ed.: 2B; Edward Meadows, "Why TV Sets Do More in Columbus, Ohio," *Fortune* 6 Oct. 1980: 67-8.

[143]Maslin, 34C.

[144]Michael Wines, "Cable Companies Fall Victim to Overpromises, Competition for Viewers," *National Journal* 18 Feb. 1984: 314.

[145]"Gold Rush" 36.

[146]James C. Shrouse, *The Mass Media, Public Opinion and Public Policy Analysis: Linkage Explorations* (Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1975) 265.

[147]Wilson Dizard, *The Coming Information Age: An Overview of Technology, Economics, and Politics,* 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1985) 98.

[148]"Cox Cable's Wright: Building the Future," *Broadcasting* 1 Nov. 1982: 87.

[149]Wines, 315.

[150]D. Stevens McVoy and Thomas F. Baldwin, "Interactive Cable TV: Technology, Applications, and Markets," *The Interactive Cable TV Handbook*, 4th ed. (Berhesda, MD: Phillips Publishing, 1984) 8.

[151]"Qube Service To Be Dropped If TCI Buys Warner Amex's Pittsburgh System," *Broadcasting* 16 Apr. 1984: 84.

[152]Sally Russell, "Scalebacks: Will They Do The Job?" *Cable Vision* 14 Jan. 1985: 29.

[153]James Peltz, "Qube Two-Way TV Falls Victim to Apathy," *Washington Post* 19 Jan. 1984: 3B.

[154]47 US Code. §545 (1985).

[155]House Comm. on Energy and Commerce, Cable Franchise Policy and Communications Act of 1984, H.R. Rep. No. 934, 98th Cong., 2nd sess. 21 (1984).

[156]Alan Beals, "Cities' Argument Centers on Need for Local Control," *American City & County* May 1984: 45. Beals was executive director of the National League of Cities.

[157]Beals, 47.

[158]Thomas E. Wheeler, "Cable TV Stance Pushes Legislation Over FCC Rule," *American City & County* May 1984: 48. Wheeler was president of the National Cable Television Association.

[159]Kevin Maney, "Gus Hauser's Qube Set Cable's Stage," *USA Today* 16 Aug. 1993, fnl. ed.: 4B.

[160]McVoy and Baldwin, 8.

[161]McVoy and Baldwin, 5.

[162]McVoy and Baldwin, 17.

[163]McVoy and Baldwin, 17.

[164]Higgins, 3.

[165]"Allen Surprise Choice as NCTA Chairman," *Broadcasting* 9 Apr. 1984: 34.

[166]"Surprise Choice" 34.

[167]"Surprise Choice" 35.

[168]Timothy Hollins, *Beyond Broadcasting: Into the Cable Age* (London: BFI Publishing, 1984) 138.

[169]Ted Hearn, "GTE First Telco To Lose in Court on Cable Service," *Multichannel News* 7 Nov. 1994: 46.

[170]GTE California v. FCC, 39 F. 3rd. 940, 942 (9th Cir. 1994).

[171]Joseph Segal, "The Information Superhighway: Separating Hype from Reality," *Direct Marketing* Feb. 1994: 18.

[172]Frank Ruiz, "Interactive Television Just Around the Corner," *Tampa Tribune* 5 June 1995: 3.

[173]Pub. L. No. 104-104 § 653 (1996).

The Press Held Hostage: Terrorism in a Small North Carolina Town

by Oscar Patterson III

In 1988, two American Indians in North Carolina held The Robesonian *newspaper and its staff hostage for over 10 hours. After making specific demands and talking with the governor's representative, the men surrendered to federal authorities. Their action must be viewed in terms of classical terrorists' activities, the county in which they lived, and the cultural history to which they had been exposed. They focused the media and public attention on political and racial problems in Robeson County, North Carolina.*

On February 1, 1988, two young men, armed with sawed-off, double-barreled shotguns, took hostage *The Robesonian*, the daily newspaper in Lumberton, North Carolina. For the first time, American Indians had used terrorists' tactics in a direct attack on the press. Corruption, one of the attackers alleged, had "gone too far for peaceful means to resolve."[1]

Historically, patterns of terrorism are deep-seated in our heritage and our behavior. Every stage of our national development has been accompanied by violence and terrorism, much of which was the outgrowth of strained race relations and economic affairs.[2] Terrorism is not part of the American creed, but its consistent use has made it elemental to our culture.

Oscar Patterson is Chair of the Department of Communication and Visual Arts at University of North Florida, Jacksonville.

Most people, though, cannot clearly define terrorism. The definition of terrorist and terrorism depends on one's point of view.[3] The very use of the terms, however, tends to apply moral judgements.

Defining Terrorism and Terrorists

Terrorism, for the purpose of this article is defined as a violent act "aimed at influencing the political process."[4] It is further defined as "non-military violence to achieve political goals. Its primary objective is to communicate a threat to someone other than the victim. Its most common tool is intimidation."[5]

Terrorists tend to be committed individuals acting as representatives of a cause. There are all kinds of terrorists, but they share certain identifiable traits. Terrorists tend not to see people as individuals, but rather as representatives of a religious, political or cultural system. Terrorists tend to claim responsibility for their actions, and while most of their activities are shrouded in secrecy, the results of these activities are very public. Intimidation is their dominant tactic.[6]

Terrorists have strong narcissistic tendencies. In 90 percent of the political terrorism cases studied by Pearlstein, "narcissistic injury or disappointment" played a critical role.[7] But terrorism is neither an immediate nor timely response to such injuries. Terrorists, in other words, do not become terrorists overnight. It takes some time and some degree of dissidence, usually beginning with some form of alienation, before terrorists act. During this time, many lose sight of reality and adopt grandiose overestimates of their activities and their successes.[8] Terrorists do, above all else, have the ability to place an issue on the public's agenda as well as that of the government.[9]

State terrorism (government-sanctioned terrorism) is not relevant to this study, but does require definition so as to separate it from non-state terrorism. State terrorism is coercion aimed at those who hold views contrary to those held by the government. State terrorism tends to be covert behavior in which clandestine government agents engage in violent activity against a specific group or audience, such as the French attack on the *Rainbow Warrior*.[10]

Terrorists Need An Audience

Terrorism is nothing new in United States history. It appears to be almost cyclical in nature. For example, major US episodes included

abolitionists, the Ku Klux Klan, anarchists, anti-war activities and right-wing hate groups. And while groups such as the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organization receive front-page treatment, the vast majority of terrorist activity in the U.S. is "home grown" and relatively limited in impact. That is, terrorism has limited impact, except when given major media coverage.

Terrorism is a media event. Modern media outlets provide terrorists with the capability to publicize their causes and cultivate support for their activities.[11] Terrorists are, by nature, dependent upon the media. They need witnesses. What matters most is that someone pays attention.

Journalists and the press are common targets of attacks by government and civilian agencies outside the United States. In Albania, Belarus, Burma, China, Cuba, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey, even Mexico, imprisonment, physical attacks and death are often the rewards for engaging in independent journalism.[12] Yet a review of the literature and of government sources[13] suggests that such activities are not common in the United States. External threats to U.S. journalists have been neutralized, and internal or government threats are addressed in the Constitution. Terrorists in the United States tend not to attack media outlets.

As noted above, terrorists are overly concerned with placing their issues on the public agenda. They are strongly egocentric. Direct attacks on the press tend not to serve their goals. In the case presented below, the newspaper in question failed to publish on the day it was attacked, which resulted in a significant number of people in the country being unaware of the event until well after it was over. Terrorists cannot place their cause on the agenda if the media isn't functioning.

Technology Transforms Terrorism

In 1954 when five congressmen were shot on the floor of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican nationalists firing from the spectators' gallery, live media coverage was essentially nonexistent. By 1972, however, global satellite television coverage of the attack on the Israeli Olympic team generated a situation that was a failure, militarily, but of enormous publicity value to the terrorists. Subsequent developments in fiber-optics and satellite communications have resulted in terrorists being more selective in their targets but able to achieve significantly larger media coverage.[14] Overall, domestic terrorism receives little attention from academics,[15] though, and in most instances is assumed to be an urban rather than a rural problem.

Robeson County's History of Violence

Robeson County is the largest, and by many measures, the most violent, county in North Carolina.[16] That violence, drawn sharply along racial and intra-racial lines, has pitted one group against another for over 150 years.[17] Most of the terrorists' activity in the county has been white against American Indian with the Ku Klux Klan as a major factor. During the late 19th century when several churches and at least one school were burned in an attempt to "influence the legislature then in session,"[18] the attacks were intra-racial—carried out by factions within the Indian community led by "lifelong friends." And while the intra-racial conflict became more political in orientation, tensions between red and white exist into the 1990s.

Before 1835, the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County were accepted as free people. The state constitution passed in that year disenfranchised free Negroes, free mulattoes and free persons of mixed blood. Many in the Indian community assumed that, since the new constitution did not mention them specifically, their status remained unchanged. They were wrong. Since no specific provisions were made for the Indians, they, too, were deprived of political and civil rights.[19] In 1840, for example, the state legislature passed a law prohibiting free non-whites from owning or carrying weapons unless licensed by the court. In the first test of that law, a member of the Lumbee tribe, believing that since his people weren't mentioned in the revised constitution, nothing had changed, was convicted of carrying a firearm. The North Carolina Supreme Court upheld the conviction—in opposition to the second Amendment, it was contended—and exploitation and injustice intensified until the Civil War.[20]

By mid 1865, the Union armies and the Republican Party had made all men equal—on paper, anyway.[21] In Robeson County, the enmity between white and Indian, which had been controlled during the war, to some extent, by the home guard, exploded. The deaths by firing squad of a Lumbee farmer and his son appear to have motivated a ten-year guerrilla campaign known as the Lowrie War during which the "King of Scuffletown," Henry Berrie Lowrie, using classic terrorists' tactics, played a violent role in a period severely marred by racial hatred.[22]

Lowrie, though illiterate, used the media most effectively in his campaign against the white government. Depending heavily on newspapers in New York and Wilmington, North Carolina,[23] Lowrie emphasized the legitimate nature of his and all Indian grievances as he demonstrated the lack of government power. His operations were clandestine and

unconventional. He was never arrested and simply disappeared in 1872. His activities reflect the problem of labeling. The tendency to call someone a "terrorist" reflects ideological and political bias.[24] Among the American Indian population, Lowrie is still a hero and role model. Local mythology even gives him credit for enfranchisement of his people under the state's constitution of 1868.[25]

"Blood Board" Established Tribal Membership

The Lumbees migrated to Robeson County, according to tribal tradition, to be protected from both white and Indian raiders. Early historical records do not name the tribe, but make reference to "English speaking Indians" in the region.[26] Throughout nearly 300 years between initial contact with white men and the late 20th century, the Lumbees were called Waccamaw, Croatoan or Croat, Cheraw, and Cherokee. The North Carolina State legislature designated the people "Lumbees" in 1953.[27] Tribal membership is currently established by a genealogical process supervised by the tribal government and meets all Department of Interior standards.

Before World War II, though, a person's identity was established by a group of tribal elders known as the "blood board." This largely arbitrary recognition process generated a degree of animosity between those given official recognition and those from who it was withheld. A number of the those who failed to pass the "blood board's" scrutiny established other tribal affiliations, amongst them, Tuscarora.[28]

Robeson County, home of the Lumbees and the Tuscarora of North Carolina, Inc., is 40 percent American Indian and 35 percent white. Almost one half of the children in the Indian community live in homes at or below the poverty level, and fewer than 40 percent of the adults finish high school. Annual per capita income floats just above $9,500.[29] County Sheriff Hubert Stone considers the Indians "good people . . . educated people . . . hardworking people . . . but they're violent."[30]

Terrorism Reaches a Small Town

Among the indigenous peoples of Robeson County, life has not been easy. Insults to self-esteem and self-image were common. Such pejorative or negative images can result, suggests Pearlstein,[31] in violent behavior with the perpetrator using rhetoric to avoid being labeled a criminal. Two young men, Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs (both

members of the Tuscarora Tribe of Robeson County) took this path when they kidnapped employees of a small-town newspaper to protest racism and political corruption. In a letter sent to the weekly *The Carolina Indian Voice* and published 10 days before the hostage taking,[32] Hatcher accused *The Robesonian*, at that time a Park newspaper, of being prejudicial against minorities. *The Carolina Indian Voice* is an American Indian paper devoted strictly to Indian affairs. It is published in Pembroke, North Carolina, center of the Indian community, and distributed to about 10,000 homes in the county.

The Carolina Indian Voice long claimed that the "majority media" in the county was racist, publishing information that served to "degenerate traditions and social control on the part of tribal elders and showed little respect for tribal tradition."[33] Throughout the 1980s, *The Carolina Indian Voice* published editorials attacking whites and the white political machine.[34]

The conflict between the Indian community and *The Robesonian* could be traced to Reconstruction,[35] but the editorials of the 1980s heightened tension to the point that the editors of all county papers were called together by the Human Relations Commission in an attempt to soften the rhetoric.[36] Representatives of the African American press noted that while, in their opinion, The Robesonian needed to improve coverage of African American concerns, a conscientious effort was being made to deal with racial issues. The representatives of the Indian press, however, perceived deliberate bias as well as "legal, cultural and social discrimination which contribute to de-indianization".[37]

A content analysis of a sample of stories taken from the front and editorial page of *The Robeson* and presented to the Human Relations Commission, indicated that the paper had grown more even-handed over the 40 years under analysis. Of a total of 847 stories coded, 145 addressed minority issues. In the 1950s, 50.7% of the stories coded were considered biased. In the 1980s, only 11.5% were so coded.[38] The perception among the Indian community, however, was that The Robesonian tended to ignore American Indians, portray them in a stereotypical manner and reinforce prejudice especially regarding crime and drug abuse in the Indian community.[39]

Hatchers and Jacobs Take the Press Hostage

On January 21, 1988, the editor of *The Carolina Indian Voice* printed a letter written by Eddie Hatcher. The letter complained that *The*

Robesonian was prejudicial against minorities. That letter was very much on the mind of Bob Horne, editor of *The Robesonian*, when he was informed that Hatcher, carrying a shotgun, was in the newspaper office. Horne assumed that Hatcher wanted to settle things. "Immediately I remembered that Eddie Hatcher had taken issue with some editorial stands we had taken...I felt that he held me personally responsible for everything because I wrote most of the editorials...I thought if things weren't done, people were going to die."[40]

In exchange for their 22 hostages, Hatcher and Jacobs insisted upon the release of a county jail inmate; the establishment of a special prosecutor and task force to investigate charges brought against John Hunt, an alleged drug dealer; the investigation of the County Sheriff's Department, District Attorney's Office and State Bureau of Investigation office; and further investigation of the death of a second county inmate who died, allegedly, from lack of medical attention. Hatcher stated, "We do not wish the death of any hostage....However, we are prepared, if necessary, to enforce the action we have demanded. Should we meet death, we shall not meet death alone."[41]

In turn, Phillip Kirk, the governor's chief of staff, prepared a document that assured Hatcher and Jacobs that, in return for all of the hostages, the two young men could surrender to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), that Hunt would be moved (but not to Central Prison), that a task force would be established to investigate Hatcher's and/or Jacobs' allegations, and that the death of the Robeson County jail inmate would be fully investigated.[42]

During the early afternoon, about five hours into the siege, Hatcher began releasing his hostages. First to go were women, then African Americans, followed by the ill. A little after 6 p.m., Hatcher and Jacobs released the last eight hostages, including Horne, and surrendered to the FBI.[43]

During the ten-hour standoff, Hatcher claimed that his life and Jacobs' had been threatened because they had evidence—maps, names and other details—of Sheriff Hubert Stone's involvement in the local drug trade.[44] Usable evidence was never produced. Jacobs, who also described himself as a "freedom fighter" for Indian causes, referred to his 1986 participation in a hostage situation in St. Paul, Minnesota. The Minnesota governor's office confirmed that a demonstration by the American Indian Movement had taken place, but no one in St. Paul recalled any hostage taking.[45]

Eddie Hatcher's and Timothy Jacobs' seizure of *The Robesonian* in 1988 cannot be viewed in a vacuum. Both young men state that the American political system was "trying to forget about them [American Indians]."[46] And Jacobs claims that they took *The Robesonian* hostage "because we were trying to capture the media....We had been involved with petitions and marching and protests.... It seemed like no one was really listening.... After February 1, 1988, a lot of people began to come here and look into a lot of the problems....[they] realize and remember 1988 and that if it had happened before, it can happen again,"[47] Hatcher notes that the county courthouse, the seat of county government, was their original target, but it had too many doors and too many armed guards.[48]

After the siege, it was suggested that Hatcher and Jacobs were emulating the hero of the Indian community, Henry Berry Lowrie.[49] Lowrie "filled the Indians with a new pride of race, and a new confidence that...revitalized their will to survive as a people"[50] and he brought media attention to Robeson County and its Indian people. Although these two young men probably did not overtly think of Lowrie at the time—they made no mention of him during the siege—it is impossible to view their actions outside of an historical framework (which included Lowrie) of cultural assimilation and discrimination.[51] A song placed on Eddie Hatcher's Internet home page in 1995, though, does link the hostage taking directly with the tribal hero. The last line of the second verse states that Hatcher and Jacobs "rekindled the visions of Henry Berrie Lowrie's war against the state's bounty."[52]

Hatcher and Jacobs were the first American citizens charged under the Anti-Terrorist Act of 1984. They also were charged by the state of North Carolina with kidnapping. The kidnapping charges were initially dropped. On October 14, 1988, Hatcher and Jacobs were tried in federal district court and found innocent on all counts. Both men were arrested by state agents in early December 1988 after being indicted on state kidnapping charges. Hatcher made bail and left the state.

In January 1989, Hatcher appeared on the Shoshone-Bannock Reservation in Idaho and requested asylum. A federal warrant was issued for his arrest, since federal jurisdiction does not require any action by the tribal court. Hatcher then surfaced in San Francisco on March 10, 1989, and asked for political asylum at the Soviet Consulate. Asylum was not granted and upon leaving the consulate, Hatcher was arrested again. He

was returned to North Carolina and, in February 1990, he was sentenced to 18 years in prison.

Hatcher was paroled in May 1995 and released from parole in early 1997.[53] He currently operates the Hatcher Center for Human Rights. Jacobs pleaded guilty to kidnapping charges and was sentenced to six years in prison. Jacobs served two years and was released in March 1992. He, like Hatcher, is still involved in American Indian causes.

Examining Important Historical Markers

The seizure of *The Robesonian* must be viewed in the historical perspective common to American Indians of southeastern North Carolina. Five major events serve as historical markers for these people: The Lowrie War (see page 128) of the 1860s and 1870s, the routing of the Ku Klux Klan in 1958, the burning of Old Main on the Pembroke State University campus in 1973, the establishment of *The Carolina Indian Voice* and Julian Pierce's candidacy for judge of Superior Court and his eventual death. These five events were very much a part of Hatcher's and Jacobs' heritage and, though Pierce's death came shortly after the hostage taking, Hatcher's perception of how *The Robesonian* was covering political races that included American Indians generated the letter published in *The Carolina Indian Voice.*

Official policy in Robeson County had created a quadruple Jim Crow, one of the more elaborate class systems in the nation. This policy began to disintegrate in 1954, and the Ku Klux Klan became more active. At the same time, the American Indian veterans did something that earned national media attention. In 1958, the kinsmen of Henry Berry Lowrie attended a Klan rally.

Routing of the Klu Klux Klan. On January 13, 1958, hooded Klansmen burned a cross near the home of an American Indian family in Lumberton, the county seat, and another in St. Pauls, NC, in the driveway of a white woman accused of dating an Indian.[54] Then on January 18, the Klan held a rally in a field near Maxton, NC, in the western part of Robeson County. The Klan set up a microphone, speakers and a single lightbulb. The American Indians, mostly veterans of World War II, maneuvered into place, fired their guns in the air, and shot out the light bulb.[55] At the request of the county sheriff, state highway patrolmen quickly moved in and intervened. The Klansmen, escorted by patrolmen, left the county never to return,[56] and the Indians of Robeson County had

their first taste of national publicity since the 1870s. The young men who had been nurtured on the exploits of Henry Berry Lowrie received international attention and, though numerous other events promised genuine change in the county, the dramatic nature of the Indian assault on the Klan became a central part of Indian cultural history.

While Hatcher and Jacobs did not overtly express their intent to emulate Henry Berry Lowrie or the young men who routed the Klan, it is probable that their cultural upbringing, which included both events, directly affected their actions.[57] Neither Hatcher nor Jacobs seemed intent, initially, on garnering national or international attention. [58] However, within hours the story of *The Robesonian* siege was broadcast internationally and within a month, civil rights lawyer William Kunstler had joined their defense team. Kunstler immediately questioned federal jurisdiction and stated "This is an important national case. It goes way beyond Robeson County—I'm sure it will get national attention."[59] [60] It did.

The Burning of Old Main and the Establishment of *The Carolina Indian Voice.* The third and fourth major events in history of the region's American Indian population— the burning of Old Main and the establishment of *The Carolina Indian Voice*—were interrelated. Pembroke State University (now the University of North Carolina at Pembroke) was established by the state legislature in 1887 for the advancement of the Indians of Robeson County. By 1941, the Indian State Normal College was the only "state-supported, four-year college for Indians in the nation."[61] In 1973, Old Main was the oldest building on the school's campus and symbolic of American Indian identity in the county, but it was dilapidated and unused. The state wanted to destroy it and build a new facility. Many American Indians objected.

The original building at "the college" had been built in 1887 with Indian money, since the state appropriated funds only for a teacher. Because of this, many people in the local community took the position that the current building belonged to them, not the state. On March 18, 1973, "Old Main was torched by arsonists...and gutted by the ensuing fire."[62] It was one of more than 40 buildings that burned during 1972 and early 1973, but it was by far the most important. Old Main had become part of the "De-Indianization" issue. The question of assimilation versus cultural identity was the central issue among American Indians, and the destruction of this historic building was seen as one more step in the final elimination of Indian history and culture. At the same

time, Indian militancy, led by the American Indian Movement, found its way to Robeson County. Supported by the Tuscaroras, Dennis Banks visited the county and introduced a new degree of militancy among the local American Indians. Robeson County Tuscaroras traveled to Washington to protest, and were arrested as part of the Trail of Broken Treaties.[63]

At the same time, *The Carolina Indian Voice*, a weekly newspaper, was established as a commercial, non-reservation, American Indian newspaper. Bruce Barton, the paper's owner and editor, was a native of Robeson County and himself an American Indian. After military service and a term in a state prison for assault, Barton was drawn back to the county by the unrest of the 1970s.[64] He bought the paper's name and mailing list from a defunct "college without walls" that focused on Indian culture and needs. He immediately identified his mission as being "the voice of the silent majority...that speaks for the American Indian people in the community"[65] and placed himself and his newspaper solidly on the Indian side in the "Old Main Question."

Barton and *The Carolina Indian Voice* staged a running battle with the county's daily newspaper, *The Robesonian*. Barton claims that when he challenged the "majority media" in the county, it fought back with thinly veiled comments questioning the journalistic integrity of *The Carolina Indian Voice* and suggesting that he (Barton) often published gossip and opinionated stories rather than fair and balanced news."[66] *The Robesonian* disagreed.[67] Nevertheless, from 1973 to 1988, Barton consistently questioned, in print, the accuracy of many *Robesonian* stories, especially those dealing with American Indians. By 1988, Hatcher had become part of *The Carolina Indian Voice's* campaign against perceived bias in *The Robesonian*.[68]

Julian Pierce's Murder. The fifth event related to the hostage-taking at *The Robesonian*, although a significant part of it occurred almost two months after the siege, was the political campaign and murder of Julian Pierce. Pierce, an American Indian attorney, was a candidate for Superior Court judge running against Joe Freeman Britt. Britt was the county's district attorney and had prosecuted Thelma Barfield, the last female executed in North Carolina. Britt was accused of discrimination toward American Indians and Hatcher complained in his letter about the placement of stories in *The Robesonian* announcing the candidates for judge. Even Pierce said that he thought he was "short-changed" by *The Robesonian* in declaring his candidacy because Britt's announcement was larger, better placed, and accompanied by a photograph. Pierce went on

say, "But I guess in a way I didn't expect any more" from *The Robesonian*.[69] Less than four months into the campaign, on March 26, 1988, Pierce was shot to death in his home.

Pierce's murder immediately led to charges that he had been assassinated for political reasons. Sheriff Hubert Stone told *The New York Times*, "It just looks like he was actually assassinated."[70] The same issue of the *Times* included part of the Hatcher and Jacobs story in its report about Pierce, suggesting a link between the two events. To many in the Indian community, Pierce's death was the result of political and law enforcement corruption, just what Hatcher and Jacobs talked about. Within days of Pierce's death, a combined team of FBI, State Bureau of Investigation and local deputies, acting on a tip, attempted to arrest a young man who had been dating Pierce's girlfriend's daughter. He shot himself in the head with a shotgun.[71] Pierce had helped the girl's mother obtain two trespassing warrants against the man. In that spring's election, Pierce defeated Britt by more than 2,000 votes. The deadliest DA had been defeated by a dead man.[72] Britt, however, took office. All votes for Pierce were ruled invalid.

Does Terrorism Cause Change?

Did the siege of *The Robesonian* change things? Jacobs and Hatcher believe it did, although both agree that there is still a great deal to do.[73] Others contend that the terrorist attack on *The Robesonian* served to damage the image of the Indian community and of the region by confirming existing perceptions of the level of violence common to minority communities.[74]

Hatcher, like most terrorists, believes that he will get the credit he deserves for bringing about significant changes through the use of force. "There were no Indian judges or school board members or public defenders. . . there was no school merger. All this came after the takeover. They won't have to give me credit, history will."[75]

Things have changed in Robeson County since 1988, but as the result of a coalition of American Indians and African Americans who focused on the political process and targeted the criminal justice system, the government and the public schools for reorganization, not of the terrorists' attack on *The Robesonian*. Beginning with the question of school system consolidation and the elimination of "double voting" (allowing whites to vote for county and city school boards), this coalition discovered that, by working together, they could exercise effective control of county politics.[76]

Dedication to education and participation in the political system are the surest means to initiate and sustain political change. The Hatcher/ Jacobs terrorist attack was an historical anomaly—a newspaper and its staff taken hostage for professed political purposes. Hostage taking may have captured the media and drawn attention to political corruption, but that attention faded quickly, as it does with most violent events. The county changed, not because of the hostage taking, but in spite of it. Bombings, shootings and kidnappings have become a feature of late 20th century political life. If terrorists are to be successful, they must place their cause on the public agenda for a substantial length of time and generate some level of support from their own people.[77] Hatcher and Jacobs did neither. Their siege cannot be considered a factor in the political, cultural and racial changes that took place in the ten years after *The Robesonian* was held hostage.[78]

Endnotes

[1]Eddie Hatcher, interviewed by James Locklear, Richmond County, North Carolina, 17 August 1997.

[2]Richard M. Brown, "Historical Patterns of Violence," in Ted R. Gurr, ed., *Violence in America: Vol 2, Protest, Rebellion, Reform* (Newbury Park, Calif,: Sage Publications, Inc., 1989), 23-61.

[3]Maxwell Taylor, *The Terrorist* (New York: Brassey's Defense Publishers, 1988), 2-3.

[4]Ibid, 3.

[5]Steven Anzovin, ed., *Terrorism* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1986), 7.

[6]Ibid, 5.

[7]Richard M. Pearlstein, *The Mind of the Political Terrorist* (Wilmington, Delaware: The Scholarly Resources Inc., 1991), 9.

[8]Anzovin, 14-15.

[9]Stephen M. Saideman, "International Organizations an Secessionist Crises: The Relevance of Agenda Setting," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 17:3, 1994, 275-291

[10]Taylor, 44-45.

[11]Terrell Arnold and Moorhead Kennedy, *Terrorism: The New Warfare* (New York: Walker and Company, 1988), 153.

[12]Norman Solomon, "Freedom of the Press: Don't Take It for Granted," http:// www.putnampit.com/solomon326.html.

[13]"Terrorism: Current Threat," http://www.fbi.gov/terrorism/current.html.

[14]Taylor, 69.

[15]Sean P. Eagan, "From Spikes to Bombs: the Rise of Eco-Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 19:1, 1996, 1.

[16]Scott Raab, "Reasonable Doubt," *GQ Magazine*, March 1994: 17-26.

[17]Maud Thomas, *Away Down Home: A History of Robeson County, North Carolina* (Birmingham, Ala.: n.p., 1982), 149-162.

[18]David K. Eliades and Linda E. Oxendine, *Pembroke State University: A Centennial History* (Columbus, GA: Breetwood University Press, 1986), 20.

[19]Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1975), 39-43.

[20]Ibid, 44-45.

[21]W. McKee Evans, *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 258-266.

[22]Dial and Eliades, 68-86.

[23]Evans, 223-257.

[24]Jack P. Gibbs, "Conceptualization of Terrorism," *American Sociological Review*, 54:3, 1989, 334.

[25]Randall Umberger, *Strike at the Wind*, Robeson Historical Association, Lumberton, NC, 1976.

[26]Dial and Eliades, 5.

[27]Ibid, 14.

[28]Mildred Oxendine, interviewed by Oscar Patterson III, Pembroke, N.C., 19 March 1997.

[29]Statistical Abstract, Robeson County, 1995.

[30]Raab, 20.

[31]Pearlstein, 40.

[32]Associated Press, "Hatcher accused Robesonian of bias," *The Robesonian*, 11 February 1988, 1A; Letter, *The Carolina Indian Voice*, 21 January 1988, 2.

[33]Connie Brayboy, editor, The Carolina Indian Voice, interviewed by Oscar Patterson III, Pembroke, N.C., 12 March 1991.

[34]Bruce Barton, former editor of The Carolina Indian Voice, interviewed by Kimberly Locklear, Pembroke, N.C., 21 April 1991.

[35]Evans, 244.

[36]Human Relations Commission calls meeting, *The Robesonian*, 13 November 1987.

[37]Bruce Barton, interview, 1991.

[38]Kimberly Locklear and Kenneth Locklear, "An Analysis of 40 Years of Newspaper Content: The Robesonian," unpublished paper, Pembroke State University, 1988.

[39]Barton, interview, 1991.

[40]Bob Horne , interviewed by Oscar Patterson III, *Pembroke Forum*, WNCP-TV, The University of North Carolina at Pembroke, 24 February 1988.

[41]Bob Horne, "Jacobs: 'I just hope people will understand why I did it'," The Robesonian, Monday, February 1, 1988 - Tuesday, February 2, 1988, 9A. (Combined edition)

[42]Ibid.

[43]Malissa Talbert, "Robesonian hostages released," *The Robesonian*, Monday, 1 February 1988- Tuesday, 2 February 1988, 1A.

[44]"Hatcher explains his cause," *The Robesonian*, Monday, 1 February 1988 - Tuesday, 2 February 1988, 9A. (Combined edition); Raab, 242.

[45]Horne, 9A.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Timothy Jacobs, interviewed by Oscar Patterson III, *Pembroke Forum*, WPSU-TV, Pembroke State University, 2 February 1994.

[48]Hatcher, interview, 1997.

[49]Starr, 344.

[50]Evans, 259.

[51]Michael Stratil, Ph.D., interviewed by Oscar Patterson III, *Pembroke Forum*, WPSU- TV, Pembroke State University, 24 February 1988.

[52]Tashunka Raven, "Robeson County Blues," at http://www.gdn.org/ftp/FWDP/Americas/edhatch.txt.

[53]Amber Nimcock, "Hatcher released from Parole, *The Fayetteville Observer-Times*, 20 February 1997, 2C; http://www.gdn.org/ftp/FWDP/Americas/edhatch.txt.

[54]Evans, 254-255.

[55]Curt Locklear, James Oxendine & Carl Sheppard interviewed by Oscar Patterson III, *Never That Far*, WNCP-TV, The University of North Carolina at Pembroke, 11 March 1996.

[56]"Bad medicine for the klan," *Life Magazine*, 27 January 1958, 26-27; "Indians back at peace and the klan at bay," *Life Magazine*, 27 January 1958, 36-36A; *Newsweek*, 27 January 1958; Evans, 256-57.

[57]Stratil, interview, 1988.

[58]Horne, interview, 1988.

[59]Greg Hitt, "Kunstler says Hatcher, Jacobs have been illegally charged," *Winston-Salem Journal* special to *The Robesonian, 10 March 1988, 1A.*

[60]Barry Nakell, another member of Hatcher's defense team, was the first tenured Law professor dismissed by The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He was charged twice with shoplifting.

[61]David K. Eliades and Linda E. Oxendine, *Pembroke State University: A Centennial History* (Columbus, GA: Brentwood University Press, 1986), 53.

[62]Adolph L. Dial, *The Lumbee* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1993), 100.

[63]Ibid, 98.

[64]Bruce Barton, interview, 1991.

[65]Connie Brayboy, interview, 1991.

[66]Ibid.

[67]"Responsible reporting discussed at seminar," *The Robesonian*, 4 March 1990, 12.

[68]"Hatcher accused Robesonian of bias", *The Robesonian*, 11 February 1988, 1A.

[69]R. L. Godfrey, "Pierce says paper short-changed him on announcement," *The Robesonian*, 11 February 1988, 1A.

[70]"Indian politician killed in Carolina," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 27 March 1988, 3C.

[71]"Julian Pierce, candidate for Superior Court Judge, assassinated," *The Carolina Indian Voice*, 24 March 1988, 1A; "Alleged triggerman in Pierce case found dead," *The Robesonian*, 29 March 1988, 1A.

[72]"Joe Freeman Britt haunted by the spirit of Julian Pierce," *The Carolina Indian Voice*, 17 April 1988, 1A.

[73]Jacobs, interview, 1994.

[74]Donnie Douglas, editor of The Robesonian, interviewed by James Locklear, Lumberton, N.C., 31 July 1997.

[75]Eddie Hatcher, interview, 1997.

[76]Dial, 102-103; Bruce Barton, interview, 1991.

[77]Douglas, interview, 1997.

[78]Glenn Maynor (Lumbee), Sheriff of Robeson County, interviewed by Ricardo DelCampo, 23 February 1998

Great Ideas

What's Mock News? A Case Study of *Dino Times* and *NYTW News*

by John Osburn

Mock news as a publicity device is encountered with some regularity, yet rare enough to come off as novel and imaginative: column-formatted "advertising supplements," menus and flyers made to look like newspapers, TV commercials that mimic press conferences and newscasts. Such presentations capitalize on either or both of two somewhat contradictory qualities: (1) the legitimacy that comes from purveying useful and important facts and (2) the entertainment value of the events reported and the theatricality of their presentation. They are also ironic: the main income source of journalism borrowing the rhetoric and imagery of news for its own economic gain.

Mock news offers an opportunity to examine journalistic representation independent of debates about content. In particular, my research into the performance aspects of news has led me to examine how mock news has been exploited as a promotional technique for film and theater. Journalism and drama have a number of affinities, including the perennial attraction of news to "dramatic developments" and drama to "newsworthy" events (as in *The Front Page, Citizen Kane,* or the TV docudrama). The promotional use of mock news, while drawing on this broader affinity, is especially apropos: the theatrical conception of "audience" piggybacks on the journalistic values of "readership" and "community." Below, I will use a brief analysis of two mock newspapers from 1993 to illustrate the potential of mock news for scholarly study and as a pedagogical tool.

A "special edition" of *"Dino Times"* was passed out in cinemas to promote the Spielberg movie *Jurassic Park,* about a tourist park filled with

---

John Osburn, a former Section Editor for the *Daily Camera* in Boulder, CO, runs a communication workshop program at the Cooper Union in New York.

JURASSIC PARK SPECIAL EDITION

DINO TIMES

The Dinosaur Society

The Dinosaur Club

PROMOTIONAL COPY — ALL THE NEWS THAT'S OLD — SPRING 1993

IN THIS ISSUE

FREE THE DINOSAUR CLUB WATCH
See Back Page For Details

TOUR JURASSIC PARK
The World's Most Spectacular Theme Park

MEET THE CAST
Richard Attenborough
Laura Dern
Sam Neill

DINO TIMES ON THE SET
The Dinosaur Society visits JURASSIC PARK.

AND MUCH MUCH MORE

COVER STORY

THE DINOSAUR WORLD OF JURASSIC PARK™

Off the Coast of Costa Rica - What if you could visit a place where dinosaurs live? What if you could walk among animals the size of office buildings . . . or see herds of sharp-clawed "*raptors*" darting swiftly by . . . or watch a live *Tyrannosaurus rex* stalk its prey? Now you can - in a place called JURASSIC PARK.

This summer, you will have the chance to see with your own eyes a world that has not existed for over 65 million years, as long-extinct animals are brought to life again.

How is this possible? How do you make a dinosaur come to life? What kind of animals could we expect to meet - and how do dinosaurs really behave? We'll get the answers to all of these questions and more - in this special edition of *Dino Times*.

As an added bonus, our own Dino Don goes on location for a first-hand look at the creation of the motion picture JURASSIC PARK. We'll meet director Steven Spielberg and actors Ariana Richards and Joseph Mazzello, two dinosaur-loving kids who will tell you about the experience as the first-ever visitors to JURASSIC PARK.

So look inside. Your adventure is about to begin.

The panoramic vista at Jurassic Park from the Helipad.

"This is not science fiction; it's science eventuality."
-Steven Spielberg

Dr Alan Grant shows Tim and Lex a recent dinosaur fossil discovery.

An Interview With DIRECTOR STEVEN SPIELBERG

JURASSIC PARK is more than a place - it's also the name of a movie directed by Steven Spielberg, the director of "E.T. The Extra Terrestrial" and

Director Steven Spielberg on location wearing his Dinosaur Club hat.

"Close Encounters of the Third Kind." We caught up with Spielberg on the movie set, where he told *Dino Times* about the fun of making a film with some of the biggest (really!) actors on earth:

Interview begins on Page 4

Dino Times is an example of "mock news" which was used to promote the movie "Jurassic Park."

live dinosaurs cloned from pre-historic genes. This sly pseudo-newspaper, featuring "all the news that's old," had a cover story in travelogue form, star and director interviews, and *USA Today* style graphics. When unfolded, its character as a newspaper dissolved. The pages turned into educational posters for schoolrooms and dormitory walls.[1] In promotional lingo, *Dino Times* became "a keeper."

This implies a different form of circulation than that of the real newspaper. The hope is that a keeper, with its aura of souvenir or "special edition," will not be discarded but kept around homes and offices, displayed, passed along, even saved for future reference. Real newspapers are shockingly disposable, to the point that they are turned to depreciating secondary uses such as kindling, birdcage liner or fishwrap. That the mock newspaper is more keepable than its prototype enhances its novelty and, in a sense, makes it more respectable.

Mocking the News

Mock newspapers build audiences in the same way that real newspapers have historically created "imagined communities" that involve citizens in a common narrative reinforced by rituals of everyday reading.[2] Similarly, theater historian Marvin Carlson observes that "the composition of the community of readers who make up the theater audience is closely related to the institutional organization of publicity ... ."[3]

Mock news occupies a special place in the "event structure" of "publicity, programs, and reviews" that "constitute for most audiences the most obvious first exposure to the possible world of the performance they are going to see."[4] Since theatrical publicity includes ads, advances and reviews in actual newspapers, mock news becomes all the more evocative and referential.

The more important the idea of community is to an event, the richer the mock newspaper is as a promotional tool. *Dino Times* was part of a huge campaign calculated to direct the reception of the movie by millions of viewers. At some point in such an expanding circle of media exposure, the notion of "community" becomes frayed around the edges. Holding together a well-defined community is, by contrast, an economic necessity for many small non-profit theaters. Hence the overt community-building of a mock newspaper circulated by the New York Theatre Workshop in the same year as Spielberg's *Jurassic Park.*

At a revival of the Caryl Churchill plays *Owners* and *Traps*, the so-called *NYTW News* was distributed with the program. It mimicked the

style of a New York tabloid in both the masthead (complete with weather report, newsstand price and the legend, "Late City Final") and the blaring black-letter headline on page 1, "DOUBLE FEATURE!"[5]

The theme (or news-hook?) of doubling was itself doubled and redoubled, by two identical photos of the playwright and by the inside-page headlines "CARYL CHURCHILL! CARYL CHURCHILL!" and "NYTW Sees Double"—the theatrical equivalent of a two-for-one sale. Moreover, purchasing tickets for both plays (which ran on separate nights) would allow a playgoer to view "the two sides," as it were, of Caryl Churchill:

> Where *Owners* is more immediately straightforward in style, telling a blackly farcical story in a more or less conventional fashion, *Traps* is perhaps more realistic as far as the actual incidents that occur and deeply experimental in its theatrical form.[6]

The man-bites-dog novelty of the double-bill—rather than the particulars of the plays—framed the productions as worthy of attendance, or *news*worthy. To declare something newsworthy in a given community makes it dramatic and attention-grabbing, but also mandatory reading for an informed citizen.

Archeological News Relics

That which is sanctified as news is a must read or, in the theater, a "must see." The newsworthiness of *Owners* and *Traps* was also furthered by portraying them as "early plays." Treating them like relics unearthed at an archeological dig and rescued from obscurity imparted an ironic newness to the plays; like dinosaurs cloned from ancient remains, they were the news that is old.

Furthermore, *NYTW News* positioned the productions within a wider field of reception, community and event structure. What these early plays were rescued *from* were the actual newspaper reviews that hobbled the plays' first New York runs:

> The wry theatricality that infuses *Owners* was seen as 'abnormal,' and the 'point' of the plot horribly obscure. When the Mercer Arts Center building collapsed during the run of the play and cut it rather short, one senses that the critical establishment did not weep. While *Traps*

> fared a bit better with its critical response, still the emphasis was on a 'vestigial' plot and general disapproval of the characters' actions—just like in *Hamlet*: no one ever *does* anything, and they're all so *unpleasant* . . . .[7]

Although the New York Theatre Workshop follows the general practice of posting favorable reviews in the lobby, the mock newspaper in this instance established itself as a counterweight to the reports of real journalists.

This tactic is directly linked to "community." The newspaper review as it is known today arose because "a new community of readers had to be trained" after the cultural disruption of the French Revolution.[8]

NYTW AT 79 EAST FOURTH STREET
New York Theatre Workshop
NEW YORK CITY
NYTW NEWS
LATE CITY FINAL
SPRING 1993 / Weather: Spring comes early
40¢ in New York City 50¢ elsewhere
MARTHA SWOPE
MARTHA SWOPE
New York Theatre Workshop presents two plays by Caryl Churchill in rep. Performances begin March 5. DETAILS. PAGE 2
DOUBLE FEATURE!

The New York Theatre Workshop used a mock news format to promote its plays.

NYTW News imagined a smaller, more loyal community than the one constructed by the arts pages of daily newspapers, encompassing not only NYTW's actors and directors, but an extended family including even the production manager's dog, whose bout with rat poison was touchingly reported .[9]

A more serious implication of kinship and family relation was an obituary for a deceased colleague that offered "deepest sympathies to Craig and to Paul's mother."[10] Generational links were appealed to by a 70s nostalgia contest "to honor NYTW's productions of *Owners* and *Traps,* written and set in 1970s Britain",[11] and the playwright was welcomed as a "regular person" who could converse with the directors over breakfast on a first name basis.[12]

Creating News Poachers

The audience and surrounding neighborhood were assumed by *NYTW News* to be part of an imagined community of audience members and financial supporters. Referring to a renovated theater building symbolic of NYTW's commitment to its East Village locale, the audience (or readership) was invited to metaphorically sup with cast and crew at restaurants in "the culinary universe located within blocks of our new home"[6]—an echo of the "Where the Stars Eat" delis that dot the Theater District.

The larger event structure of before and after dining appeals to the unspoken central strategy of virtually all theater publicity—*to de-emphasize the production itself as a reason to attend the theater.* A self-defined community of this nature risks delusion and parochialism, but also promotes communal values of cohesion, growth and renewal. By poaching on the historical function of journalism in creating and holding together communities, the mock newspaper promises endless future editions and a subscriber base rooted in a sense of belonging.

Endnotes

[1]*Dino Times* (Universal City Studios and Amblin Entertainment, Spring 1993).

[2]Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 19.

[3]Marvin Carlson, *Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1992), 19.
[4]Ibid., 18.
[5]*NYTW News* (New York Theatre Workshop, Spring 1993).
[6]Ibid., 2.
[7]Ibid., 2.
[8]Carlson, 22.
[9]*NYTW News,* Spring 1993, 6.
[10]Ibid., 4-5.
[12]Ibid., 5.
[13]Ibid., 6.

Book Reviews

Sometimes we have to step outside the field of history and take a look at what our colleagues are researching and writing. This collection of reviews will focus on those issues which seem to rise no matter what century we are examining. The eight reviews in this collection focus mainly on contemporary issues in media and journalism. These reviews range over wide territory which includes one history volume; the debate over public journalism revisited; mecia ethics; the role of media in public life; and a collection of essays which have appeared in scholarly journals in Great Britain.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓Editor's Choice

A History of Mass Communication

By Irving Fang, Boston: Massachusetts, The Focal Press, 1997, 280pp.

At first glance, Irving Fang's survey of what he has named Six Information Revolutions may seem an odd selection for the editor's choice. Yet, the acid test came this year when I "inflicted" the work on a class of 60 undergraduates. The reception was universally warm, and as the students often noted, the book brought together a number of major historical events and modern ideas under the cover of one work. Not that students are particularly lazy when it comes to research, but the Fang book gave a focus and clarity to the course that otherwise may have been at the very least, somewhat disjointed.

Irving Fang is not the first author to attempt to define the various ages of communications development. His book opens with a short, but informative discussion on what constitutes an information revolution. In his world, the desire of a person or persons to begin to record history by writing it down constitutes the beginning of an information revolution. Fang argues that "it and the revolutions that followed would shape humankind more than any wars or any kings ever did or could." This form of flattery is characteristic of much of the writing in the book, and while it lionizes communications, much in the spirit of Harold Innis and

Marshall McLuhan, it does not detract from the fact that politics, sociology and economics are shaped by human activity as well. And, as much as Fang begins with the concept that communications are the fundamental stimulants in shaping social forces, he does not allow any form of technical determinism from distorting his central message. That in every respect is a concept that should be treated with great care.

So, what are the six communications revolutions? Following his introduction, Fang launches into a fairly detailed discussion of the impact of writing on communications. Like all other chapters, the section on writing is subdivided into headings. In fact, in the 17 pages of the first chapter, there are no less than 19 subheadings. That gives the reader a solid clue that the book is intended to do exactly what it does, survey communications developments from antiquity to the present without clouding the issues with complex forms of analysis. Following his survey of the emergence of writing, Fang takes the quantum leap to the development of the printing press. To his credit, he does not ignore the possibility that the Chinese preceded Gutenberg by a number of centuries in the development of printing. However, this is only one small part of a chapter which deals not only with printing but the rise of universities, the mass (so to speak) consumption of literature, the early stirring of journalism and the beginnings of the postal service.

From Gutenberg, we jump right into the 20th century. It seems that nearly four centuries have been overlooked, but in reality, they have not. In the third chapter on mass media, the author sets out to demonstrate how printing created not only a media society, but led to urbanization, improved technology in paper making, the birth of the daily newspaper and magazines, investigative journalism, the invention of typewriters and the entry of women into media. This chapter, which is one of the longest in the book, also surveys improvements in postal delivery, the invention and use of photography as a journalistic vehicle, the impact of the telegraph and telephone, the invention of radio and subsequently of broadcasting, as well as the emergence of the movie medium. In every respect, this chapter pulls together in a relatively short space, one of the most creative centuries in human history.

It is natural then, that Fang shows us how the impact of the 19th century produced the entertainment revolution of the 20th. Many of the subtitles deal with the same topics as the previous chapter, such as radio, the movies, recorded sounds, photography, the novel and, of course, the arrival of television in the late 1940s. The fifth chapter deals with how

the electronic age has impacted on lifestyles, and in particular how the home has been affected. Again, many of the same topics that were covered in the previous two chapters re-appear, but with a much more modern approach. It was here that my students began to really understand why the study of media history was critical to the understanding of modern phenomenon. The book concludes with a very speculative approach to the information revolution that has gripped us during the past four decades. To his credit, the author deals with what we know now, and avoids the trap of being a sage for things to come.

Any teacher who wants a quick, literate and often visual look at communications in general will find the book most helpful. It is clearly laid out. There are no confusions. The book's design found great favour with students who reported to me that they had few problems coming to grips with the materials. But do beware, keep your eyes open, there are some errors. The most notable one appears on page 122 in Figure 4.12. Included is a picture of a person strapped in the electric chair. Although the text identifies her as Ruth Judd, the Texas trunk murderer, it is in reality Ruth Snyder who went to her death for murdering her husband. It is difficult to see how this escaped the editor's eye since the photograph is part of a newspaper page in which the name "Mrs. Snyder" is prominent in the top right hand corner of the frame.

Yet in spite of this unfortunate oversight, the book is a welcome addition to an ever growing collection of works on mass media. It is a good read, as any number of my own students will attest.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

Free Speech in its Forgotten Years

By David M. Rabban, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 404 pp.

The "forgotten years" in David Rabban's understanding is to challenge the view of Zachariah Chafee Jr., so dominant in Rabban's law school education, that free speech was of negligible legal or societal interest from 1801, when the Sedition Act expired, to 1917, when Congress passed the Espionage Act. Of course, "forgotten" is in the eye of the beholder, and certainly many communication scholars would not

agree with the premise of the title, or find in the author's attention to the free speech issues implicit in the free love, anarchist, birth control, socialist and labor movements anything new or surprising. Rabban, who is a professor of law at the University of Texas at Austin, has been exploring his thesis since the late 1970s, when Chafee's influence(apparently in law school anyway) was dominant, but that exploration, judging by the dearth of footnotes in the area, has not included communication scholarship. Moreover, the book was admittedly written and published in a piecemeal fashion over the years so that chapters are not always clearly linked and fail to carry ongoing themes.

Having said that, Rabban's work can be valuable to communication scholars in stops and starts. Historians will find valuable his account of the Free Speech League, precursor of the American Civil Liberties Union and organized as a reaction to the prosecutions against anarchist speech after McKinley's assassination. "The Free Speech League was involved in virtually every major free speech controversy during the first two decades of the 20th century," Rabban writes, none more important than in disputations waged by the "Wobblies." Nonetheless, according to Rabban, the IWW fights composed a fraction of the free speech cases, although most were rejected and several of them by an unsympathetic Supreme Court. Shifting his focus (which he does several times), Rabban then provides a history of the bad tendency test from its Blacksonian beginnings through Chafee's influential interpretation.

Changing his lens again, Rabban moves onto a survey of legal scholarship preceding Chafee. By Rabban's account, most influential were Theodore Schroeder, Thomas Cooley, Ernest Freund, Henry Schofield, and Roscoe Pound, all critics of court decisions but from widely different perspectives. As the book moves towards its conclusion, Rabban returns to the Progressives' time frame, examining the free speech attitudes of John Dewey and Herbert Croly. Rabban notes that these forward-looking thinkers, individuals who might be expected to support free speech issues, were in fact wary that free speech promoted the kind of individualism that worked against the cooperation needed to build a responsible and harmonious society.

Rabban provides interesting and insightful observations throughout the book, many of which—as in the last point—deserved longer and more thorough explication as well as integration into the larger frame.

>Patricia Bradley, Temple University

Get Me A Murder A Day: A History of Mass Communication in Britain

By Kevin Williams, London: Arnold, 1998. 288 pp.

This interesting book spans the course of British media history, from the 15th century to the present. In terms of scope, it features a ranging approach to the subject that British and American historians and media scholars have largely neglected. For that reason alone, it deserves the attention of an audience on both sides of the Atlantic. Its author, Kevin Williams, a Senior Lecturer at the Center for Journalism Studies at the University of Wales College, Cardiff, mindful of the extent of media history through the modern centuries, cautions readers that the volume "can be no more than a snapshot of the main developments of some of the mass media." His reservation is understandable, but it understates his achievements. Although the book is short when matched against the extent of the subject and is far from being a comprehensive history, it offers discussion of the selected, well-connected topics that exceeds the brevity of "snapshots."

Williams delineates his subject to include print, broadcast, film and television media and excludes others (e. g., the popular novel and advertising), and he concentrates on how the former have changed over time. After examining the growth of the early print media through the 18th century, he centers on the 19th century radical press, the rise of the popular press, the development of British cinema, and the emergence of the BBC and early television. Probes into the experience of the various media in the era of the World War II, and their evolution to the present, complete the sequence of topics covered. Each is succinctly explained. Although Churchill's retort, "true, but not exhaustive," often comes to mind while reading the book, it should be stressed that it provides a clear and useful account of a number of important chapters in British media history.

The book's title is taken from the words of Lord Northcliffe, the great press lord who was instrumental in developing early 20thcentury popular journalism. "Get me a murder a day," however, is a poor representation of Northcliffe who, despite his strange ways, was about far more than that phrase implies. Williams suggests as much when he discusses Northcliffe in the text. Nor does that quote accurately describe the present volume, which the author tells us is about "the emergence, growth and consolidation" of the included media. Williams believes, however,

that Northcliffe's words describe the "staple diet" of Britain's mass media today. Consequently, though the title pertains to the point the book reaches, readers should not be misled by it. Nor should they expect to find a book based on original sources. Aside from boxed excerpts from primary sources appearing throughout the book, it rests mainly on secondary sources. To his credit, Williams does a credible job of pulling together that material into a readable narrative.

He is particularly successful in building strong interpretations of his subject. Central is the idea that advances in communication technologies explain only a part of media development. The expansion of media industries, social forces, and the state, as well as other institutional agents of control in society, must be taken into account. A second major interpretation in the volume draws attention to various ways in which social realities have influenced the role of the media. For example, when explaining the emergence of newspapers from their previous 18th century, fictionalized status, Williams reasons that "the press began to act as the 'voice' of the new middle class, advertisements were a response to the commercial needs of this new class while the growth of political comment, instruction in manners and etiquette, discussion of theater and literature responded to their social needs." Elsewhere in the book, he explores the influence of class consciousness on the media and also the impact of social values, the growth of leisure, and female audience preferences.

Another prominent theme in the book examines the way in which market forces have shaped the media. Williams probes into how the media escaped the "shackles of the State" a century ago, only to become tied "to the limits of the market" as the mass media audience became treated not "as citizens but as consumers." What then is the fate of the concept of the press as a public service? He concludes that the evolving emphasis on consumerism threatens the very "political and cultural democracy" that it helped to create. Considering the condition of the contemporary media in Britain and this country, the point is pertinent.

Williams' engaging commentary also enhances the narrative quality of the book. It is exemplified, for instance, in his consideration of the rise and fall of the early radical prose. which constitutes one of the best chapters of the book. Here he observes that in the 19th century when "advertising became central to the profitability of the press" it also occasioned a new way to regulate the press, a "new licensing system." Or, to jump ahead in time, while discussing the topic of news management. he draws attention to two unlikely prime ministers of the 1920s and 1930s, Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, as forerunners of the

practice. Finally, in observing the relationship between media and audience, as he does in various chapters, he notes the manner in which collective listening and viewing associated respectively with print, broadcast, film and television media became more drawn to internal space. That comment is rich in meaning both for grasping the social ramifications of media technology and for perceiving trends in the occupation of public space. Engaging reflections such as these often appear in the author's explanations of the changes that have marked media history.

There is, moreover, an interesting transatlantic, suggestive quality that permeates this volume. It can be appreciated not only in the corresponding presence of one-time press barons in both Britain and the United States but also in various influences that have crossed the Atlantic, sometimes coming from Britain, sometimes from this country. When Williams discusses the linking of neutral news to economic change, the concentration of media ownership, the growth of "promotional culture," the irresponsible excesses of the new tabloid press, and the growth of news management, comparisons with counterparts in the American media are inescapable. Furthermore, the advice given Mrs. Thatcher by Gordon Reece, her media advisor, that what a person looked like on television was more important than what one said, is all too reminiscent of Michael Deaver's coaching of President Reagan about that same matter. The implications of these transatlantic connections should provide leads for future inquiry.

In some instances, however, Williams restricts the content of the book to a questionable degree. By devoting about 80 percent of the study to the media in the 20th century, he raises a basic concern. The fact that three of the media he discusses are associated with this century helps to explain that proportionment as to considerations of length and line of argument. Regardless, when it comes to considering particular topics covered in the book, his explanations in some instances fail to incorporate material that is both relevant and available. His treatment of the Victorian quality and periodical press, his discussion of the pre-World War I Americanization of British journalism and other institutions, and his attention to the media in World War I all lack needed exploration and impair the effectiveness of the larger discussions to which they related. Nevertheless, except for these and a few other cases, it can be concluded that within the framework he chose for the book, the author usually treats his topics in a concise and convincing matter.

All considered, Williams has produced a coherent study that introduces many of the forces that have shaped the contemporary British

media. It is a well-connected and focused inquiry written in an attractive and thoughtful manner with continued attention to the elements of successful narration. General readers interested in understanding the interaction between the media and the public today will find this a useful history. Moreover, it has excellent potential for provoking discussion and would be an ideal selection for supplementary reading in courses dealing with history, politics or media studies. Journalism historians also will find a number of clues in it that suggest possibilities for expanding their subject across national borders.

>James D. Startt, Valparaiso University

Good News, Bad News: Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest

By Jeremy Iggers, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado: 1998. 192 pp.

Although the title doesn't quite make it clear, Jeremy Iggers' new book is a passionate call for working journalists to abandon the profession's traditional goals of balance, neutrality and objectivity and adopt instead advocacy and a commitment to citizen involvement; that is, to join the movement called "civic journalism" or "public journalism."

In its current incarnation, the civic journalism movement has been around for several years in academic discourse, and a relative handful of metropolitan dailies have tried, with mixed results, to put its principles into practice. The tenets are simple enough: In their misguided devotion to objectivity, journalists have lost the vital connection with their readers (This is mostly a newspaper movement. Television has its own models for reform.) Objectivity is impossible, civic journalism's proponents say, and even if it were not, it's a bad idea. The movement's proponents see it as no coincidence that newspaper readership and civic participation, e.g. voting, are both down. The solution as they see it is to have the newspaper get more involved: Use focus groups and polling to determine citizenreader interest, hold town meetings on big issues like race and poverty, and bring the citizen/reader into active partnership with the reporter.

In such discussions, including Iggers', it is rarely noted that this kind of involved journalism precisely describes William Randolph Hearst's now-infamous *New York Journal* nearly a century ago "While others talk, the *Journal* acts." Likewise, most community weeklies and small dailies always have been and still are hip-deep in local affairs, and as participants more than as observers.

Iggers, who holds a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Minnesota but whose day job is as restaurant critic for the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, ably makes the familiar case that journalism is in trouble, and his quick history of professional journalistic practice is admirable. He has a foot in both the academic and the professional worlds and from that vantage point seems well positioned to look at the industry, which he clearly loves but fears is becoming irrelevant.

However, somewhat strangely for a philosophy student and despite the book's subtitle, the intellectual underpinnings of the argument come far more from mass communication theory than from ethics. His debt to Jay Rosen at New York University is enormous, obvious and duly acknowledged. But there's no reference to Kant, Mill, Locke, Plato or Aristotle. (Although interestingly, he ties much of his argument about objective vs. activist journalism to the famous debate in the 1920s between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey.)

As a result, the argument suffers from what to a professional's eyes are the too-common sins of academic criticism: a failure to keep clear important differences — between print and broadcast, between journalism and the entertainment media, and between the ideological and the economic contaminants of good journalism. There is also the depressing tendency, in mid-paragraph, to lapse into the liturgy of the cultural left and blame it all on the hegemonic cultural imperialists of the capitalist ruling class.

At one level, the central point of civic journalism is sound: If "objective journalism" meant a droning recitation of endless info bits, devoid of blood, passion and meaning, then yes, by all means, let's pump a little life into the business. Most working pros have always yearned for a more honest and more just world and have based their careers on the premise that sunlight is the best disinfectant. But objectivity, which was largely defined by Lippmann, never meant lifelessness and certainly doesn't now. Rather, it meant a reliance on verifiable fact—evidence—since news sources often lie and since even the first-hand observations of a trained reporter can, for all kinds of reasons, badly mislead. Further, for at least half a century, the explicit and implicit intention of the news business has been to put those verified facts into a meaningful context, that is, provide exactly the sort of depth, coloration and nuance that all varieties of New Journalists have been striving for. In that regard, civic journalism, minus the public forums and the focus groups, is hardly more than a call to return to basics.

A point worth far more exploration than it gets is Iggers' keen observation that many working journalists are deeply skeptical of this new animal called civic journalism precisely because top management at some papers endorses it for what are believed to be impure motives; that is, the business side thinks it will sell more papers. What warrants consideration is whether these skeptics have a point.

The strongest chapter is the last, in which Iggers largely abandons his own argument and announces that theorizing about public journalism "is easy but probably not very useful" and instead argues that as a practical matter, journalists should join forces with the readers and, in essence, gang up on the owners. In this last chapter, he writes clearly and succinctly, makes his points by marshaling hard evidence, takes up one point after another and explains why he believes civic journalism's "connectedness" is better for the profession and better for the democracy than the detachment of objectivity-based journalism. It is in this last chapter that there is the least evidence of this book as morphed dissertation and the greatest example of a working pro making his case using the traditional tools of the journalist.

>Steven R. Knowlton, Hofstra University

Media Ethics: A Philosophical Approach

by Matthew Kieran, Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1997. 168 pp.

Matthew Kieran's, "Media Ethics: A Philosophical Approach" is intriguing and thoughtful, yet mildly frustrating because of occasionally opaque reasoning. Kieran, a lecturer in philosophy at England's University of Leeds, opens with an interesting call for a philosophical analysis of media ethics. He points out that people often fail to grasp the difference between a philosophical and a sociological, political, or critical-cultural studies position on the issues discussed, and says that certain kinds of questions and issues can only really be thought of and argued about in a philosophical manner, and only philosophical thinking can deepen our understanding of them. Media ethics, he argues, is an area that demands rigorous philosophical analysis, which he defines as examining our intuitions and trying to articulate the conclusion to which they lead us. He then summarizes his aim: In essence the book is an attempt to show what philosophical reasoning can achieve in relation to issues in media ethics, through actually engaging in philosophical argument.

After presenting his case for philosophical reasoning, Kieran turns his attention to selected issues in journalism ethics. In Chapter 1, he argues against critics who call media ethics an oxymoron or who say ethical journalism cannot exist because journalists by nature have to lie or break promises to obtain stories. Kieran says that kind of journalism is not ethical journalism: There is no distinctive feature that ought to exempt media institutions and journalistic practices from ethical obligations and requirements. Thus we should demand of those in journalism and the media that they act in an ethically responsible manner while pursuing the end of informing us about significant events in the world.

Chapter 2 is perhaps the most intriguing one in the book. Here, Kieran attempts to define news. He identifies a sociological definition of news, which he says is inadequate because it restricts news to those stories actually covered by the media and recognized as such by those within it. He also identifies what he calls the fourth estate definition of news, under which the media have a duty to inform us about events in the world that significantly affect our lives. Kieran rejects this definition, which he says is traditional but restrictive because it cannot and does not capture the nature of news as a whole. That is, the fourth estate understanding of news, with its strict emphasis on news about important public matters, rejects human interest stories that many audience members find compelling and entertaining. Therefore, Kieran argues, the ethically acceptable definition of news is one that combines both the fourth estate and the human interest notions. The news media's job is to cover stories that, under conditions of ideal information, reasonable education, and compassion, we would want to know about.

Kieran says this definition requires ethical journalism to uphold minimal ethical constraints or regulative ideals, which he explores in the third chapter. Those regulative ideals include understanding of the intended audience in shaping and reporting news, and impartiality and detachment on the part of reporters. According to Kieran, the regulative ideal of the impartial journalist enables us to pick out a significant flaw in unethical journalism: a disregard for the truth in favor of the values, prejudices, or beliefs a journalist or news organization merely presumes to be true. That disregard for the truth is the focus of the fourth chapter, which is titled "Deceit, Lies, and Privacy." In the fifth chapter, Kieran takes a turn that is not completely clear. Up to that point, he focuses exclusively on issues of journalism ethics. Now, however, the focus shifts to issues of media ethics: Sex and Sexuality in the Media (Chapter 5), Violence in the Media (Chapter 6), and Harm, Offense, and Media

Censorship (Chapter 7). The book would be more understandable as a unified argument if Kieran provided a strong conceptual link between his first four chapters' emphasis on journalism ethics and his last three chapters' emphasis on media ethics, including pornography and entertainment programming.

The book would also be clearer if Kieran explained his insistence that his book is distinctive in its call for philosophical reasoning in media ethics. Granted, his call is valid, but it's not clear why he believes philosophical reasoning has not been applied to media ethics by other authors. For example, books such as *Committed Journalism* by Edmund B. Lambeth(Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992) and *Good News: A Social Ethics of the Press* by Clifford Christians, John Ferr and Mark Fackler (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) clearly employ philosophical reasoning to present their authors' visions for ethical journalism. Kieran says the value of philosophical reasoning for media ethics is that it can usefully aspire to formalizing, critically explicating, and thus assessing the principles that we think ought to govern our behavior. Hence we can seek to iron out possible inconsistencies in our journalistic commitments and media practices. This is exactly what these other books have done. These books also use a further component of philosophy that Kieran does not; that is, they incorporate ethical theory, whether it's from an Aristotelian perspective or a communitarian understanding.

Finally, the book would be enhanced by a clearer idea of its intended audience. Kieran employs a rather formal tone and relegates to the chapters' endnotes many of his specific examples of ethical dilemmas in journalism. These decisions would seem to discourage both working journalists and undergraduate students in journalism or mass communication courses from reading what is otherwise a thoughtful analysis.

>Kristie Bunton, University of St. Thomas

Moral Reasoning For Journalists: Cases and Commentary

By Steven R. Knowlton Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997. 240 pp.

Judging from the recent outpouring of books about ethical issues and dilemmas, journalism students, practicing journalists and lay people never tire of debating the moral rights and wrongs of an ever-expanding list of problematic situations. This is both the underlying hope and assumption of Steven R. Knowlton's book *Moral Reasoning for Journalists:*

Cases and Commentary which is clearly aimed at just such a broad and general audience. Knowlton suggests in his "Notes to Instructors" that while his most recent text is intended as a companion piece to his 1994 work, *The Journalists' Moral Compass*, the book can also be used by itself.

Set up in two relatively autonomous sections and written in a relaxed, conversational manner, *Moral Reasoning for Journalists* begins with an overview of the development of some of the philosophical, political and economic theories that have influenced how the media see themselves and are seen by others. In this first section entitled "Locating Ethical Journalism in the Western Tradition," Knowlton also discusses such thorny topic areas as objectivity and he asks, "Is It Still Possible? Should We Still Try?" Then he raises another long-standing question, albeit one made more poignant by the recent tragic death of Princess Diana, about how journalists must balance a need for respect and privacy against the traditional pervasive belief in the public's inalienable right to know.

After this initial section, Knowlton turns to nearly 30 case studies which offer the reader a chance to test his or her philosophical framework kenned from both this text's opening section and that set out in *The Journalists' Moral Compass.* This is definitely the strongest and most appealing part of *Moral Reasoning for Journalists.* The cases are very recent and offer situational dilemmas that most readers will remember or perhaps to which some might even relate. The other strength of this section is that the cases Knowlton outlines are completely factual.

While many journalism instructors prefer to create composite or fictional cases because they can more easily be tailored to fit the specific examples the instructor wishes to illustrate, Knowlton has deliberately avoided using such material. He writes that "the use of the hypothetical poses a real danger as we try to insist to our students that they be scrupulously accurate." This comment is somewhat ironic because it gestures toward the book's largest fault: it is rife with errors. Like most journalists, Knowlton undoubtedly relied upon the skill of an editor and this person or persons undermined his task with a shockingly half-hearted effort. If a second edition of *Moral Reasoning* is printed, some judicious editing would be helpful to rid the text of the numerous typographical errors. Also, it should be noted that John Milton's *Aeropagitica* was not "an argument made by an Anglican to a roomful of Anglicans, asking for a distinctly Anglican decision." Milton was a Puritan and the British Parliament at the time was largely Presbyterian. Also, the text speaks of religious affiliation in the 17th century and suggests that people bore allegiance to the "Church of England or Anglican (the church in the

United States is called Episcopalian) or Roman Catholic." In fact, the Church of England and the Anglican Church are now and have always been one and the same.

>Romayne Smith Fullerton, University of Western Ontario

Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion

By J. Michael Sproule, New York: Cambridge University Press 1997. 332 pp.

Most mass communication scholars are familiar with the line of quantitative research described by phrases like media effects, persuasion, and public opinion. Less familiar is the notion that the primacy of quantitative social science in our field is not an historical inevitability, but rather the product of a complex set of social forces, academic aspirations, and strategic funding decisions. In *Propaganda and Democracy*, J. Michael Sproule documents the struggle between humanists and social scientists for preeminence in the field of communication studies.

This wide-ranging, densely-written account flows from more than a dozen years worth of sifting through a variety of useful primary and secondary source materials. The story begins with the widespread fear of mass persuasion in America before World War I. Sproule locates the origins of propaganda analysis in the efforts of muckraking journalists to expose press agentry as a means of manipulating public opinion. Later on, journalists and academics became increasingly leery of "Big Communication" the nexus of advertising, market research, public relations, and mass communication. Leading figures such as John Dewey and Walter Lippmann feared the potential for thought control and helped spawn a body of literature devoted to the analysis of propaganda, a communication tool described by practitioners as self-interested promotion and by detractors as the sinister manipulation of public opinion.

In early chapters, Sproule shows how progressive intellectuals, together with "muckraker socialists, cultural critics, and consumer scientists" produced a large literature of anti-propaganda polemics. The centerpiece of *Propaganda and Democracy* is a chapter on the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA), founded in 1937 to help Americans gain a critical understanding of mass persuasion. The organization gained attention through its official publication, *Propaganda Analysis*, and by publishing a list of seven common propaganda devices the ordinary

citizen could locate in media discourse. The IPA clearly found a receptive audience at first; but as time wore on, it ran afoul of powerful interests on the Right. It also had to contend with the defection of many leftist thinkers who "rearranged their politics" to prepare for America's entry into World War II.

Leading Progressives were troubled by a school of critique that might cast aspersions on their own political commitments. Accordingly, the IPA was disbanded in October 1941. Sproule also demonstrates how the IPA's propaganda criticism was compromised by the ascendancy of social scientific approaches to mass persuasion. Taking care to avoid narrow labels, he shows how adherents of this world view thought that meaningful analysis of persuasion should involve something more than value-laden, qualitative case studies. The proliferation of quantitative surveys, experiments, and content analyses provided the pathway for transformation. Funded in part by the Rockefeller and Carnegie fortunes, this work brought promising scholars (ex., Lasswell and Lazarsfeld) together at key institutions (ex., the Social Science Research Council and the Bureau of Applied Social Research). The scholarship produced by these centers helped the managers of media organizations and government agencies make data-based, "administrative" interpretations of public opinion.

By 1943, says Sproule, divorce proceedings were well underway between quantitative social scientists and humanists, with the former the clear victor. Traditional propaganda analysis lived on through the work of sociologist Alfred Lee and others; but these critics were no match for the likes of Lazarsfeld, Cantril, Berelson, and Hovland, who helped form, in Sproule's words, a "paradigmatic interlocking directorate." By 1948, these scholars forged a research tradition that separated data from praxis, and focused more on "official persuasion" than the formation of public opinion by members of the demos at large.

Sproule is meticulously even-handed in his treatment of competing research traditions, and that is both a strength and weakness. The book, aimed more at dense description than thesis and argumentation, offers the tepid conclusion that no single group of analysts has the inside track on intellectual or moral rectitude. The reader must take comfort in knowing that the interplay of these forces constitutes "a quintessentially American colloquy about self-serving communication in a large-scale, relatively open society." Sproule sympathizes with the progressive propaganda critics, but his portrayal of competing paradigms fails to make important connections to other significant strands of critical thought on public

opinion and democracy (He touches on the Frankfurt School, but sidesteps the work of Jurgen Habermas and Antonio Gramsci). On balance, *Propaganda and Democracy* is a welcome and illuminating book. The beauty of Sproule's narrative lies in its ability to help communication scholars better understand the divisions that have characterized the field. This is especially helpful for those of us trained in both strands of research; trying, as we sometimes do, to preserve the best features of each. While this book will disappoint the theorist, it will help other mass communication scholars better understand where they came from and, indeed, who they are.

>Michael P. McCauley, University of Maine

The Shortstop's Son

Philip Martin, Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1997. 191 pp.

In his essay on seriousness, the author advocates active listening. He defines "seriousness" as "listening to, and considering, the opinions of those who experiences and philosophies do no coincide with our own." The subject he is addressing is various shades of spin doctors who win their arguments by their ability to define both sides of a given issue. It's unfortunate that this essay should be so far back in the book because Martin would do well to heed his own advice

Prior to his sanctimonious admonition, Martin's readers are exposed to one diatribe after another from his unique niche viewpoint. Readers are expected to buy into his assumptions on any given topic without question. Odd that a man who can't see this in himself sees it in others. Being the wordsmith that he is, Martin has the gift for communicating in an aesthetically appealing manner. His best essay, from which he took the book's title, is about his deceased dad. The pathos is conveyed in a powerfully descriptive way. How does a communicator deal with tragedy such as the death of a loved one? One way is by writing about it. Martin does so masterfully.

Another highlight is his analysis of Pasty Cline's posthumous success. Contrasted to less talented extant performers, Cline's work goes beyond genre classification, he argues. One of the most thought-provoking essays in the collection is the one contrasting "the vulgar vocabulary of advertising" with traditional literature. He poignantly makes his case that the nonverbal idiosyncracies of media personalities and politicians

possessing charisma affect post literate hearts. A brushing of the forehead, downcast eyes, a chewing of the lips, all these images influence election results and collective memory. What can be expected of this collection of essays depends on what the reader brings with him or her. There are some well-crafted anecdotes capturing the flavor of the denizens of Arkansas, Louisiana, and other mid South locales. There is also a preponderance of political ideology that makes up the bulk of the readings.

>William G. Covington, Jr., Bridgewater State College

American Journalism Volume 15 Index

[Winter (1), Spring (2), Summer (3), and Fall (4), 1998]

Compiled by Timi Poeppelman, Assistant Editor

Author Index

Adams, Michael H.
Reviewed: Radio: The Forgotten Medium, Edited by Edward C. Pease and Dennis E. Everette, 15:1, 122-123.

Bekken, Jon.
A Collective Biography of Editors of U.S. Workers' Papers: 1913 & 1925, 15:3, 19-39.

Bennion, Sharilyn Cox.
Reviewed: Evil Influences: Crusades Against the Mass Media, by Steven Starker, 15:1, 118-119.

Bensman, Marvin R.
Reviewed: As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s, by Karal Ann Marling, 15:1, 117.

Birkhead, Douglas.
Reviewed: From Grunts to Gigabytes: Communication and Society, by Dan Lacy, 15:2, 107-108.

Bradley, Patricia.
John Wannamaker's "Temple of Patriotism" Defines Early 20th Century Advertising and Brochures, 15:2, 15-35.

_____.
Reviewed: Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years, by David M. Rabban, 15:4, 151-152.

Brennen, Bonnie.
Strategic Competition and the Photographer's Work: Photojournalism in Gannett Newspapers, 1937-1947, 15:2, 59-77.

Brennen, Bonnie, Guest Editor.
A Special Issue Devoted to Labor and Newswork, 15:3, 9-12.

Bunton, Kristie.
Reviewed: Media Ethics: A Philosophical Approach, by Matthew Kieran, 15:4, 158-160.

Carmichael, Thomas.
Reviewed: Street Smarts and Critical Theory: Listening to the Vernacular, by Thomas McLaughlin, 15:2, 119-121.

Clark, Charles E.
Reviewed: The Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age, by Paulette D. Kilmer, 15:3, 124-126.

Collins, Ross.
Reviewed: To Strike at a King: The Turning Point in the McCarthy Witch Hunts, by Michael Ranville, 15:3, 130-131.

Costain, Gene.
Reviewed: The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture and Steel, by Paul Krause, 15:3, 121-123.

_____.
Reviewed: WCFL: Chicago's Voice of Labor 1926-78, by Nathan Godfried, 15:3, 131-133.

Covington, William G. Jr.
Reviewed: Eye on the Future: Popular Culture Scholarship into the 21st Century in Honor of Ray B. Browne, edited by Marilyn F. Motz, John G. Nachbar, Michael T. Marsden & Ronald J. Amrosetti, 15:3, 123-124.

_____.
Reviewed: The Shortstop's Son, by Philip Martin, 15:4, 164-165.

Davies, David R.
Reviewed: Standing Before the Shouting Mob: Lenoir Chambers and Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration, by Alexander S. Leidholdt, 15:3, 128-129.

_____.
From Ridicule to Respect: Newspapers' Reaction to Television, 1948-1960, 15:4, 17-33.

Dickerson, Donna L.
George T. Ruby: Reconstruction Politician/Journalist, 15:1, 51-68.

Freeman, Barbara M.
Reviewed: Women in Communication: A Biographical Sourcebook, by Nancy Signorielli, 15:2, 121-123.

Fullerton, Romayne Smith.
Reviewed: Moral Reasoning for Journalists: Cases and Commentary, by Steven R. Knowlton, 15:4, 160-162.

Hardt, Hanno.
Constructing History: Artists, Urban Culture, and the Image of Newspapers in 1930s America,15:3, 41-60.

Humphrey, Carol Sue.
Reviewed: Great Editorials: Masterpieces of Opinion Writing (2nd Edition), by Wm. David Sloan, Cheryl Watts, and Joanne Sloan, 15:2, 108-110.

Knowles, Bill.
Reviewed: AM Stereo and the FCC: Case Study of a Marketplace Shibboleth, by Mark J. Braun, 15:3, 117-119.

Knowlton, Steven R.
Reviewed: Good News, Bad News: Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest, by Jeremy Iggers, 15:4, 156-158.

Leidholdt, Alex.
Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers: Two Southern Liberal Newspaper Editors Face Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration, 15:4, 35-68.

Leonhirth, William J.
Selling Cable Television in the 1970s and 1980s: Social Dreams and Business Schemes, 15:4, 95-124.

Lorenz, Alfred Lawrence.
The Whitechapel Club: Defining Chicago's Newspapermen in the 1890s, 15:1, 83-102.

Logue, Cal M., Eugene F. Miller, and Christopher J. Schroll.
The Press Under Pressure: How Georgia's Newspapers Responded to Civil War Constraints, 15:1, 13-34.

McCauley, Michael P.
Reviewed: Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion, by J. Michael Sproule, 15:4, 162-164.

Mindich, David T. Z.
Searching For Journalism History in Cyberspace (a *Great Ideas* submission), 15:1, 103-108.

_____.
Reviewed: Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content, by David A. Copeland, 15:2, 105-106.

Murray, Michael D.
Reviewed: Mightier Than the Sword: How the News Media Shaped American History, by Rodger Streitmatter, 15:1, 120-122.

Nolan, Michael.
Reviewed: The Mass Media in Canada (2nd Edition), by Mary Vipond, 15:2, 113-114.

Oravec, Christine.
Reviewed: Mass Media and Environmental Conflict: America's Green Crusades, by Mark Neuzil and William Kovarik, 15:2, 110-112.

Osburn, John.
What's Mock News? A Case Study of *Dino Times* and *NYTW News,* (a *Great Ideas* submission), 15:4, 141-147.

Patterson III, Oscar.
The Press Held Hostage: Terrorism in a Small North Carolina Town, 15:4, 125-139.

Riley, Sam.
Reviewed: The Literary Index To American Magazines, 1850-1900, by Daniel A. Wells, 15:1, 119-120.

Risley, Ford.
Peter Alexander: Confederate Chronicler & Conscience, 15:1, 35-50.

Smith, Michael R.
Extra! Extra! Pennsylvania's Tim Hughes Offers Old and Rare Newspapers for Sale (a *Great Ideas* submission), 15:2, 101-104.

Spencer, David R.
1997 Presidential Address: History and the Age of Cyberspace, 15:1, 109-115.

_____.
Bringing Down Giants: Thomas Nast, John Wilson Bengough and the Maturing of Political Cartooning, 15:3, 61-88.

_____.
Reviewed: We Called Each Other Comrade: Charles H. Kerr and Company, by Allen Ruff, 15:3,133-135.

_____.
Reviewed: A History of Mass Communication, by Irving Fang, 15:4, 149-151.

Startt, James D.
Reviewed: Get me a Murder a Day: A History of Mass Communication in Britain, by Kevin Williams, 15:4, 153-156.

Stegmaier, Mark.
Window on Washington in 1850: Tracking Newspaper Letter-Writers, 15:1, 69-82.

Steiner, Linda.
Stories of Quitting: Why Did Women Journalists Leave the Newsroom?, 15:3, 89-116.

Tebbutt, John.
Reviewed: Andrew Olle: A Tribute, by Annette Olle and Paul Lyneham, 15:3, 119-121.

Thornton, Brian.
"Gospel of Fearlessness" or "Outright Lies": A Historical Examination of Magazine Letters to the Editor, 1902-1912 and 1982-1992, 15:2, 37-57.

_____.
Reviewed: The Journalistic Advocates and Muckrakers: Three Centuries of Crusading Writers, by Edd Applegate, 15:3, 126-128.

Vergobbi, David J.
Reviewed: Political Commentators in the United States in the 20th Century: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook, by Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome, 15:2, 114-117.

Vipond, Mary.
Reviewed: The Reportage of Urban Culture: Robert Park and the Chicago School, by Rolf Linder, 15:2, 117-119.

Waters, Ken.
How World Vision Rose From Obscurity To Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972-1982, 15:4, 69-93.

Winfield, Betty Houchin and Janice Hume.
The American Hero and the Evolution of the Human Interest Story, 15:2, 79-99.

Index to Books Reviewed

(alphabetical by book title)

AM Stereo and the FCC: Case Study of a Marketplace Shibboleth.
By Mark J. Braun, *reviewed by Bill Knowles,* 15: 3, 117-119.

Andrew Olle: A Tribute.
By Annette Olle and Paul Lyneham, *reviewed by John Tebbutt,* 15:3, 119-121.

As Seen on TV: The Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950's
By Karal Ann Marling, *reviewed by Marvin R. Bensman,* 15:1, 117.

The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture and Steel.
By Paul Krause, *reviewed by Gene Costain,* 15:3, 121-123.

Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content.
By David A. Copeland, *reviewed by David T. Z. Mindich,* 15:2, 105-106.

Evil Influences: Crusades Against the Mass Media.
By Steven Starker, *reviewed by Sherilyn Cox Bennion,* 15:1, 118-119.

Eye on the Future: Polular Culture Scholarship into the 21st Century in Honor of Ray B. Browne.
Edited by Marilyn F. Motz, John G. Nachbar, Michael T. Marsden & Ronald J. Amrosetti, *reviewed by William G. Covington, Jr.,* 15:3, 123-124.

The Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age.
By Paulette D. Kilmer, *reviewed by Charles E. Clark,* 15:3, 124-126.

Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years.
By David M. Rabban, *reviewed by Patricia Bradley,* 15:4, 151-152.

From Grunts to Gigabytes: Communication and Society.
By Dan Lacy, *reviewed by Douglas Birkhead,* 15:2, 107-108.

Get Me a Murder a Day: A History of Mass Communication in Britain.
By Kevin Williams, *reviewed by James D. Startt,* 15:4, 153-156.

Good News, Bad News: Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest.
By Jeremy Iggers, *reviewed by Steven R. Knowlton,* 15:4, 156-158.

Great Editorials: Masterpieces of Opinion Writing (2nd Edition).
By Wm. David Sloan, Cheryl Watts, and Joanne Sloan, *reviewed by Carol Sue Humphrey,* 15:2, 108-110.

A History of Mass Communication.
By Irving Fang, *reviewed by David R. Spencer,* 15:4, 149-151.

Journalistic Advocates and Muckrakers: Three Centuries of Crusading Writers.
By Edd Applegate, *reviewed by Brian Thornton,* 15:3, 126-128.

The Literary Index to American Magazines, 1850-1900.
By Daniel A. Wells, *reviewed by Sam Riley,* 15:1, 119-120.

Mass Media and Environmental Conflict: America's Green Crusades.
By Mark Neuzil and William Kovarik, *reviewed by Christine Oravec,* 15:2, 110-112.

The Mass Media in Canada (2nd Edition).
By Mary Vipond, *reviewed by Michael Nolan,* 15:2, 113-114.

Media Ethics: A Philosophical Approach.
By Matthew Kieran, *reviewed by Kristie Bunton,* 15:4, 158-160.

Mightier Than the Sword: How the News Media Shaped American History.
By Rodger Streitmatter, *reviewed by Michael D. Murray,* 15:1, 120-122.

Moral Reasoning for Journalists: Cases and Commentary.
By Steven R. Knowlton, *reviewed by Romayne Smith Fullerton,* 15:4, 160-162.

Political Commentators in the United States in the 20th Century: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook.
By Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome, *reviewed by David J. Vergobbi,* 15: 2, 114-117.

Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion.
By J. Michael Sproule, *reviewed by Michael P. McCauley,* 15:4, 162-164.

Radio: The Forgotten Medium.
Edited by Edward C. Pease and E. Everette, *reviewed by Michael H. Adams,* 15:1, 122-123.

The Reportage of Urban Culture: Robert Park and the Chicago School.
By Rolf Linder, *reviewed by Mary Vipond,* 15:2, 117-119.

The Shortstop's Son.
By Philip Martin, *reviewed by William G. Covington, Jr.,* 15:4, 164-165.

Standing Before the Shouting Mob: Lenoir Chambers and Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration.
By Alexander S. Leidholdt, *reviewed by David R. Davies,* 15:3, 128-129.

Street Smarts and Critical Theory: Listening to the Vernacular.
By Thomas McLaughlin, *reviewed by Thomas Carmichael,* 15:2, 119-121.

To Strike at A King: The Turning Point in the McCarthy Witch Hunts.
By Michael Ranville, *reviewed by Ross Collins,* 15:3, 130-131.

WCFL: Chicago's Voice of Labor, 1926-78.
By Nathan Godfried, *reviewed by Gene Costain,* 15:3, 131-133.

We Called Each Other Comrade: Charles H. Kerr and Company.
By Allen Ruff, *reviewed by David R. Spencer,* 15:3, 133-135.

Women in Communication: A Biographical Sourcebook.
By Nancy Signorielli, *reviewed by Barbara M. Freeman,* 15:2, 121-123.

American Journalism
CSUS Foundation
Department of Communication Studies
California State University, Sacramento
6000 J Street
Sacramento, CA 95819-6070

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 02572
Sacramento, CA